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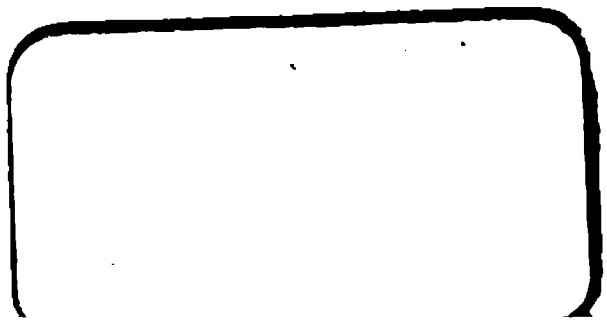

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TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, F.R.S. &c

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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Zitúni, *Lamia*—View of *Melis*, *Thermopylæ*, and Mount *Œta* from Zitúni—Mount Katavóthra—Patratzíki or Neópatra, *Hypata*—Rivers Elládha, or *Spercheius*, and Vistrítza, or *Inachus*—*Ænianes*—*Œtæi*—tribes of the *Malienses*—*Phthiotæ*—*Dolopes*—*Dryopes*—Franzí—River Gurgo, *Dyras*—Mavranéria, *Melas*—*Trachis*—*Heracleia*—Rivers Karvunariá, or *Asopus*, and *Phœnix*—*Anthele*—*Thermopylæ*—*Alpeni*—*Nicæa*—Pundonítza—Military events at *Thermopylæ*—Upper Pass of Mount *Callidromus*, or *Anopæa*—Forts *Tichius*, *Rhoduntia*, *Callidromum*.

Nov. 25.—Ζητούνιον is a name remarkable from its resemblance to the Arabic Zeitún, which means a place of olive trees, and is repeatedly found in countries where that language is spoken, but as none of the names of Greece are derived from the Arabic unless through the Turkish, as the Turks have corrupted Zeitún into Isdún, and as Ζητόνιον is found among the bishoprics of the province of

on the route which led from Thermopylæ through the passes of Phthiotis to Thaumaci[1].

The only remains I can find of the ancient city are some pieces of the walls of the Acropolis, forming a part of those of the modern castle; and some small remains of the town walls constructed of masonry of the third species, at the foot of the hill beyond the extreme modern houses to the eastward. On the opposite side of the town, a brisk little river turns fourteen mills, situated one above the other, on the slope of the hill. The same method is practised at Dhomokó, but there with only four mills.

The ancient importance of Lamia is shown by its silver coins, and by the occurrence of its name in ancient history, on some important occasions, particularly in the year B.C. 323, when the Athenians, on the death of Alexander, were excited by the "sibi mortifera facundia" of Demosthenes to renew their struggle with Macedonia. Antipater was at first unsuccessful, and retired into Lamia, where he was besieged by the Athenians, but their commander Leosthenes, having been slain, and Antipater having received a reinforcement from Asia under Craterus, the Macedonians were again enabled to meet the enemy in the field, and terminated the war by a victory near Crannon[2]. In the year B.C. 191, Lamia was besieged by Philip, son of Demetrius; Livy, in relating this

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 4. V. supra, vol. i. p. 458.

[2] Diodor. l. 18, c. 9, et seq. Arrian. ap. Phot. cod. 92. Polyb. l. 9, c. 29. Pausan. l. 10, c. 3. Plutarch. in Demosth.

transaction, takes notice of the rocky soil of Lamia, which prevented the Macedonians from making so rapid a progress in this siege as their comrades, who were similarly employed at Heracleia on the opposite side of the plain[1]. In the following year Lamia was taken by the Romans under Manius Acilius Glabrio[2].

The castle of Zitúni commands a most beautiful and interesting prospect; and being itself a remarkable point, is an excellent geographical station. There is no other of equal altitude which comprehends so complete a view of the country adjacent to the head of the *Maliac* Gulf, or at least that affords so much assistance in understanding the history of the celebrated events which have occurred on this scene. Having the advantage today of a most diaphanous atmosphere, I easily recognize the places with which I was familiar in 1802.

The most striking part of the prospect is the vast *Œtæan* range of mountains extending from *Callidromus* above *Thermopylæ*, as far westward as the summit near Karpenísi named Velúkhi, not far to the left of which is seen Patratzíki or Neópatra, below one of the highest summits of the range; to the left of that town rise the stupendous precipices called Katavóthra, which fall in a north-eastern direction to the plain of Zitúni. In the opposite quarter, towards the entrance of the gulf, is seen Stylídha[3], the port of Zitúni; and in a line

[1] Liv. l. 36, c. 25.

[2] Id. l. 37, c. 5.

[3] Στυλίδα.

with it the most westerly inlet of the sea, which here advances to within three miles of the town. Near the shore, on this side of Stylídha, appears the village Aghía Marína; and beyond Stylídha the slope of Mount *Othrys*, as far as the entrance of the *Euboic* Straits. The promontory of Lithádha in *Eubœa* forms a lofty peninsula in the center of the gulf, to the right of which the view comprehends a long reach in the *Euboic* channel; and at its entrance the islands anciently called Lichades, to the right of which is Mount *Cnemis*, with the village of Mola at its foot. From hence, to the beginning of the pass of *Thermopylæ*, a narrow plain abounding with wood extends along the shore, behind which are the hills below Pundonítza, which connect the mountains *Cnemis* and *Callidromus*, and at their foot a remarkable rock, upon which I observed, on my former visit to this country, some remains of ancient monuments. It is nearly in a line with the castle of Pundonítza, seven degrees to the left of which appears the peak of Khlomó above Tálanda. Considerably to the right of Pundonítza begins the precipitous termination of Mount *Callidromus* above the salt springs, which gave name to *Thermopylæ* [1].

This alone is the proper pass, for to the eastward of it the hills, though now difficult to penetrate on account of the woods, form a very regular slope from the summit of *Callidromus* to the paralian plain, about Mola; the above-mentioned rock

[1] See the plans of the Pass, and of the country around Thermopylæ, at the end of this volume.

with the ancient remains, being at the foot of a part of this slope, is not very near the pass, and cannot therefore be the site of any of the places in the pass mentioned by Herodotus; it may indicate perhaps the position of Nicæa[1]. Thereabout it must have been that Hydarnes descended to the rear of Leonidas. The eastern extremity of the pass was a little to the left or east of the dervéni, or guard-house, from whence to the upper or western salt-springs, precipices overhang the pass, gradually increasing in height from the former position to the latter, immediately over which they are highest. Above these precipices there is still an elevated country of varied surface, gradually rising to the foot of the snowy and fir-clad summit of the mountain; and in this place, just under the highest peak, stands the village of Dhrakospiliá[2].

Below the district of Dhrakospiliá, to the westward, extends a regular and cultivated declivity, which belongs to another village named Dhamastá[3], and reaches to the *Asopus*, and *Thermopylæ*, terminating at the latter in a long stony slope corresponding to the plain of Anthele of Herodotus, which lies between the upper salt source of *Thermopylæ* proper, and another pass to the westward where the road is confined between cliffs and a marsh, and where are also some sources of hot salt water. But this latter pass, lying between the plain of *Anthele* and the *Aso-*

[1] Polyb. l. 10, c. 42; l. 17, c. 1. 7. Strabo, p. 428.

[2] Δρακοσπιλιά.

[3] Δαμαστά.

pian plain, may be turned through the slope of Dhamastá. So that supposing the sea and marshes to have occupied all that which now forms a plain in front of *Thermopylæ*, the real pass will be reduced to the space between the dervéni and the old or upper sources, or in other words to the space eastward of the plain of *Anthele*, which is now occupied by the course of the eastern salt springs and their deposit. Dhamastá is situated at the head of some cultivated declivities at the foot of a precipice under the upper heights of the mountain, and around it there is a considerable tract of vineyards. The cultivated slope immediately below the village is separated by some shrubby steeps from the *Asopian* or *Trachinian* plain. To the right of Dhamastá is seen a little table land on the mountain, upon which, among the woods, stands a monastery of the Panaghía, and near it to the right, is an acclivity reaching to the crest of the Zygós, or connecting ridge, which unites Mount *Callidromus* with the great *Œtæan* summits, and over which passes the modern road from Zitúni to Sálona. This Zygós is cultivated in patches quite to the top. The summit of *Parnassus* makes its appearance above a shrubby height; one of the lowest of those bordering the plain, and which to the westward is bounded by the precipitous ravine of the *Asopus*, which river here traverses the mountain nearly in the same oblique direction in which it crosses the plain. To the right of the *Asopus* for two miles are seen the great precipices from which the city Trachis derived its name, and which about the middle

advance considerably into the plain. Above them are seen some small villages, situated on cultivated slopes, extending as far as the great summit which is called Patriótiko, or Patratzikiótiko, from its being immediately above Neópatra, or Patratzík. This summit is covered with firs and other trees. Between the cliffs of Trachis or *Heracleia*, to the westward, and the still higher precipices called Katavóthra, where the valley is narrowest, a cultivated declivity advances into the *Trachinian* plain. Here on the edge of the plain are the villages Vardhátes, Alpóspata, and Franzí. A remarkable chasm separates the south easternmost summit of the Patriótiko from the Katavóthra, and terminates to the left of the heights of Franzí in a ravine which descends into the plain near Alpóspata, half way between the end of the *Trachinian Rocks* and the point of Franzí. Here and at the foot of the gorge of the *Asopus*, the land of *Trachis* is highest, and from these two points it subsides gradually to the *Spercheius*. This river is now known by the name of Elládha[1]; Mount *Callidromus* is called Sarómata, —the *Asopus*, Karvunariá.

A pezodhrómo well acquainted with all this country, informs me that there is a road of not above two hours along the upper region of the mountain from Dhrakospiliá to Pundonítza, which he has often traversed. It is undoubtedly by the same route that Hydarnes crossed the mountain, and the pézo may possibly be a descendant of his

[1] Ἑλλάδα.

guide; for neither the barbarians of the east nor of the north seem to have colonized much in *Melis*, if we may judge by the names of places, which are chiefly of Greek derivation.

Livy thus describes the Œtæan barrier[1]: "These mountains which divide Greece in the middle, as Italy is divided by the ridge of the Apennine, extend in a continued line from Leucas and the western sea to that on the eastern side of Greece; they are so uneven and rocky, that not only armies, but even ordinary pedestrians find a difficulty in crossing them by the few paths which they afford. At the eastern extremity they are named Œta, and their highest summit Callidromon, at the foot of which, towards the Maliac Gulf, there is a pass only sixty paces in breadth. This is the only military road which affords the means of transit to an army, when it meets with no impediment from an opponent. Hence the place is denominated Pylæ, and sometimes Thermopylæ, the latter name being derived from some hot waters, which have their sources in the pass itself."

Strabo agrees with Livy in considering the proper Œta to have been the eastern portion of the ridge which stretches across the continent from the Ambracic Gulf, as well as in describing the summit nearest to Thermopylæ as the highest point of Œta[2]; in which latter opinion, however, they were both mistaken, Mount Patriótiko being

[1] Liv. l. 36, c. 15.

[2] Τραχὺ καὶ ὑψηλὸν, ὑψηλότατον δὲ κατὰ τὰς Θερμοπύλας. —Strabo, p. 428.

considerably higher. Strabo further remarks, that Œta was 200 stades in length, that it terminated towards the sea in precipices which left only a narrow passage for the road from Thessaly into Locris, and that the pass was called Pylæ, or Stena, or Thermopylæ, which last appellation was derived from some hot waters, sacred to Hercules. He adds that the mountain which rises above the pass bore the name of Callidromum, though some gave this denomination to the whole range, extending through Ætolia and Acarnania to the Ambracic Gulf; and that near Thermopylæ, within the Straits, were several fortresses, namely, Nicæa on the sea shore of Locris, —higher up Teichius, and Heracleia, which was founded by the Lacedæmonians in a position six stades distant from the ancient Trachis, and Rhoduntia, in a strong situation. The geographer then subjoins some remarks borrowed from Herodotus, who, as his object was that of tracing the progress of Xerxes and his host through the eastern part of Greece, confined himself to a description of the eastern extremity of that belt of country which is referred to by Livy and Strabo. After having described the march of the Persian army through Thessaly and the Achaian Phthiotis, Herodotus states that Xerxes then entered Melis, near a gulf where the sea ebbs and flows. "Here," he continues, "is a plain, large in one part, and in another very narrow. High and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, surround the land of Melis. The first city in the gulf, proceeding from Achaia, is Anticyra, near which the river Spercheius, flowing from the Æmianes,

falls into the sea. About 20 stades from it is another river, named Dyras, which is reported to have first made its appearance to relieve Hercules when he was burning. Twenty stades farther is a third river called Melas, five stades distant from which is the city Trachis. Between the mountains where Trachis stands and the sea, the plain is widest; its whole surface contains 22,000 plethra. In the mountain which encircles the Trachinian land, there is an opening[1] to the southward of Trachis, from which the river Asopus issues, and then flows along the foot of the mountains. To the south of the Asopus is a small river, named Phœnix, from whence to Thermopylæ the distance is 15 stades[2]."

A comparison of this passage with the topographical sketches at the end of this volume, will, it is hoped, carry with it the conviction, that the names mentioned by Herodotus are there correctly placed, notwithstanding the surprising change which appears to have taken place in consequence of the accumulation of soil brought down from the upper country by the rivers, especially the Spercheius. The Asopus is recognized by its διασφὰξ, or rocky gorge, through which it issues into the plain: between it and the Spercheius are found the two streams corresponding to the Melas and Dyras, which now, instead of falling separately into the sea, unite, and then discharge their waters, as does the Asopus itself, into the Spercheius. The latter, instead of meeting the coast

[1] διασφάξ.

[2] Herodot. l. 7, c. 198.

nearly opposite to *Lamia*, as it appears to have done in the time of the Persian war, not only receives the Dyras, Melas, and Asopus, as tributary streams, but continues its course on a line parallel to the pass of Thermopylæ[1], at a distance of a mile from the hot sources. It then forms a delta in that new plain which has been created beyond the pass, and which has thus caused the head of the gulf to be removed three or four miles from its ancient position. The consequence is, that all the lower plain, although intersected with marshes at all seasons, and scarcely passable in the winter, affords in summer a road through it from Zitúni to Mola, which leaves *Thermopylæ* two or three miles on the right, and renders it of little or no importance as a pass in that season. This I had particularly occasion to remark on my former visit to *Thermopylæ* and Zitúni, which was in the month of July.

The inclination of the new course of the Spercheius, in the direction of Thermopylæ, and towards the south-western corner of the head of the gulf seems connected with the form of the high land on either side of the plain. As the Œtæan chain rises much more abruptly than the ridge on which Lamia stood, it is probable that when the gulf extended as far westward as the meridian of Lamia, the deepest water was towards the southern shore, whence the new plain formed itself more speedily on the northern than on the southern

[1] The plan being intended only to describe the pass of Thermopylæ, the windings of the river have not been regarded.

side, and the new stream had therefore a tendency towards Thermopylæ. So copious, however, is the deposit from the salt springs, and so rapid the formation of new soil below them, that this cause has been sufficient, together with the alluvion of Mount Callidromus, aided perhaps by the Asopus, to prevent the Spercheius from approaching nearer than a mile from the foot of the mountain. The increase of land at the head of the gulf is still rapidly continuing; for I remember to have observed, on my former journey, some of those basins for making salt which are common on the coast of Greece, so far removed from the shore that they had been abandoned, and new salt-pans had been constructed nearer the sea.

Nov. 26.—This day, at 12.45, leaving Zitúni for Neópatra, we traverse the plain to a bridge near Franzí, crossing some rice-grounds, which, though they have not been cultivated for some years, impede us by the little mounds of earth which serve to divide the ground into small squares for irrigation: we afterwards follow the bed of a canal (αὐλάκι) made for the same purpose, and at 1.23 cross the *Spercheius*. The bridge consists of planks strewn with earth and resting upon trunks of trees supported by the piers of a stone bridge, which was carried away by an inundation. From hence we resume a winding course among corn-fields, and at 1.55, at the foot of the hills below the village of Franzí, join the route from Sálona to Neópatra. Here is a mill turned by a very considerable stream of water, which descends to the Elládha. Mount *Callidromus* is well seen from hence in pro-

file, giving a perfect idea of the track pursued by the Persians after they had attained the part of the mountain near Dhrakospiliá; for this practicable ground, which comparatively may be called a plain, occupies the entire face of the mountain between the summit and the precipices, overhanging *Thermopylæ*, and beyond this elevated region there seems no longer any great difficulty in descending to the positions of *Nicæa* and *Alpeni*. We now follow the foot of the magnificent precipices named Katavóthra, and at 2.17 leave the small village of Kostaléxi, a little above us on the left. At 2.35 pass along the edge of another named Komoládhes, below which there is a small wood of plane-trees. Here the Turk, proprietor of the village, advances from his pyrgo, and invites us to lodge with him. The river is at a small distance on the right, but leaves a broad plain on the opposite side; the valley is narrowest opposite to Franzí. Our road now continues, as far as Neópatra, along a stony slope formed by the torrents descending from the gorges of Mount Katavóthra, which rises like an immense wall, shading the road from the afternoon sun for several hours, like the similar precipices at Mistrá. But the Katavóthra are much higher than the abrupt terminations of Mount *Taygetum* in the *Spartan* valley. We arrive in the town at 4.

Neópatra, by the Turks called Badrajík, stands partly at the head of a long stony slope, similar to that below Mount Katavóthra, and partly upon a ridge which rises at the back of the slope, terminating above in a steep detached summit of a

peaked form. On this height are the ruins of a small castle of Lower Greek construction, or perhaps a work of the Franks in the fourteenth century, when Neópatra was conquered from the Greek despot of Western Greece by the Catalans, and became a part of the duchy of Athens under the Spanish sovereigns of Sicily until Thessaly was overrun by the Turks. The ridge is protected on either side by a ravine, in which flows a torrent, (ῥεῦμα); that on the west has a wide gravelly bed; the eastern is shaded by plane trees, and waters numerous gardens around a suburb which stands below the ridge on that side. These streams do not fail in summer, but after turning many mills, irrigate plantations of tobacco in the plain. The *Spercheius*, or Elládha, is diverted from the general course in which it descends to the sea from the westward by the long projection of the hill of Neópatra, which forms a diminishing ridge almost as far as the river's bank.

The town is inhabited by about 500 Turkish and 150 Greek families. Their proportion accounts for the prevalence of the Turco-Greek name, Πατρατζήκι, in preference to that of Neópatra. The latter however is well known to be the right appellation, and the bishop is styled τῶν Νεῶν Πατρῶν. Almost all the power is in the hands of an Albanian Bey, placed here by Alý Pashá. The district contains between 30 and 40 villages, all Greek; not long ago there were 70, so great have been the emigrations of late from this part of the country. The major part of these villages are in the subjacent plain. The town contains one church besides the

metropolitan, and a third unfinished, which the Greeks have lately been permitted by Alý Pashá to rebuild. The streams and gardens of the town, and its lofty position are very agreeable, but the air is said to be unwholesome in the summer and autumn, which the natives ascribe to the exhalations of the tobacco plant, though undoubtedly the rice-grounds, as at Zitúni, equally contribute, and probably the overhanging mountains, as well as the want of a good Imbát in the *Maliac* Gulf, which is too narrow and too much excluded from the open sea by surrounding mountains to receive in perfection that great corrector of the air in the maritime parts of Greece.

There is no direct road over the mountains from Neópatra to Sálona: the usual route falls into that from Zitúni to Sálona at the ascent of the *Œtæan* pass. That from Neópatra into Thessaly passes the Elládha nearly opposite to the village of Ghenokládha[1], and crosses the opposite hill at the dervéni of Karyá, so called from a small village of that name to the left of the road: it then descends upon Taukli, near which it joins the road from Zitúni to Dhomokó. The hills which bound the valley of Neópatra to the north are included in its district, but immediately beyond them begins that of 'Agrafa. Not far above Neópatra the plain widens to the breadth of five miles, and here the Elládha is joined by the Vistrítza, a large branch which descends with great rapidity through a gorge dividing the Patriótiko from a peaked mountain lying between the former and Mount

[1] Γενοκλάδα.

Velúkhi. The Vistrítza crosses the plain obliquely in a wide gravelly bed, and joins the Elládha immediately opposite to Neópatra, at a distance of three or four miles. Its waters, like those of the Elládha, serve to irrigate some rice-fields in the lowest part of the valley.

About ten miles above Neópatra, the valley of the *Spercheius* is reduced to narrow limits by the approximation of the two ranges of hills. Karpenísi is reckoned nine hours from hence, its position lying to the left of the summit of Velúkhi, near the sources of a branch of the Aspropótamo which joins the main stream near the monastery of Tetárna. The sources of the Elládha are on the northern and eastern sides of the same mountain, which seems clearly therefore to be the ancient Tymphrestus; for Strabo states that the Spercheius had its origin in Tymphrestus, and that Mount Othrys extended from the Maliac Gulf to Tymphrestus and Dolopia[1]. The two most distant tributaries of this river flow from Neókhorio of Kostriáva in 'Agrafa, and from Mavrílo in the district of Neópatra. These streams are joined by other branches from the summit, intermediate between *Œta* and *Tymphrestus*, but by none of any magnitude from the *Othryan* range of mountains. The Vistrítza, which is almost as large

[1] . . . . τῆς Ὄθρυος, ὄρους πρὸς ἄρκτον κειμένου τῇ Φθιώτιδι, ὁμόρου δὲ τῷ Τυμφρηστῷ τῷ ὄρει καὶ τοῖς Δόλοψιν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρατείνοντος εἰς τὰ πλησίον τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου . . . . . .

Τοῦ δὲ Σπερχειοῦ μεμνημένος (Homerus scil.) πολλάκις, ὡς ἐπιχωρίου ποταμοῦ, τὰς πήγας ἔχοντος ἐκ Τυμφρηστοῦ, Δρυοπικοῦ ὄρους . . . . . ἐκδιδόντος δὲ πλησίον Θερμοπυλῶν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ Λαμίας. — Strabo, p. 433.

as the Elládha itself, originates in a ridge which stretches in a south-easterly direction, uniting Velúkhi with Vardhúsi, and which, from its forests of beach, is known by the name of Oxiés.

There are many large quadrangular blocks of stone, and foundations of ancient walls, on the heights of Neópatra, as well as in the buildings of the town, particularly about the mosques and fountains: several of these remains are of white marble, of a species different from the Attic, and which was probably quarried in the adjacent mountains. I observed some shafts of columns of this material, but could not find a capital. In the metropolitan church, which is a wretched old building with a falling roof, there is a handsome shaft of white marble, and on the outside of the wall an inscription in small characters of the best times: of which I was unable to decipher any more than the three last words—*ἀπὸ Ὑπαταίων πάντων*. Another stone, inscribed in a similar character, is sufficiently legible to show that it recorded grants of proxenia to foreign benefactors. As in one of these records the Hypatæi, and in another the council, or magistrates of the Ænianes, conferred the favour[1], we may infer not

[1] The following are some parts of it:— . . . . . ϕ Ὑπαταῖοι ἔδοσαν προξε(νίαν . . . . . (ἐπι)νομίαν ἔγκτησιν πάντων αὐτῷ καὶ (ἐγγόνοις) . . . . καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοι(ς προξένοις) . . . . .
Ἀρχόντων Ἀντινόου . . . . Ἀρίστων . . αισελάου .
. . . . προξενίας Φαινίου . . . .
. . . . Λέων Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . .
τῶν Αἰνιάνων ἔδωκε προξενίαν Σωσιστράτῳ Φιλέου Ἀθηναίῳ· (ἐγγ)όνοι τᾶς προξεν(ίας Δι)καίαρχος Ἀκρίωνος, Πυῤῥίας Καλλ . .
V. Inscription, No. 18.

only that Neópatra is the site of Hypata, but that Hypata was in the country of the Ænianes, and probably their chief town: the grant in one case was perhaps confined to Hypata, and in the other extended to the whole district. The latter inscription is on a broken block of white marble, lying under a plane-tree near a fountain in the Jewish burying-ground, and not far above the western torrent; on the opposite side of which an ancient sepulchre was lately excavated. It produced nothing but bones; but it serves to confirm the very natural supposition that the city was bounded by the two torrents. If Hypata was the chief town of the Ænianes, we have an obvious reason for the non-existence of any coins of Hypata; the money coined here having probably all had the inscription *Αἰνιάνων*.

The length of 200 stades which Strabo assigns to the proper Œta, seems to leave little doubt that the Mount Patriótiko, which is the highest point in this part of the country, is the proper summit of Œta; and it is not improbable that the name Hypata may have been originally Hypœta, as having been situated immediately under Œta. But there was also a city Œta, said to have been founded by Amphissus, son of Apollo and Dryope[1], where it is to be supposed that the beautiful coins with the legend *Οἰταίων* were struck. As Herodotus and Thucydides distinguish the Œtæi from the Trachinii, and as Stephanus describes Œta to have been a city of the Melienses, we have good reason for

[1] Antonin. Liberal. c. 32.

believing that it stood at the foot of Mount Patriótiko, towards the *Trachinian* plain. It was the same place, perhaps, as the ἱερὸν ἄστυ, to which, according to Callimachus, the Hyperborean offerings were sent from Dodona in their way to Delus[1], and which gave name apparently to the Hierenses, one of the three tribes of the Malienses[2]. Œta may have been called the sacred city, from the worship of Hercules, and because near it, on the mountain, was Pyra, where Hercules was said to have died on the burning pile,—a place of such sacred celebrity, that the Roman Consul, Acilius, ascended thither from Heracleia to offer sacrifice, continuing his route from thence across Œta and Corax to Naupactus[3].

The two other tribes of the Malienses were the Paralii and Trachinii, the former of whom evidently occupied the maritime towns of Anticyra, Phalara, and Echinus, the latter the opposite mountains, with the adjacent part of the plain round Heracleia. As to Lamia, although once a city of the Paralii, it would seem afterwards to have been altogether separated from Melis; for we find coins both of the Μαλιέων and Λαμιέων. *Echinus*[4] preserves its name, slightly corrupted into Akhinó, *Phalara* was probably the modern Stylídha, and *Anticyra*, which stood at the mouth of the Spercheius[5], should now be

[1] Δεύτερον ἱερὸν ἄστυ καὶ οὔρεα Μηλίδος αἴης.
Hymn. in Delum. v. 287.

[2] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 92.

[3] Liv. l. 36, c. 30.

[4] Scymn. Ch. v. 602.

[5] Herodot. l. 7, c. 198. Strabo, p. 428.

sought for towards the middle of the plain below Zitúni. There were some other towns of the Malienses, the names of which only are preserved, without any indication of exact locality, such as Colaceia [1], Ægoneia [2], and Irus, or Ira [3].

With these particulars as to the position of the Malienses and Ænianes, there is little difficulty in adjusting the local distribution of the other small districts, which were surrounded by Doris, Locris, Thessaly, and Ætolia. Their exact boundaries cannot easily be defined, but their relative situation may be inferred from that of their cities. Included between the south-eastern extremity of the Thessalian plains and Melis were the Phthiotæ, whose towns have not been named by Homer. Their capital at that time was probably Pharsalus; in latter ages, when Phthiotis extended to the Pagasæan Gulf, and maritime commerce was in its meridian, Thebæ Phthioticæ rivalled Pharsalus.

Westward of the Pharsalia was Dolopia, a mountainous country, which, falling to the great Thessalian plain, extended westward to Athamania, and bordered southward on Ætolia and the Ænianes. It corresponded to the northern and eastern part of the modern 'Agrafa; its principal town is not specified in ancient history. The situation of Dryopis is exactly indicated by a passage of Strabo already referred to, which shows it to have been adjacent to Mount Tymphrestus,

[1] Theopomp. ap. Athen. l. 6, c. 16.

[2] Lycophr. v. 903. Stephan. in Αἰγώνεια.

[3] Schol. in Lycophr. ibid. Stephan. in Ἴρα, Ἶρος.

now Velúkhi; whence, on comparing this fact with other geographical data which have been mentioned, the general inference may be drawn, that the Dryopes occupied the upper valleys of the Spercheius, and the Ænianes the lower, as far as the entrance into the plains of *Melis*, near the modern Franzí. The Ænianes derived their name perhaps from Anias, which, as it often occurs simply, or in composition as a river's name, both in Greece and Italy, would seem to have been a generic word for river in the Pelasgic tongue. There is some reason to believe, from a story related by Plutarch, that the great branch of the Elládha, called Vistrítza, was anciently named Inachus. He states, that in the last migration of the Ænianes, they removed from Crissa to the country on a river Inachus, which was partly occupied by Inachii and Achæi, and that the Ænianes acquired this portion when Hyperochus, king of the Inachii, had been slain by Phemius, king of the Ænianes [1].

Nov. 27.—At 1.30 P.M., setting out from Neópatra we descend by a path which conducts along the side of the mountain above the lower suburb, where on the skirts of the upper town, the remains

[1] Plutarch, Qu. Gr. 13. Phemius killed Hyperochus in single combat with a sling; for which reason a slinger is represented on some of the coins of the Ænianes. According to Plutarch, Phemius prevailed over his adversary in the same manner in which Melanthus of Attica slew Xanthus, king of Bœotia. Hyperochus was followed by a dog. Phemius exclaimed against his coming to the encounter with an attendant; and as he turned round, in consequence of the exclamation, discharged the fatal bullet.

of a very massive Hellenic wall are observable on the brow of the slope, showing that Hypata occupied exactly the site of the present town. On a rock close by a piece of ancient wall, on the side of the eastern torrent, are two niches; one of these is in the form of a cockle-shell, the other, which is perpendicularly above it, is quadrilateral. On the descent of the hills, beyond the gardens of the lower Makhalá, is a handsome wood of elms, chestnuts, and other trees, and many sources of water by the road side. We enter the valley through a wood of plane trees, at 2 join the road by which we came, and retrace it as far as the point near Franzí, where we arrive at 4. From thence an ascent of a quarter of an hour brings us to the village. On the edge of the plain a labourer was sowing barley, and another behind him, ploughing it in. In the lower level very little besides maize and rice is grown. The cottage in which I am lodged is neat and comfortable. The owner of it asks my servant secretly whether it is true, as reported in the village, that all the plain belongs to me, and that I am come to look at the state of it; but, adds he, "When will he come with his palikária and take possession?"

Nov. 28.—Departing from Franzí this morning at 7.52, we descend the hill obliquely, and cross at 8.4, on the edge of the plain, a wide avláki, or artificial channel, which conducts a deep and rapid stream towards the mill on our left, which I mentioned on the 26th. From the mill the stream descends directly to the Elládha, but the water is

for the most part consumed in watering plantations of cotton and maize. It is a derivation from the Gurgo-potamó, a torrent which descends from the great chasm of Mount Œta, between the Katavóthra and Mount Patriótiko, described on the 25th.

We now enter the plain which below Franzí expands to a breadth of six or eight miles, and proceed in the direction of the rocks of *Trachis*, by which I mean those near the site of that city, for as Herodotus states, that all the lofty mountains which surrounded this plain were called the Trachinian rocks[1], it would seem that he meant to include among them the precipices of Mount Katavóthra, which were four or five miles from the site of *Trachis*. At 8.15 we cross the Gurgo-potamó, a clear, rapid, perennial stream, which, after passing through Moskokhóri, joins the Elládha two miles below that village. The *Trachinian* plain is little cultivated, and much overgrown with agnus-castus and oleander. At 8.25 Alpóspata, a small village of fifteen or twenty houses, is a quarter of a mile on the right. We here cross a small rivulet running down into the plain. At 8.32 we are at the low point of hill which appears from Zitúni to project into the plain to the right of the rocks of *Trachis*. It is commanded at the back by a round hill, behind which a gentle slope ascends to the foot of some great precipices, which are a continuation of the Katavóthra. On the slope stands

[1] *οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα γῆν, Τρηχινίαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι.—*Herodot. l. 7, c. 198. *περικληίει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα*

the village of Dhyo-vuniá (two hills). The round height has much the appearance of the site of an ancient Acropolis, but a man of Alpóspata, of whom I inquire, knows of no remains of ancient walls there, nor can I perceive any, though we make the semi-tour of the hill at no great distance. It may, nevertheless, be the site of the city Œta, or ἱερὸν ἄστυ of Callimachus, for it lies immediately at the foot of the great summit of Œta, and is also very near the borders of the plain of Melis. Alpóspata occupies the lowest declivity of the hill on the north-eastern side. Proceeding in the same direction, at 8.41 we have the small village of Vardhátes half a mile on the right, at the foot of the hill, and at a few paces on the left of the road an ancient tumulus, near the angle where the rocks of *Trachis* begin to overhang the plain. At 8.46 cross a streamlet running from right to left in the direction of those precipices, and at 8.52 arrive at the foot of the rocks, which rise to the height of four or five hundred feet with great magnificence and beauty, the bareness of the rock being relieved at intervals by patches of green shrubs hanging over it. Continuing along the foot of the precipices, we arrived at 8.59 at their most projecting point, as observed from Zitúni, on either side of which are several sources, issuing from below the rocks, and collecting into two streams which meet below the projection. The united river flows from thence across the plain in the direction of Moskokhóri, a little above which village it joins the Gurgo-potamó. The sources and river are called the Mavra-néria; the streamlet, which we

crossed at 8.46, is a branch of it. It seems clear that the Gurgo is the Dyras, and the Mavra-néria the Melas, of which word the modern name is a synonym. In the time of Herodotus these two streams, which now unite and fall into the Spercheius, discharged themselves separately into the sea. A little before arriving at the projecting point, the road, in order to avoid the rivers and springs, ascends a steep rocky slope, which at this place forms the base of the rocks. It continues thus passing just above the springs till 9.3, when it again enters the level at the foot of the rocks. From hence for half a mile onwards, towards the gorge of the *Asopus*, there are many catacombs excavated in the side of the perpendicular rocks. Some of these have narrow entrances, others are square and open, and one has a curved roof. Within they are (at least all those I entered) plain sepulchral chambers, small and low. These catacombs and their distance from the sources of the Mavra-néria, agreeing with that of five stades, which Herodotus places between the river Melas and Trachis, determine the position of this city; the direction which the rocks take from the projecting point to the Asopus, equally justifies his remark, that the Asopus was to the south of Trachis.

Fifty-four years after the events described by Herodotus, or in the year B.C. 426, which was the sixth of the Peloponnesian war, Trachis received a colony of Lacedæmonians, in consequence of a complaint made by the Trachinii in conjunction with their neighbours of Doris, from whom the

Lacedæmonians were supposed to derive their origin, that they were harassed by the surrounding Œtæi, and no longer able to defend themselves[1]. Thucydides, from whom we learn this fact, asserts that Heracleia was situated at a distance of forty stades from Thermopylæ, and of twenty from the sea, which latter number, if it be not below the truth, shows that the sea still reached at that time to the western extremity of the heights of Thermopylæ. After the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, B.C. 191, Heracleia was besieged and taken from the Ætolians by the Romans under Acilius, and the circumstances of this conquest, as extracted from Polybius by Livy, are well illustrated by the topography. The consul having divided his army into four bodies, placed one of them on the Asopus, near the gymnasium, another near the citadel, a third at the temple of Diana, on the banks of the Melas, and the fourth towards the Maliac gulf. The approach was most difficult in the last direction, which is accounted for by another remark of the historian, namely, that the plain of Heracleia was marshy, and abounded in lofty trees. These, however, were very useful to the Romans, who, finding moreover every other kind of building materials necessary for their works in the deserted houses of the suburbs, speedily constructed towers, battering-rams, and other implements used by the ancients in the attack of fortified places[2]. The

[1] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 92.

[2] Sita est Heraclea in radicibus Œtæ montis: ipsa in campo, arcem imminentem loco alto et undique præcipiti habet. Contemplatus omnia (Consul) quæ noscenda erant, quatuor simul locis adgredi urbem con-

Ætolians, nevertheless successfully maintained their positions in all the four quarters of attack for twenty-four days, when the consul, finding that the enemy's numbers and efforts were diminishing, resolved upon a general attack of the lower town, first deceiving the enemy by a feigned relaxation on his part, and then making a general assault in the fourth watch of the night. The Ætolians were surprised, and retired into the citadel. The next day the consul, after allowing his troops to plunder the town for some hours, divided them into two bodies; one of these he led by a circuitous route round the foot of the mountain to a rocky summit[1], which was equal to the citadel in height, and was separated from it only by a chasm so narrow, that the two summits were within the range of a missile[2]. The

stituit; a flumine Asopo, qua et gymnasium est, L. Valerium operibus atque obpugnationi præposuit: arcem extra muros, quæ frequentius prope quam urbs habitabatur, T. Sempronio Longo obpugnandam dedit: a sinu Maliaco, quæ aditum haud facilem pars habebat, M. Bæbium, ab altero amniculo, quem Melana vocant, adversus Dianæ templum, Ap. Claudium obposuit: Horum magno certamine intra paucos dies turres arietesque et alius omnis adparatus obpugnandarum urbium perficitur. Et quum ager Heracleensis paluster omnis frequensque proceris arboribus, benigne ad omne genus operum materiam subpeditabat, tum quia refugerant intra mœnia Ætoli, deserta, quæ in vestibulo urbis erant, tecta in varios usus non tigna modo et tabulas sed laterem quoque et cæmenta et saxa variæ magnitudinis præbebant.—Liv. l. 36, c. 22.

[1] This summit appears in the reign of Justinian to have been occupied by a fortress called Mycopolis.—Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 2.

[2] Revocatos inde a medio ferme die milites, quum in duas divisisset partes, unam radicibus montium circumduci ad rupem jussit, quæ fastigio alti-

occupation of this height was to be the signal to the Romans in the town to ascend against the citadel, but the Ætolians were now disheartened, and the citadel being crowded with women and children, and without any preparation for a further defence, they did not wait for the assault, but surrendered at the consul's discretion.

It seems quite clear from this account that the city occupied the low ground between the rivers Karvunariá and Mavra-néria, extending from the one to the other, as well as a considerable distance into the plain in a north-eastern direction. The citadel stood on the summit of the same precipice in the lower part of which are the catacombs. Its distance above the town justifies the words *extra muros*, which the historian applies to it, and may explain also the assertion of Strabo, that Heracleia was six stades distant from the ancient Trachis; for although the town of Heracleia seems to have occupied the same position as the Trachis of Herodotus, the citadel, which according to Livy was better inhabited in the Ætolian war than the city, may very possibly have been the only inhabited part of Heracleia two centuries later. The Latin historian has not left us the means of judging of the route taken by the Roman division which seized upon the summit near the citadel,—whether

tudinis par, media valle velut abrupta ab arce erat; sed adeo prope geminata cacumina eorum montium sunt, ut ex vertice altero conjici tela in arcem possint: cum dimidia parte militum consul ab urbe escensurus in arcem, signum ab iis qui ab tergo in rupem evasuri sunt, expectabat. Non tulere qui in arce erat, Ætoli, &c.—Liv. l. 36, c. 24.

by the ravine of the Asopus, or round the western end of the rocks near Vardhátes. I am informed that some vestiges of the citadel of Heracleia still remain, but they are not visible from below; and as it would require a long detour on foot to reach them, I was under the necessity of giving up the attempt.

The marshy plain, which in the consulship of Acilius, occupied the space between the northern wall of Heracleia and the shore of the Maliac Gulf, we may suppose to have been narrower and more difficult at an earlier period, when Heracleia consequently more completely commanded the passes from Thessaly into Southern Greece, as well along the shore by Thermopylæ into Locris, as over Mount Œta into Doris; and this consideration illustrates a passage in Xenophon, who informs us that when Jason of Pheræ returned from Bœotia into Thessaly after the battle of Leuctra, (B.C. 371,) he destroyed the walls of Heracleia, in order that they might not be an impediment to his own free passage into Greece[1]. At a later period its possession by the Ætolians was a main cause of the power of that people which balanced that of Macedonia under the successors of Alexander, especially when after the termination of the Epirote monarchy they obtained Ambracia, and thus extended their wings to either shore of continental Greece. Had they been a virtuous and prudent people, or had they been

[1] *μή τινες τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὖσαν καταλαβόντες, εἴργοιεν αὐτὸν εἴ που βούλοιτο τῆς Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι.*—Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6, c. 4.

guided at the right time by such counsellors as their prætor Agelas of Naupactus, they might have cemented such an alliance as would have saved Greece from the Romans; but all hope of successful resistance was lost when Heracleia fell, and two years afterwards Ambracia.

Having quitted the catacombs, after a delay of five minutes we ride in a direction a little to the right of the point at which the pass of Thermopylæ begins. This part of the plain is quite uncultivated, and overgrown with shrubs. At 9.22 we cross the Karvunariá or *Asopus*, half a mile below the rocky opening from which it issues into the plain, and opposite to the ruins of the village of Mustafá Bey. Within the gorge there are perpendicular precipices on either side, as far up the stream as the view admits: those on the left bank are intermixed with wood. The ravine after some distance winds to the eastward, or exactly in the direction which Hydarnes wished to follow in his march over the mountain. At 9.40 the part of the *Œtæan* ridge, on which stands Nevrópoli, and which I crossed in 1802 on the way from Zitúni and the bridge of Alemána to Graviá, and Sálona is on our right. A little farther a torrent issues from a small ravine and passes into the plain in several rills, over a slope a quarter of a mile in breadth, which has been formed in process of time by the deposition of the torrent: a part of the stream terminates in a marshy spot at the foot of the slope; another part serves to fill an avláki used for irrigating some cotton-grounds on the left. As generally found

at the issue of torrents from the mountains, the surface of the ground is gravelly, and shaded with planes and other trees.

At 9.48, half a mile to our right, the road to Dhamastá begins to ascend the mountain: we halt three minutes, and then proceed through cotton-fields watered by another small rill from the hills on the right. At 10.4 arrive at the point where begins the western pass, or false Thermopylæ, as it may be called. At 10.8 cross the first stream of mineral water, which runs with rapidity towards the *Spercheius*, leaving a great quantity of red deposit. This I take to be the *Phœnix*, so called, probably, from the colour of its sediment. Strabo, indeed, derives the name from a hero Phœnicius; but the Greeks were fond of an heroic etymology for their names, and as Herodotus clearly describes the Phœnix to have been in a narrow psss westward of Anthele, and fifteen stades from the real Thermopylæ, which is found exactly to be true as applied to this red rivulet, there can be little or no doubt of the identity. The junction of the *Asopus* and *Spercheius* is on our left, a little below the khan of Alemána. The ground being still white and hard with frost under the shade of the point, and the air very cold, the stream of the *Phœnix* is covered with vapour, though it is much cooler than that of *Thermopylæ*. Nor is it so much impregnated with salt. The red deposit also, which may indicate the presence iron, shows that the water differs from that of *Thermopylæ*, which leaves only a white crust. The plain between this place and the *Spercheius*,

which is now covered with a fine grass, furnishing pasture to sheep and goats, appears to have been formed by the deposit of the springs in the course of ages. The soil, however, has not accumulated so rapidly here as below the springs of Thermopylæ. At 10.11 we arrive at a second salt spring or source of the *Phœnix*, issuing at an angle of the steep bank or cliff, and flowing to the former rivulet: here we join the road from Zitúni, which now passes over the foot of the heights. Below on the left are cotton-fields, and in one place some appearance of the marsh, which in former ages was impassable in every part, and reached nearly to the foot of the cliffs.

At the entrance of the road over the heights there is a fountain of fresh water constructed in the usual manner with a low wall, a small basin, and a spout supplied by a pipe. These Turkish fountains, as they are usually called, are probably nothing more than the Greek κρῆναι continued to the present day, with such changes only in the decorations as the Turkish religion and manners have required, arabesques with sentences from the Koran, or the name of the builder, being substituted for the elegant ornaments of architecture, or the sculptures allusive to their mythology, which the Greeks employed.

At 10.20 the heights terminate, and in one minute more we cross a stream of cold salt water, frozen at the edges, and then enter upon that which Herodotus calls the plain of Anthele. This is a long triangular slope, formed of a hard gravelly soil and covered with shrubs. It is bounded above

by a rocky ravine which separates the cliffs of the false from those of the real Thermopylæ; and it appears to have been formed in the process of time by the alluvial matter brought from the mountain through the gorge. The plain is broadest where the road crosses it, narrowing from thence to a point towards the *Spercheius*, where it terminates. The precipices at the head of the plain of *Anthele* prevent all approach on that side except through the gorge; but this affords an easy though very defensible access from the plain of the *Asopus* by passing above the cliffs of the *Phœnix* or false *Thermopylæ*. In the middle of the plain of *Anthele*, at 10.30, we cross the deep bed of a torrent now dry, but flowing copiously in times of rain. On my former visit I searched in vain, when passing the greatest part of two days at Thermopylæ, for any remains of Anthele, or of the buildings mentioned by Herodotus which formed the place of meeting of the Amphictyonic council. At 10.40 we arrive at the end of the plain, and enter upon the white elevated soil formed by the deposit of the salt-springs of the proper Thermopylæ. The upper source is in a corner retired within the line of termination of the plain of Anthele, immediately at the foot of the highest part of the great cliffs. The soil appears to have been very much raised in the course of ages by the deposit. The water is inclosed within a receptacle of masonry, about two feet in depth, and is seen springing from the earth below. Some small superfluities from this basin run down the white slope, but the main stream formerly serving to turn a mill which is now in ruins, issues from the

foot of the slope, its previous course from the spring to the issue being below the calcareous crust or deposit. Some of the veins of water which contribute to it are visible through apertures in the crust at a depth of a foot and a half below the present surface. From the upper or western to the lower or eastern hot spring, the distance is two hundred yards. Between them a path conducts to some vineyards on the table summit of a precipice which is advanced in front of the great cliffs, but ascends no farther; the ordinary path from the pass to Drakospiliá leading by a church which is situated on the heights above the western cliffs, to which there is an ascent by the bed of the torrent of *Anthele*. The sides of the mountain immediately over the pass (for the great precipices are some distance farther back) are covered with a thick wood of wild olive, holly-oak, lentisk, and other common shrubs.

From the lower source there is a distance of 400 yards to a mill which is still in use, the road leading along the avláki or artificial canal, which conducts the water to the mill. The water in the avláki is deep, and runs with rapidity, emitting a vapour which has a strong sulphureous smell. The sides of the canal, both within and without, are clothed with a thick white fetid deposit, which consists chiefly of carbonate of lime, but seems to retain a considerable portion of sulphur. The deposition of this substance is so rapid that the twigs of the plants which hang into the water, and even the green leaves, are partly covered with it; a fact which easily accounts for some of the changes that

have occurred in the elevation of the surface and the strength of the pass in the course of twenty-three centuries. The water throws out a great volume of smoke as it issues from the mill. It appears that there was formerly another mill below, for the avláki is continued, though in a ruinous state, beyond the existing mill, along the foot of the two conical heights marked in the plan, the easternmost of which is crowned with the guard house of the dervéni. Beyond this height the canal ceases, and the water is suffered to flow in a natural course down to the river. A lake of the same water as the springs, but not hot, occupies all the space between the mill and the western conical height, a distance of 150 yards; the avláki is there carried along the edge of the lake. There is another smaller pond behind the dervéni, or eastern conical height, towards its western side. The water of these pools, like that of the principal hot source, is very bright, and of a deep blue colour, thus illustrating in some measure the remark of Pausanias, that the bluest water he ever saw was in one of the baths at Thermopylæ[1]. The coolness of the water of the two lakes may be ascribed to the slowness with which they are supplied by the subterraneous veins, for the water being of the same composition as that of the hot springs, is probably hot also at its issue from the ground. The difference in quality between the water of the Phœnix and

[1] *γλυκύτατον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, οὔτι που πᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν, ἥντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι χύτρους γυναικείους.* — Pausan. Messen. c. 35.

that of Thermopylæ, is practically shown by the cultivators of the cotton plantations, who carefully exclude the water of Thermopylæ from the cotton, whereas they use that of the Phœnix to irrigate it. Neither of the two heights just mentioned, though very regular in form, has the smallest appearance of being artificial, and in fact each of them is united by means of a small ridge with the mountain: from the western to the eastern there is a distance of 250 yards, and 400 more to the point where the road, leaving the white soil formed by the deposit of the thermal waters, begins to ascend through the wood. This is the eastern extremity of the real pass of Thermopylæ, as the plain of Anthele is the western.

At a few minutes within the wood stands a mill turned by a small torrent of fresh water from the mountain, and belonging to a monastery of St. George, above Mola: three men of Dhrakospiliá had just arrived to take possession of the mill, having hired it of the convent, on condition of paying thirty-five kuvélia of flour of eighteen okes each, to the convent yearly. They inform me, that though there are thirty houses at Dhrakospiliá, there are no more than four families now residing there, but that they have little reason to regret the reduction of their numbers, as they are now less tormented by Turkish visitations, particularly that of the Dervent Agá, a deputy of Velý Pashá, who has four or five hundred men under his command, and travels continually in the neighbourhood of these passes, quartering and living upon the villages. We met some of his palikária in the pass; the

Agá himself was at Neópatra. There was a sharp frost under the shade of the mountain in the pass, and the edges of the salt streams were frozen. Here in the sun, at the mill, it is warmer than is agreeable. Not far from this spot was probably situated Alpeni, or Alponus, the frontier town of Locris.

At 12.40 we continue to ascend through the wood, in which, among other shrubs, there is an abundance of large myrtles; at 1.35 cross the foundations of a Hellenic wall, traceable for a considerable distance in an oblique direction towards the cliffs, which are a continuation of those overhanging and forming the pass of Thermopylæ, and which are here about half a mile on our right. Similar remains are observable between the upper and lower cliffs immediately above Thermopylæ, the remains of works by which the pass has at various times been fortified. The foundations of the wall which we cross in the road are nearly opposite to the height on the left; where, as I mentioned on the 25th, I found on my former visit a tumulus, and the foundations of a circular monument, just above a deep marsh near the right bank of the *Spercheius*. It is very probable that the Hellenic wall was carried from the cliffs to this point as an advanced defence to the pass on the eastern side, and that there stood the town of Nicæa. Thus far I can see no place where the Persians could have descended. To our left on the declivity are some small Kalývia, and fields of kalambókki. At 1.50 we arrive at a fountain immediately below a rocky ravine, between two of

the lower heights of *Callidromus*. This ravine is stony and narrow, but is said to afford a route, though difficult, to Dhrakospiliá and the summit of the mountain, passing by the monastery of Ai Iánni, which is situated an hour above the fountain. With the telescope I perceive some foundations of ancient masonry on the round summit of the lower, which is the smaller and westernmost of the two heights bordering the ravine. These summits which are nearly a mile distant from the fountain, are themselves very steep, but below them, as well as around the fountain, there is a level pasture and an easy descent in every direction, both to the maritime plain and to the pass. Leaving the fountain at 2, we cross half an hour afterwards a deep ravine in which the torrents, descending from the summit of *Callidromus*, are collected into one bed. It is the easiest and most direct passage to the summit of the mountain: no more than two hours being required to reach Dhrakospiliá by this route, though an equal time is employed in proceeding to the same place from Ai Iánni, which is only half the distance. It is probably, therefore, the route by which the Persians under Hydarnes descended from the summit of the mountain; for Herodotus remarks, that their descent was much shorter and less circuitous than the route by which they ascended [1], which may be partly accounted for by the facility of route afforded by the ravine, and partly by the summit being nearer to this end of the ridge than to the Asopian plain, from whence Hydarnes began his march.

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 223.

At 3 we enter the town of Pundonítza.

In referring the ancient descriptions of Thermopylæ, or the allusions to it contained in history, to the real topography, we are immediately sensible of the great change which the place has undergone from natural causes in the intermediate time. The strength of Thermopylæ as a pass now depends upon the season of the year, for as the sea, instead of bordering the defile, is now at a distance of three or four miles from it, the difficulty of passing Thermopylæ depends on the dry or marshy state of the plain. At the Phœnix, or Western Pass, there is still in winter only a narrow road at the foot of the hill, bordered by marshes; but as these in summer afford intervals for cultivation, they would likewise admit of the passage of troops into the plain of Anthele. In the Eastern Pass, or proper Thermopylæ, there is in like manner a plain, more than half a mile in breadth, between the pass and the Spercheius, and this plain also, although marshy and sometimes impassable in winter, is partly cultivated in summer, and presents no difficulties of passage. Between this level and the cliffs, moreover, there is a slope formed of the calcareous depositions of the springs, dry at all seasons, and in some places four or five hundred yards in breadth.

To show how different this state of the place is from that which it presented at the time of the Persian invasion, it will be sufficient to extract the description of the pass by Herodotus, together with his narrative of the circumstances which accompanied the death of Leonidas and his three hundred heroes. "From the river Phœnix," he says,

" to Thermopylæ, there is a distance of fifteen stades. Between them stands the town named Anthele, near which the Asopus falls into the sea. Here the country is open, and contains the temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, and the seats of the Amphictyones, and the temple of Amphictyon. Xerxes the king stationed his army in Trachinia of Melis, and the Greeks in the pass called by the natives Pylæ, but Thermopylæ by the Greeks in general[1]." The following passage is more particular: "The entrance into Greece through Trachis is half a plethrum in breadth[2] where it is most confined. The narrowest part of all the country, however, is not there, but before and behind Thermopylæ:— behind, near Alpeni, where the road admits only of one chariot; and before, at the river Phœnix, near the city Anthele, where also the space is no more than sufficient for a single carriage. To the west of Thermopylæ a mountain inaccessible, precipitous, and lofty, extends to Œta. On the eastern side of the defile, are the sea and marshes. In the Strait are the hot-baths called by the natives Chytri, where stands an altar of Hercules[3]. Anciently there was a wall with a gate in the pass, which had been erected by the Phocenses, when fearful of being invaded by the Thessali, who had come from Thesprotia to inhabit the Œolic land which they now possess. The Phocenses used every contrivance to shut the entrance of their land against the Thessali, and among other things let loose the hot water upon

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 200.

[2] This is the pass, which afterwards made Heracleia of importance, see p. 30.

[3] The waters were sacred to Hercules.—Strabo, p. 428.

the pass to form a torrent. As the greater part of the wall lay in ruins, the Greeks thought right, upon the present occasion, to repair it, and make use of it as a defence against the barbarians. They resolved also, as the town Alpeni was very near, that the Greeks in the Strait should be supplied from thence with provisions. In this pass the Greeks, having examined the places and found them convenient, resolved to await the attack, judging that here the barbarians could neither derive advantage from their immense numbers, nor make use of their cavalry. Having departed therefore from the Isthmus as soon as they heard of the arrival of the enemy in Pieria, some went in ships to Artemisium, and others by land to Thermopylæ[1]." Of the road over the upper part of Mount Callidromus the historian thus speaks:—"This path[2] was discovered by the inhabitants of Melis, who made use of it to conduct the Thessalians against the Phocenses, when the latter shut the pass of Thermopylæ with a wall; from that time the path had been of no use to the people of Melis. It began from the rocky opening[3] of the Asopus, and was named, as well as the mountain over which it leads, Anopæa. It passes over the crest of the mountain[4], and terminates towards Alpeni, the frontier town of Locris, and towards the rock called Melampygus, and the seats of the Cercopes, where the road is narrowest. By this path the Persians marched," &c.

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 176.

[2] ἄτραπος.

[3] διασφάγος.

[4] κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὔρεος.

Three accidents concurred to frustrate the endeavours of the Panhellenic council at the isthmus to defend Thermopylæ. They were ignorant of the path over Mount Anopæa, by which the position might be taken in reverse, Leonidas himself having only been informed of it by the Trachinii on his arrival, when he sent 1000 Phocenses to defend that route[1]. Secondly, there was no expectation when Leonidas marched from the isthmus that the troops at Thermopylæ would be soon attacked, the consequence of which was, that none of the allied states dispatched more than a small force in the first instance. And lastly, a religious ceremony, as had happened in the former Persian invasion, contributed to interpose a delay in the movements of the main body of the Spartans, while the Olympic games produced a similar effect in the rest of Greece. It appears, indeed, that the Spartans would not have sent any of their forces so soon, had it not been with a view to set an example to the allies, and thereby prevent them from embracing the interests of Persia[2].

The allies had only time to reach Thermopylæ and repair the Phocian wall, when the Persians made their appearance before the pass. On the part of all the Peloponnesians, except the Spartans, there was a wish to reserve their efforts for the defence of the isthmus of Corinth; but as this gave great offence to the men of Phocis and Locris, who were supported by Leonidas, it was at last resolved to remain at Thermopylæ, and to

[1] Herodot: l. 7, c. 175. 212. [2] Ibid. c. 206. 217.

dispatch messengers to hasten the march of the remainder of the allied forces[1]. Xerxes, meantime, had been informed that a small body of men, headed by the Lacedæmonians and their king Leonidas, occupied the pass; but he could not believe that they really meant to defend it against his multitude, though such was the positive assurance of Demaratus king of Sparta, who, in the same manner as Hippias the king of Athens had guided Datis in the invasion of Attica, accompanied the Persian monarch in the present expedition. Xerxes seems to have been ignorant of the real numbers of the Greeks; for the single horseman whom he sent for information, and who was allowed to approach unmolested, found only the three hundred Spartans on the outside of the wall, which concealed the remainder of the Greek forces. The Spartans were engaged, some in their gymnastic exercises, and others in combing their hair, which being their custom when they were on the point of exposing their lives to imminent danger, proved to Demaratus that they were resolved upon defending the position to the last extremity. Xerxes, however, was still incredulous, and wasted four days in expectation of their retreat. On the fifth he sent a detachment of Medes and Cissi against them. These, and others who succeeded them, having fought the whole day without making any impression upon the Greeks, Xerxes was at length convinced that though he had many men he had few soldiers[2]. On the sixth day from that on

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 176, 207.

[2] *πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.* c. 210.

which the Persian horseman reconnoitred the Greeks, they were attacked by the Immortals[1]; but these also soon found that their numbers were of no advantage in such narrow ground, against the long spears and large shields of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians, who were the men chiefly engaged in this day's action, retired several times as if defeated, and then suddenly facing about, overthrew great numbers of their opponents[2].

On the following day the Greeks were not less successful in maintaining their post. All the allies were present except the Phocians, who were guarding the passage over the mountain. Xerxes, convinced at length of the infinite superiority of the Greek soldier, was reduced to such a state of embarrassment, as might have made Mount Œta the term of his expedition, had the allied forces of the Greeks arrived in time to defend the upper passage of Mount Anopæa as well as Thermopylæ had already been defended. It seems to have been on the eighth day of the operations that the Persian king obtained from a Trachinian named Ephialtes, whose countrymen had joined the Persian army[3], a knowledge of the path over the

[1] So called because they were always kept complete to the number of 10,000; their commander was Hydarnes.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 83.

[2] Diodorus (l. 11, c. 7) remarks, that the small shields and short javelins of the Persians rendered them agile, and well suited for action in a plain, but unfit to contend with the Lacedæmonians in the Pass, who, secure under the cover of their large shields, inflicted their blows with fatal certainty upon the light-armed and ill-protected Persians.

[3] Ctes. Persic. 24.

mountain, by which he might send a body of men into the rear of the Greeks, and thus attack their position on both sides [1]. In the evening, Hydarnes with the Immortals began his passage over the mountain, by a circuitous path which at first ascended the ravine of the Asopus. He marched all night, with the mountains of the Œtæi on the right, and those of the Trachinii on the left, and arrived at daybreak near the place where the Phocians were posted. As the enemy advanced, unseen, through a forest of oaks which covered the upper parts of the mountain, the Phocians would have been surprised had not the rustling of the dead leaves under the feet of the enemy, which the calmness of the morning rendered audible, advertized them of the approach of a large body of men. They had only time to arm, when a shower of Persian arrows obliged them to retreat to a more defensible position upon the summit of the mountain [2], where imagining that the enemy had come expressly to attack them, they prepared to resist to the last. This movement being precisely what the Persians wished, they took no further notice of the Phocians, but descended the mountain. Meantime, the Greeks at Thermopylæ had heard of the movement of Hydarnes, and the whole camp was informed of it before day-light. A council was immediately held; the result of which was, that all the Greeks should retire to their respective cities, except the Lacedæmonians,

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 213.

[2] *ἐπὶ τοῦ οὔρεος τὸν κόρυμβον.*—c. 218.

Thespienses, and Thebans. Ephialtes, having calculated that he should arrive at the eastern end of Thermopylæ about the middle of the forenoon, had recommended to Xerxes to attack the Greeks in front about that time. The Persians advanced accordingly, and Leonidas met them in the widest part of the pass, having advanced in front of the wall. Great numbers of the Persians were slain, many fell into the sea, and many were trodden to death under the feet of their own comrades. The Greeks, knowing that they could not avoid their fate when the Persians should arrive in the rear, fought with all the energy of despair, and having broken their spears, came to action with their swords alone. Here fell Leonidas, and two of the half brothers of Xerxes. The chief contest was now for the body of the Spartan king, which the Greeks at length gained possession of, after having four times obliged the enemy to retreat. Thus each side had alternately the advantage, until the arrival of Hydarnes, when the Greeks, retreating to the narrowest ground, retired behind the wall, and from thence gained the hill in the pass, upon which a stone lion was afterwards erected in honour of Leonidas. Here, assailed on every side, they were all buried under the missile weapons of the enemy, with the exception of the Thebans, who had been retained by Leonidas solely because their city was already suspected of medizing; and who, when the Greeks retreated to the hill, advanced to meet the Persians, when some were slain as they approached; the rest had quarter,

but were afterwards branded with the royal mark of Xerxes [1].

Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin, give a very different account of the death of the Spartans, representing that they penetrated in the night into the camp of Xerxes, and there fell, after slaughtering the Persians for several hours. This improbable tale deserves not a moment's confidence, when opposed to the historian who was a cotemporary of the heroes of Thermopylæ.

According to an epitaph on the polyandrium at Thermopylæ, cited by Herodotus, "4000 Peloponnesians fought there against 300 myriads[2]." His enumeration, however, amounts only to 3100[3]. There is reason to believe, therefore, that Isocrates and Diodorus were right in supposing the 300 Spartans to have been exclusive of the Lacedæmonians[4]. From the cities of Greece northward of

[1] Herodot. l. 7. c. 233. Plutarch (de Malign. Herodot.) denies the truth of this story, and gives it as an instance of the malice of Herodotus.

[2] Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο,
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.
Ap. Herodot. l. 7, c. 228.

[3]
300 Spartans.
1000 Tegeatæ and Mantinenses.
120 of Orchomenus in Arcadia.
1000 other Arcadians.
400 Corinthians.
200 of Phlius.
80 of Mycenæ.
Total, 3100
Herodot. l. 7, c. 202.

[4] Isocrat. paneg. vol. i. p. 223.—in Archid. vol. ii. p. 78, ed. Auger.—Diodor. l. 11, c. 4. In the former the number is 1000 altogether. In the latter, 1000 besides the 300 Spartans.

the Isthmus there were about 3000[1], and as all the 7000 were hoplitæ, and were undoubtedly attended by a proportion of light-armed, it is probable that about 10,000 Greeks were assembled, when the impossibility of defending the pass having been proved, the Spartans and Thespienses alone under Leonidas and Demophilus, devoted themselves, by remaining, to certain destruction[2].

The Persian land forces assembled in Melis amounted, according to Herodotus, to 80,000 Asiatic cavalry, and two millions of infantry, among whom were included 300,000 Europeans from Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and other states of Greece, and the followers of the camp were even more numerous than the combatants[3]. The only proof which the historian has left to corroborate this statement is the *mural* measurement of the Asiatic infantry in the plain of Doriscus in Thrace, where 10,000 men having been set apart and made to stand close together, a wall was built round them, and the inclosure was successively filled until the whole army was thus counted, and found to amount to 1,700,000[4].

Such a process, if carefully and fairly executed, could scarcely have failed to produce an approximation to the truth within 10,000. It is obvious,

[1] 700 of Thespia.
400 of Thebes.
1000 Phocians.
——
2100, to whom are to be added the Eastern Locrians, (Herodot. ubi sup.) who went *ναυστρατίῃ*. These are reckoned at 6000 by Pausanias, but much more probably by Diodorus at 1000.

[2] To these Pausanias (Phocic. c. 20) adds the Mycenæi.

[3] Herodot. l. 7, c. 184, 185.

[4] Herodot. l. 7, c. 60.

however, that there may have been many persons interested in producing a false muster. We may readily credit that the host of Xerxes was one of the largest which ever entered an enemy's country. Asiatic armies have always been greater in proportion than those of other countries, in consequence of the peculiar structure of society, which pervades almost the whole of that continent. And in this instance we know the numbers assembled to have been the result of a four-years' preparation, to have been collected from the whole Persian empire, which then included Egypt as well as all Western Asia, and to have been augmented by the forces of Europe, from the extremity of Thrace to the foot of Mount Œta. But some of the same causes, which facilitate the collection of large armies in the east, render it difficult to arrive at any certainty as to their exact numbers; and the impossibility of finding subsistence in an enemy's country for such a multitude, although attended as they were by all the naval forces of the states which supplied the troops, is alone sufficient to justify a disbelief in the numbers of Herodotus.

The silence of Persian history on the invasion of Greece has been supposed to invalidate the truth of the whole transaction, or at least to show that it was nothing more than an expedition of some provincial satrap, magnified by Grecian vanity, and which being unsuccessful, the Persians took no great pains to record. But no person who has reflected on the history of Greece, or has read Herodotus with attention, will easily entertain such an opinion. With the sole exception of the amount

of the enemy's land forces, there is no reason to question the statements of Herodotus, who in his narrative of the Persian invasion has left us one of the most cautious and accurate narratives that ever was written, not even excepting those of Thucydides and Polybius. The conquest of Egypt is no more recorded in Persian history than the failure of the expedition to Greece. The oblivion of both these events we may attribute to the same cause: namely, the total loss of the literature and history of ancient Persia, of which the arrow-headed character was the element. A few names only of the ancient monarchs seem to have escaped that literary wreck.

The following are a few reflexions occurring on a view of the scene of this celebrated event. Thermopylæ appears to have been the name generally applied to the whole road or passage at the foot of Mount Callidromus, from the plain of the Asopus to the woody slopes which commence a little beyond the modern dervéni. But it is distinctly divisible into three parts, the pass of the Phœnix, the plain of Anthele, and Thermopylæ proper. The latter was the only part very defensible against a great disparity of numbers; for, as I have already remarked, it is not difficult to turn the pass of the Phœnix from the westward, and to descend upon the plain of Anthele, which being more than half a mile in breadth, leaves only for the real Stená or pass, the part where are the hot springs, anciently called Chytri, and now Thermá[1], toge-

[1] τὰ Θερμά.

ther with the two ponds of the same kind of water, and the two conical heights. Above all these rise immediately steep woody slopes mixed with rocky precipices, behind which are other precipices still higher, which impede all communication but along the foot of the hill by the hot sources, ponds, and conical heights. Herodotus gives reason to believe that the wall of the Phocians was built a little eastward of the western salt spring, which issues on the eastern edge of the upper extremity of the plain of Anthele, so that the current from this spring may have flowed along the exterior side of the wall. The κολωνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, or hill[1] in the pass, which was the last retreat of the Spartans, and where the stone lion was erected in honour of Leonidas, I take to have been the western of the two small heights, this being nearest to the position of the Phocian wall, and the narrowest part of the pass, which begins to widen near the hill of the Dervéni. The latter moreover being rocky, whereas the former is smooth and even, will better correspond to the rock Melampygus, upon which were the Κερκώπων ἕδραι, or seats of the Cercopes[2]. A little beyond this hill eastward, the pass terminates: the woody heights, which rise steeply

[1] The word κολωνὸς is used by Plutarch as well as Herodotus, and applies precisely to such heights as the two in the pass of Thermopylæ.

[2] The Cercopes were robbers who infested the pass, and who were subdued by Hercules. The rock Melampygus was so called from a ridiculous μῦθος, connected with this feat of Hercules, which forms the subject of a very ancient sculpture on a metope of one of the temples of Selinus in Sicily.

from the saline sources and ponds, diminish in height, and at the same time recede to the southward, leaving at their feet a long practicable slope covered with wood, which reaches to the marshes near the mouth of the Spercheius, and which I traversed on quitting *Thermopylæ* for Pundonítza.

In regard to the route of Hydarnes from the plain of Trachis, over Mount Callidromus, otherwise named Anopæa, to Alpeni, there can be little doubt from the words of Herodotus, that it began by ascending the ravine of the Asopus [1], which, having (as before remarked) a direction from the eastward, and being perfectly concealed, was thus well adapted to the object of the movement of Hydarnes. After following the ravine for some distance, a rugged and circuitous ascent would conduct him to Dhamastá, from whence the route was comparatively easy to Dhrakospiliá, a little beyond which probably was the position of the Phocians. After engaging with them until they retreated to the neighbouring summit of the mountain now called Sarómata, he descended by the torrent, which I crossed at 2.30, and turning westward on arriving at the modern route from Pundonítza to *Thermopylæ*, reached, without any further difficulty, the position of *Alpeni* and the eastern end of the pass. As he quitted the camp of Xerxes in the dusk of the evening, and arrived

[1] Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἄτραπος αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 216.

at the Phocian position at day-break, he was about eight hours on his march, the transaction having taken place in the beginning of August. Even if the road had been as good as the ground could possibly admit, the distance could not have been less than twelve miles: on considering, therefore, the steepness of the ascent from the vale of the Asopus, the varied surface of the mountain in the upper region, the necessary halts and other delays incidental to the march of 10,000 men by such a path as the historian has described, partly through a thick forest, and in the night, the time does not seem too much in proportion to the distance to be performed. The descent was not much less than the ascent in actual distance but was very different in other respects, being little encumbered with rugged ground or forests; and the march was performed by day. These causes combined would produce a great diminution in time; so that Hydarnes probably was not more than five hours in the descent, including the delay occasioned by the skirmish with the Phocians, and may have arrived at Alpeni about nine o'clock in the forenoon. The only difficulty in the historian's narrative is, that he states Hydarnes, in commencing his march, to have left the mountains of the Œtæi on his right hand, and those of the Trachinii on his left, which tends to the belief that he began his ascent from the plain to the westward of the *Trachinian* rocks, about the modern Vardhátes. But as this would have doubled the distance, and the words of Herodotus decisively indicate the ravine of the Karvunariá as

the beginning of his route, we are to conclude that all the summits above the city of Trachis and the Trachinian rocks, on one of which the citadel of Heracleia was afterwards built, then belonged to the Œtæi. The Trachinia, it is easy to conceive, comprehended all the mountain Callidromus, as far as the boundaries of Locris; and thus, notwithstanding the *city* Trachis was on the right of Hydarnes, the Œtæan *mountains*, during a great part of his march, may have been on the right, while the Trachinian were on his left. The stillness of the dawn, which saved the Phocians from being surprised, is very characteristic of the climate of Greece in the season when the occurrence took place, and like many other trifling circumstances occurring in the history of the Persian invasion, is an interesting proof of the accuracy and veracity of the historian.

A little more than two centuries after the Persian invasion, in the year B.C. 279, the Gauls, whose appetite for plunder had been more excited than satisfied by that of Italy, Illyria, Pannonia, and Thrace, turned their steps towards Greece, which then offered a more tempting field for the plunderer than any country in the world. They first made their appearance in Macedonia, where in two successive years they defeated Ptolemy Ceraunus and Sosthenes[1]. Elated with this success, they now advanced towards the southern provinces of Greece, having principally in view the pillage of

[1] Polyb. l. 9, c. 35. Pausan. Phocic. c. 19. Justin. l. 24, c. 5.

the temples of Greece, and particularly that of Delphi. They were met at Thermopylæ by an allied army of Greeks, amounting to about 23,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry [1], together with all the Athenian triremes which could be collected. The chief management of the war was entrusted to the Athenians, who were led by Callippus, son of Mœrocles.

The Greeks, having destroyed the bridges of the Spercheius, and stationed a body of troops to oppose the Gauls in crossing at the same point, Brennus effected a passage with 10,000 men nearer to the sea, where the river spreading over the low grounds formed a lake and marshes instead of the single and steady stream which it presented higher up. Loftiness of stature, says Pausanias, being a general characteristic of the Celtic race, some of their tallest men waded over the marshes, while

[1] The following is the enumeration of the several contingents, by Pausanias :—

	Foot.	*Horse.*
From Bœotia	10,000	500
Phocis	3,000	500
Locris Opontia	700	
Megaris	400	
Ætolia	7,090	
Athens	1,000	500
Antiochus, king of Syria	500	
Antigonus, king of Macedonia	500	
	23,190	1,500
Add for the horse of the Megarenses and Ætoli, whose numbers are not specified, about		800
Total,	23,190	2,300

some employed their shields as rafts, and others passed over by swimming. The Greeks then withdrew their forces from the river, and retired within the pass of Thermopylæ. The next measure of Brennus was that of obliging the people of Melis to construct bridges over the Spercheius, and he then crossed with his whole army, which had consisted, when he first entered Greece, of upwards of 200,000 men [1]. After having laid waste the country, and murdered the inhabitants around Heracleia, which was then in the possession of the Ætolians, he proceeded against the Greeks in Thermopylæ. Being informed of their amount by some fugitives, and despising the smallness of their numbers, he attacked them at sun-rise on the day after his arrival at the entrance of the pass. But neither the military skill nor the armour of the Gallic infantry, qualified them to contend with Greeks. Their shields were a very insufficient covering, and their swords were made to cut only, having no point [2]. The cavalry, in consequence of the narrowness of the ground and of the rocks and torrents was of no use on either side. The Gauls attacked with their accustomed impetuosity [3], and fought with the utmost perseverance

[1]

Horse	20,400
Two mounted attendants to each horseman	40,800
Infantry	152,000
	213,200

According to Justin, the Gauls entered Macedonia with 120,000 infantry, and 15,000 cavalry.

[2] Polyb. l. 2, c. 30. 33; [3] Id. l. 2, c. 33. 35. l. 3, c. 114.

notwithstanding the wounds inflicted by the battle-axes and swords of the hoplitæ, as well as by the javelins and arrows of the light-armed. Many even drew out the missiles of the Greeks from their own bodies, to hurl them back upon the enemy. Unable, therefore, with all their efforts to obtain any advantage, they regained their camp, after considerable loss, by a retreat as tumultuous and confused as their attack had been, and in which those who were trodden to death by their own comrades or who were lost in the marshes, were not less numerous than those who fell in the engagement. The success of the day was in great measure due to the Athenian galleys, which were conducted with great difficulty and danger through the marshes, until their missiles were brought to bear upon the enemy.

On the seventh day after the battle, a body of Gauls ascended Mount Œta by a narrow path near the ruins of Trachis, not with a view of crossing the mountain into the rear of the Greek position, but for the purpose of plundering a temple of Minerva, situated above the ruins of Trachis. They were met and beaten by the Ætolians from Heracleia, whose commander, Telesarchus, fell in the action. Brennus now attempted to detach the Ætolians from the confederate army, by undertaking an expedition into their country with the view of thus obliging them to march to its defence: 40,000 Gallic infantry and 8000 horse having crossed the Spercheius, as if marching into Thessaly, suddenly entered Ætolia and attacked Callium, which they took and treated with the most

merciless cruelty; but having been encountered on their return by the Ætolians from Thermopylæ reinforced from various parts of Ætolia, they were completely defeated, and not half their number returned to the camp of Brennus.

An example of that selfishness and disunion which has been the bane of Greece in every age was now destined to favour the invader. The Heracleotæ and Ænianes, tired of the protracted stay of the enemy in their territory, and thinking only of the readiest means of ridding themselves of the evil, undertook to guide the Gauls across Mount Callidromus by the same path[1] which the Persians had followed. Brennus resolved upon conducting the expedition in person. Leaving Acichorius, therefore, in charge of the main army, with orders to attack the Greeks in front, as soon as those who crossed the mountain should arrive in their rear, he ascended Callidromus at the head of 40,000 men.

A body of Phocians, for the defence of the road, had been stationed on the mountain, as in the time of Xerxes, and to as little purpose. A dense vapour covering the summit, the Phocians were not apprized of the approach of the Gauls until they were attacked, when, after a short resistance, they retreated with all expedition to their comrades at Thermopylæ. The whole army then embarked in the Athenian galleys, and thus effected its retreat without further loss. Brennus, upon learn-

[1] *ἄτραπος* is the word applied to this road by all authors from Herodotus to Procopius. The modern word is *μονοπάτι*.

ing that Thermopylæ was evacuated by the enemy, without waiting for Acichorius marched forward to Delphi, where he suffered a variety of disasters which the Greeks believed to have been caused by an immediate interposition of Apollo in defence of his sanctuary. If Pausanias was truly informed, the Greeks were assisted on this occasion both by an earthquake which detached some of the rocks of Parnassus and rolled them upon the enemy, and by a thunder-storm which was succeeded by snow and a supernatural degree of cold. The next day they were attacked in the rear by the Phocians, when Brennus with difficulty escaped, and effected a junction with Acichorius. A panic terror caused the Gauls to kill one another; and the Greeks, assembling from all sides, harassed them to such a degree that with difficulty they regained the Spercheius, when they were again so vigorously assailed by the Thessalians, that, if Pausanias is to be believed, not one returned from Greece.

Although there may be some superstitious exaggeration in the accounts which obtained credit in Greece of this defeat of the Gauls, none of the circumstances are incredible in a country so subject to earthquakes, and thunder-storms, and to sudden changes of temperature in the mountains. No place in Greece is more likely than Delphi to be the scene of such a conflict of the elements, or is better suited, by its local peculiarities to produce the effect upon ignorant strangers which Pausanias has described. When terror had once overpowered the minds of the invaders their destruction easily followed, exposed as they were to

an enemy well acquainted with all the natural resources of the country, and ready to harass them in their retreat through some of the most difficult passes in Greece.

In the year 207 B.C., when Eastern Greece was the seat of war between Philip, king of Macedonia, son of Demetrius, and the Ætolians, who were then in alliance with the Romans, and with Attalus, king of Pergamus, the pass of Thermopylæ was fortified by the Ætolians with a foss and dyke, which was soon afterwards taken by Philip[1]. Sixteen years afterwards, Thermopylæ was occupied by Antiochus, king of Syria, when at war with the Romans, who were then in alliance with Philip. Antiochus brought with him 10,000 infantry, 500 horse, and six elephants[2]. The Ætolians were also opposed to the Romans, but afforded little assistance to Antiochus. The consul Acilius, commander of the Roman army, after laying waste the districts of Hypata and Heracleia, both which cities were then in the hands of the Ætolians, encamped in the pass near the fountains of hot water, over against the king, who had fortified his position with a wall, and a double ditch and rampart, and who, mindful of what had happened to the Lacedæmonians in former time as well as recently to Philip[3], had prevailed upon the

[1] Liv. l. 28, cc. 5. 7.

[2] Liv. l. 35, c. 43; l. 36, cc. 15. 19.

[3] Et nuper Philippum ab iisdem Romanis. It is thus incidentally only that Livy mentions this fact, which, although the word nuper seems hardly applicable to such a space of time, could hardly have occurred but during the campaign of 207, B.C.

Ætolians to occupy with 2000 men three castles upon the mountain named Tichius, Rhoduntia, and Callidromum[1]; upon learning which the consul detached Flaccus his legate against Tichius and Rhoduntia, and Cato against Callidromum.

On the morning after the arrival of the Romans at Thermopylæ, both parties drew out their forces. Those of Antiochus were in two lines in front of the rampart, a part of his light-armed occupying the heights above the hot sources. The Macedonian Sarissophori was in the centre: on the right, as far as the marshes, were the elephants with their guards, and behind them the cavalry. The remainder of the army formed a second line. The position, though we may suppose it to have been somewhat increased in breadth since the time of the Persian, and even of the Gallic invasion, by the gradual effect of the same causes which have at length left a considerable plain between the pass and the Spercheius, was too narrow for such an order of battle as that of Antiochus, against infantry which had now established its superiority over the phalanx. His line, therefore, was obliged to retreat behind the first rampart, and was defending the second with some advantage, when the troops of Cato, who had surprised the Ætolians in Callidromum, appeared on the summit of the heights above the pass, threatening the rear of the king's position,

[1] Appian (Syriac. c. 17.) speaks only of two summits, Callidromum and Tichius, and adds that the Ætolians sent 1000 men to each of them. Plutarch, in his life of Cato, says their number was 600.

and the destruction of his whole army. A precipitate retreat was the immediate consequence, which would have been still more disastrous to the Greeks than it proved, had not the narrowness of the pass rendered the advance of the Roman infantry difficult, and that of the cavalry impossible, in face of the elephants, which the Romans at length found it more easy to kill than to capture. The pursuit, however, was continued as far as Scarpheia; scarcely any more than 500, who formed the body-guard of Antiochus, escaped to Chalcis, and the loss of the battle obliged Antiochus to retire into Asia.

There are still the remains of three Hellenic fortresses on the side of Mount Callidromus above Thermopylæ: one of these is on the westernmost of the two rocky heights which include the ravine of the torrent of *Anthele*; the second is above it, near Dhamastá; the third occupies the summit described by me at 1.50, as lying on the right of the road, about half way from *Thermopylæ* to Pundonítza. As the consul sent a single body of troops against Tichius and Rhoduntia, and another against Callidromum, it is natural to suppose that the two former were those not far distant from one another on the western side of the mountain, and I am disposed to believe that Tichius was the higher, as Appian gives the names of Tichius and Callidromum to two summits of the mountain. It will follow that Callidromum was the third fortress, the position of which accords with the circumstance of Cato, soon after he had taken Callidromum, having made his appearance on the hills

threatening the rear of the king's position, and consequently towards the eastern end of the pass. Had these fortresses existed at the time of the Persian or Gallic invasions, or even when Philip occupied Thermopylæ against the Romans and Ætolians, they would probably have been brought into notice on those occasions. They would seem, therefore, to have been constructed during the sixteen years which elapsed between the last-mentioned period and the Antiochian campaign; probably by the Ætolians, who had then extended their dominion from the borders of Ætolia proper, to those of Locris. The want of such an addition to the natural defences of this entrance into the southern provinces of Greece, had then been repeatedly proved, and the road over the mountain had thrice frustrated the hopes of the defenders of Thermopylæ, founded on the strength of the pass itself. The three fortresses were well placed for the object in view. Tichius defended the ascent of the mountain on the road by which Hydarnes crossed it. Rhoduntia protected the route by which the pass of the Phœnix may be turned through the ravine of *Anthele*, and Callidromum was equally well placed as a defence of the upper pass on the eastern side.

We are told by Procopius[1], that among other works which Justinian constructed for the defence of the empire, he restored the fortifications of Thermopylæ, and of some neighbouring towns. Scarcely any illustration of topography, however, is to be ob-

[1] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 2.

tained from the Byzantine historian, who had evidently no personal knowledge of the place, and whose inflated account exaggerates the power and performances of Justinian in the same degree as in his Secret History he studies to vilify his imperial master. The buildings of Justinian were probably of a very different composition from the solid constructions of the ancient Greeks, for while remains still exist, more or less considerable, of all the principal Hellenic cities round the Maliac Gulf, not a trace is to be found, as far as I can learn, either of the works which Justinian is said to have constructed at Thermopylæ, Heracleia, and Hypata, or of the towns of Saccus, Unnus, Coracion, Baleæ, or Leontarium, all which Procopius states to have been situated near Thermopylæ.

CHAPTER XI.

LOCRIS, PHOCIS, DORIS.

Pundonítza—Ternítza—Geography of *Doris* and the frontier of *Phocis*—Rivers Apostoliá and Kaienítza—River *Cephissus*—Dhadhí, *Amphicleia*—Velítza, *Tithorea*, *Neon*—Lefta, *Elateia*—Paleá Fiva, *Ledon*—*Lilæa*—Source of the *Cephissus*—*Charadra*, *Tithronium*, *Drymæa*—*Tetrapolis* of *Doris*—River *Erineus*, or *Pindus*, or *Acyphas*—*Erineus*, *Pindus*, *Cytinium*, *Bœum*—Departure from Velítza—Bissikéni—The Stená of the Cephissus—Dhavlía—Rivers Plataniá, Mavroneró—*Daulis*, Inscription—Aio Vlási—Mera—Kápurna—*Panopeús*—*Chæroneia*—Mount *Petrachus*—Arrival at Livadhía.

Pundonitza, or Bundonítza, according to the vulgar enunciation of the initial P, is a bishopric of the province of Athens, under the name of Medhinítza [1], and the chief place of a Turkish district comprehending 30 villages. The town, which contains 115 Greek families and 50 Turkish, stands at the foot of a steep rock, occupied by a castle of the middle ages, in the walls of which are some portions of Hellenic masonry, showing that it was the acropolis of one of the towns of the Epicnemidii. The hill rises from an elevated plain, stretching along the foot of a ridge which connects the summits anciently named *Callidromus* and *Cnemis*. The latter mountain, which commences

[1] Πουντονίτζα, Μεδηνίτζα.

at the end of this plain and extends to that of Tálanda, is woody and uncultivated, and is here generally known by the name of Karyá, from the nearest village. Half-way towards it from Pundonítza the pass of Fondána leads over the ridge to Turkokhório, or Essed, in the plain of the *Cephisus*. By this road I came to Pundonítza on my former visit.

The castle commands a fine view of the *Maliac* Gulf, and of the Straits on either side of *Eubœa*, together with a large portion of the northern part of that great island, particularly the peninsula *Cenæum*, now called Lithádha[1]. Beyond the straits, the gulf, and the plain of Zitúni, is seen the whole range of Mount *Othrys*. A little to the right of the southern mouth of the *Spercheius*, that of a large torrent is a conspicuous object. It is formed from the ravines mentioned at 1.50 and 2.30, added to the water-courses round Pundonítza. Its ancient name is not, I believe, to be found in history. The *Boagrius*, which is a similar but much larger torrent, enters the sea two or three miles farther to the east. It collects all the waters from the elevated plain and adjacent mountains to the eastward of Pundonítza. If the relative situations of the two divisions of Eastern Locris were not perfectly clear, the modern name Pundonítza might mislead the geographer, and induce him to suppose that Opus was here situated[2], Pundonítza being formed apparently from one of the oblique cases of Ὀπούς, by the omission of the

[1] Λιθάδα.

[2] Meletius has fallen into this error.

initial ο, which is a common Romaic corruption, and by the addition of the Greco-Illyric diminutive ιτζα. But the Epicnemidii were certainly interposed between Thermopylæ and the Opontii; Pundonítza, therefore, can only be regarded as an instance among many in Greece of the preservation of an ancient name in a different site, arising probably from one of those colonizations or movements of the inhabitants, which appear in all ages to have been common in this country. Neópatra, or New Patra, is a neighbouring example, greatly resembling that of Little Opus, at Pundonítza.

The upper *Epicnemidian* plain, as that of Pundonítza may be called, in contradistinction to the maritime level which contained some other towns of the Epicnemidii, may be considered as a continuation of the upper region of Mount *Callidromus*, already so often mentioned, in which Dhamastá and Dhrakospiliá are situated. All this elevated country, although unproductive compared with the rich *Spercheian* plain, is a most useful neighbour to it, by supplying the timber and fuel, in which the plains are deficient, and by affording a salubrious retreat from their pernicious exhalations in the summer. Callidromus in particular, which is well described by its name, consists entirely in its middle region, of a most agreeably diversified scene of pasture and corn land, intermixed with forests, rocks, and streams; and commanding by its elevation a variety of prospects of the most sublime and interesting character. The whole district of *Melis*, in short, is a complete

example of the great variety and resources of the climate and soil of Greece.

Nov. 29.—At a mile to the south of Pundonítza, we leave to the right a road to Dhrakospiliá, which follows the foot of the steep ridge, connecting *Callidromus* with *Cnemis*, and enter a narrow rocky opening in it, between two summits, of which that on the left is very lofty, and clothed with large fir-trees. The pass is a mile in length. In eight minutes beyond its extremity, mounting a rising ground, we suddenly open a magnificent view of the great mountains of *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, and *Attica*, from the western end of *Parnassus* as far as Mount *Parnes*, together with a great part of the lower country within these barriers. Below us extends the great valley of *Doris* and *Phocis*, contained between the *Œtæan* and the *Parnassian* ranges; and immediately opposite is the town of Dhadhí, or Dhadhiá[1], on the side of *Parnassus*, considerably increased since I was there between three and four years ago. I recognize also the other places on the opposite side of the valley, which I then visited, namely, the villages of Velítza and Suvála, on the side of Mount *Parnassus*,—higher in that mountain Agurianí, in the road which leads across it to *Delphi*,—at its foot the sources of the *Cephissus*, called Kefalovrýses,—the ruins at Paleókastro, and the pass and khan of Graviá, by which we proceeded to Sálona. The plain to the westward surrounded by *Callidromus*, *Œta*, and *Parnassus*, and watered by several streams, which unite and fall into the *Cephissus*, is well seen also from these hills.

[1] Δαδὶ, Δαδιά.

The position of the several objects, particularly that of the mountains, perfectly illustrates Strabo, and proves that the farther part of this great valley towards the west is a part of the ancient Doris; the ruins, therefore, which we then saw near Mariolátes and at Graviá, are those of two of the Dorian towns named by the geographer. It may be remarked also from hence, that the territory of Dhadhí forms a natural separation between the *Dorian* and the *Phocian* valley of the *Cephissus*; for here the hills on either side approaching, leave only a narrow passage for the river. The root of *Parnassus*, which forms the north-western point of the strait, meets the *Cephissus* about two miles to the north-west of Dhadhí, where the road from Zitúni passes the river by a bridge near some mills.

To the westward of this point are some copious springs at the foot of the hills, which form a marshy space for a quarter of a mile, and then join the river. These springs are usually called the μεγάλαις βρύσεις, or great sources; but though they bear this name from their forming a large marsh or inundation around them in winter, they are not so permanent or so considerable in summer as the other great sources three miles farther to the south-west at the foot of Parnassus, and which show by their name, κεφαλοβρύσεις, that they are now considered the fountain-head of the *Cephissus*. Near the Megáles Vrýses, to the south-west, begins a long slope, similar to that of Dhadhí, at the head of which is Suvála, where in my former tour I remarked ancient foundations, which probably mark the site of *Charadra*. The foot of the mountain

afterwards takes a turn, for a short distance, to the northward to the Kefalo-vrýses, which issue from under a platform supported by the remains of an ancient wall near a large ruined church. The course of the *Cephissus* is north-easterly from the sources to the extremity of the slope of Dhadhí, which it surrounds; it then gradually assumes the south-easterly course, which it follows to the Stená, leading into the plain of *Chæroneia*. A little to the right of the Kefalo-vrýses is seen the ravine of a torrent generally dry, which descends from Agurianí. On its left bank, on the edge of the plain, are the ruins called Paleókastro, one of the best preserved of Hellenic fortresses, and which a variety of authorities from Homer to Pausanias show to have been *Lilæa*, by their testimony that the sources of the Cephissus were at that town [1]; the nearest point of these remains is in fact less than half a mile from the Kefalovrýses [2]. To the right

[1] Οἵ τ' ἄρα πὰρ ποταμὸν Κηφισσὸν δῖον ἔναιον
Οἵ τε Λίλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφίσσοιο.
Hom. Il. B. v. 522.

Κηφισσὸν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα κιχήσαο καλλιρέεθρον
Ὅστε Λιλαίηθεν προχέει καλλίῤῥοον ὕδωρ.
Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 240.

propellentemque Lilæam
Cephissi glaciale caput.
Stat. Theb. l. 7, v. 348.

Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 3. 7.
Strabo, pp. 407. 424.
Pausan. Bœot. c. 24. Phocic. c. 8. 33.

[2] At Paleókastro the entire circuit of the fortification exists, partly founded on the steep descent of a rocky hill, the remainder encompassing a level space at its foot, where the ground is covered with ruins. The walls are of the

of Paleókastro occur the lower heights of Parnassus, much intersected with torrents running into the branch of the *Cephissus*, called the Kaienítza, or river of Graviá[1]. In a recess at the foot of *Parnassus*, from which one of these tributaries of the Kaenítza proceeds, and about midway between Paleókastro and Graviá are the ruins of an ancient town at the village of Mariolátes[2]. The Kaienítza, which had no water in it when I passed along its bank in the month of July, but is now a stream of some magnitude, flows parallel to and at a small distance from the foot of *Parnassus*, until near the Megáles Vrýses it unites with another and larger stream called Apostoliá, and then joins the *Cephissus*. The Apostoliá rises in Mount *Œta*, enters the plain towards its north-western corner, and crosses it obliquely. On, or not far from its left bank, is Kardhíki, situated on the right of the road from Zitúni to Sálona, in a forest of oaks, which not only covers that side of Mount *Callidromus*, but extends over all the neighbouring part of the plain. Below the forest the plain is well cultivated.

On the Apostoliá, above Kardhíki, is Pavlianí, and on this side of the road from Zitúni to Sálona, on the slope of the mountain, are Brálos, Paleo-

third order: some parts, both of the towers and curtains are almost entire. Pausanias observed at Lilæa a theatre, an agora, and baths, with temples of Apollo, and of Diana, each of which contained a statue of the deity, of Athenian workmanship, and of Pentelic marble.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 38.

[1] Καϊενίτζα, or Καγενίτζα, Γραβιά.

[2] Μαριολάτες.

khóri, Kamáres, Glúnista, and then Ternítza, to which latter village I descend in forty minutes, and then proceed to the ruins of a Hellenic fortress, situated about midway between Kamáres and Glúnista, which I observed from Dhadhí on my former visit. It is distant forty minutes from Ternítza, and occupied a rocky point of the mountain on the edge of the plain. Some of the towers remain nearly entire. The masonry is generally of the third order, but contains some pieces of the polygonal kind; the space enclosed is a triangle, of which none of the sides is more than 250 yards. At the summit is a circular Acropolis of about two acres, preserving the remains of an opening into the town. These are probably the ruins of Drymus or Drymæa, where Pausanias noticed an ancient temple of Ceres, containing an upright statue of the goddess in stone, and in whose honour a festival was celebrated named the Thesmophoria.

From the Paleókastro, I proceed, in thirty-five minutes, directly across the plain to the bridge near the mills already mentioned. This space is one continued corn-field, with an excellent soil. It is not yet ploughed for sowing. From the bridge we ascend, in forty minutes, to Dhadhí. At a third of the distance is the Kalývia of Dhadhí, consisting of upwards of one hundred huts for the use of the labourers and cattle of the Dhadhiotes. The space between Dhadhí and the river is a triangular slope, of which the village forms the vertex: at the river side or base the triangle is about three miles long; to the eastward it is bounded by a ridge which descends from *Parnassus* and forms

a projection at the river; and on the third side the triangle terminates in the point near the mills. Dhadhí, which is in the district of Livadhía, now contains five hundred families, having been much increased by emigrants flying from Turkish extortions in districts less protected at Constantinople than Livadhía has the good fortune to be, from its being a Vakúf of Mecca. It will probably not be long, however, before Dhadhí and Livadhía itself will suffer from the encroachment of Alý Pashá. Two handsome churches and a school have lately been built, and there is a large monastery of the Panaghía on the side of the mountain above the town. The houses are generally upon the same plan, consisting of two small rooms and a gallery in front of them. The galleries, for the most part, face the south-east, so that the gable ends of the houses, in which there is generally one small window, look down the slope. The people appear industrious and civil. The lands on the declivity below the village, although stony, yield a tolerable return in wheat and barley. In the valley below, where the soil is excellent, the return is eight to one, and would undoubtedly be much greater with a better mode of agriculture. The cotton-grounds which are below the narrow part of the valley, consume all the water of the *Cephissus* in summer, and leave it dry as far as the junction of the Mavroneró in the plain below *Daulis*.

A height which rises from the western side of the village of Dhadhí and is named the Paleókastro, from some remains of Hellenic walls encircling the summit, was evidently the Acropolis of a

town which occupied the side of the same rocky height, as far as the edge of the cultivated slope of Dhadhí.

An inscription in a church on the summit of the hill shows this city to have been Amphicleia: a fact very useful in arranging the τοποθεσία of the Phocian towns. Amphicleia, indeed, is not named in the inscription; but as the monument was erected in the sacred inclosure of Bacchus, in honour of one of his high-priests, and as Amphicleia was noted for the worship and orgies of that deity, there can be little doubt of the identity; especially as Pausanias has not described any other town of this valley as having contained a temple of Bacchus. The orgies were celebrated in a secret cell, into which Pausanias was not permitted to enter. The inscription appears to be nearly of his time, for the titles of the priest are exactly referrible to the political state in which he found Greece. Marcus Ulpius Damasippus, therefore, in whose honour the monument was raised, was one of those priests who enounced the oracles of Bacchus when under the influence of the Great God, as he is termed in the inscription, and who interpreted the dreams of suppliants for the cure of their diseases. The monument was erected by Quintilia Plutarcha, the wife of Damasippus, by authority of the council and people [1].

A papás of Dhadhí, who has succeeded to the influence of the high-priest of Bacchus in this

[1] The Inscription, when written in the cursive character, is as follows:—

place, and who has lately purchased a part of the fertile valley on the banks of the *Cephissus*, near the bridge, points out to me from the church in the Paleókastro the remains of another Hellenic ruin on the left bank of a deeply incased réma, at a tjiftlík called Mulki, immediately below the ruined mosque and village of Verzaná, which is said to have been formerly the chief town of this district.

Nov. 30.—Quitting Dhadhí at 9.30 for Velítza, we continue to follow the foot of the great summits of *Parnassus* nearly on the same level with Dhadhí; the *Cephissus* remaining at a distance of two or three miles to the left. Having arrived at 9.52 at an opening between the acclivities of Parnassus, where the ridge of Dhadhí terminates to the eastward, we begin to descend, though still

Ψηφίσματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου. M. Οὔλπιον Δαμάσιππον, *τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Διονύσου, τὸν Βοιωτάρχην, πατρὸς Βοιωτάρχου, Φωκάρχην, Ἀμφικτύονα, Θεήκολον, Πανέλληνα, Ἄρχοντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τελέσαντα λιτουργίας,* Κιντύλια Πλουτάρχη *ἡ γυνὴ τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα εὐνοίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν Διονύσου ἐν τεμένει.*—See Inscription, No. 20.

The following is the passage of Pausanias, which illustrates this document. It is imperfect, but the parts bearing upon the inscription are not doubtful, and the deficient words may be supplied by those between the brackets:—*Θεᾶς δὲ μάλιστα ἄξιόν (ἐστιν ἄδυτον, ἐν ᾧ) Διονύσῳ δρῶσιν ὄργια· ἔσοδος ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον, οὐδὲ ἐν φανερῷ σφισιν ἄγαλμα, οὐκ ἔστι· λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀμφικλειέων μάντιν τέ σφισι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καὶ βοηθὸν νόσων καθεστηκέναι· τὰ μὲν δὴ νοσήματα αὐτοῖς Ἀμφικλειεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἰᾶται δι' ὀνειράτων· πρόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἱερεύς ἐστι· χρᾷ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 33.

having the steep sides of the upper heights of *Parnassus* close on the right. At 10.15 a road to the left conducts to Turkokhório and Tálanda, and on the opposite side of the *Cephissus* is seen the village of Módhi, on the side of Mount Fondána, which, except around that village, is uncultivated and covered with shrubs. Towards Velítza, where we arrive at 11.15, the *Parnassian* slope also becomes very stony and uncultivated: this village, which contains sixty or seventy families, is situated exactly at the foot of the great heights of the mountain, where a torrent, issuing from them, flows in a broad gravelly bed at the foot of precipices which defend the eastern side of Velítza. A gentle slope about four miles in length falls from the village to the *Cephissus*. The higher lands produce wheat and barley, the lower cotton and maize, which are watered by derivations from the torrent.

Velítza occupies the exact site of an ancient polis, the ruined walls of which inclose the modern houses to the west and south, and are continued on the former side so as to include also a triangular space of nearly the same superficial extent as the village, on the face of a rocky peak which overhangs it, and immediately above which rises one of the highest of the snowy summits of *Parnassus*. On some parts of the height the walls occupy situations to which it would be difficult to climb. Along the edge of the cliffs on the eastern side of the Acropolis and modern village no walls are traceable. Some of the towers are extant to more than half their original height, with masonry in

regular courses about eighteen inches high. The material is the same as that of the rocky peak behind the village, giving, together with that peak, a white appearance to the place at a distance, which probably suggested the modern name. The church of Velítza is large and ancient, in the form of a Greek cross, with a dome in the middle; among many spoils of Hellenic buildings in the walls and pavement, is an inscribed stone of a concave form, inserted in the usual semi-circular recess behind the altar, from which we learn that the ruins are those of Tithorea[1]. The torrent was named Cachales, according to Pausanias, whose remark, that the inhabitants *descended* to it for the purpose of obtaining water[2], accords with the height of the village above the torrent. The town had declined for a generation before the time of the Greek traveller, who noticed, however, a theatre, the inclosure of an ancient agora, an alsos and temple of Minerva containing a statue of the god-

[1] *Αὐτοκράτορα Νέρβαν Καίσαρα, ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕπατον τὸ δ', πατέρα πατρίδος, ἡ πόλις Τιθορέων καὶ* T. *Φλάβιος Σώκλαρος καὶ* T. *Φλάβιος Απασ . . . . καὶ* T. *Φλάβιος Πωλλιανὸς Αριστος.*

The fourth consulship of Nerva was in A.D, 98, which is therefore the date of the inscription.

[2] *Ποταμὸς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Τιθορέων τὴν πόλιν ποτόν σφισι γίνεται, καταβαίνουσί τε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην καὶ ἀρυομένοις τὸ ὕδωρ· ὄνομα δέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ Καχάλης.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 32.

The name was derived from *καχλάζω*, which expresses the sound of water flowing over *κάχληκες*, or pebbles. Thus Theocritus describes the sea: *καλὰ κύματα ἄσυχα καχλάζοντα ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖο.*—Idyll. 6, v. 13.

dess, and a monument in memory of Phocus and his wife Antiope.

In the time of Herodotus, Tithorea was known by the name of Neon; it was one of the towns occupied by the Persians in their progress through Phocis, after they had forced the defile of Thermopylæ, when many of the Phocians took refuge in Amphissa, and others in the highest parts of Parnassus, particularly on Mount Tithorea, near Neon, because it was spacious, and capable of containing great numbers of them[1]. As this description is scarcely applicable to the peak immediately above Velítza, which is not very spacious, was included within the walls of Tithorea, and could hardly have been excluded from those of Neon, unless that city occupied a much lower site, it might be supposed that the Mount Tithorea of Herodotus was the great summit of Parnassus above the peak of Velítza, which seems the more likely, as Pausanias affirms that Tithorea was the name anciently applied to the district[2], and that it was not until the population of the neighbouring villages was collected within the city which subsisted until his time that the name of Tithorea was given to it. Plutarch, however, in the life of Sylla, favours the opposite opinion. He relates, that when Hortensius marched from Thessaly to effect a junction with Sylla on the frontiers of Phocis and Bœotia, Caphis a Phocian led him round through

[1] *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἡ κορυφὴ κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὔνομα αὐτῇ.*— Herodot. l. 8. c. 32. Pausan. Phocic. c. 32.

[2] *τῇ ἁπάσῃ χώρᾳ.*

Parnassus for the purpose of avoiding Thermopylæ, which was in the hands of the army of Mithradates, and that on this occasion the circuitous route issued below Tithorea :—"a place," adds Plutarch, "not such as the present city, but only a fortress upon a precipitous rock, where the Phocians of old took refuge from Xerxes." Whence it is evident that he supposed the peak of Velítza to have been the Mount Tithorea of Herodotus. However this may have been, we learn at least from the same passage of the biographer, that the city destroyed by the Persians was not yet revived in the Mithradatic war, and as Greece was in the lowest state of misery between that time and the beginning of the Roman Empire, it was not probably until the latter period that the Tithorea was built, which Plutarch, Pausanias, and the inscription of Velítza, demonstrate to have existed in the time of Nerva and the Antonines. The extant walls, by the regularity of their masonry, exactly accord with that degree of antiquity.

If the numbers of Pausanias are correct, the district of Tithore was extensive, for he describes a sacred adytum of Isis belonging to it distant forty stades, and a temple of Æsculapius Archagetes at a distance of seventy stades. At the former there was a festival twice a year, and a fair for the sale of slaves and cattle. Some of the sacred rites were borrowed from the Egyptians. At the Asclepieium there were habitations for the servants and suppliants of Æsculapius, and a temple which contained a bearded statue of the god in stone. Pausanias has not left us any means of judging of the direction of either of these places from the city of Tithorea.

The district in his time was celebrated for the excellence of its olive oil.

Tithorea is one of those situations abounding in Greece, which were so well adapted to influence the manners and character of the people, and to produce the picturesque and poetical in every thing relating to them. The distant prospect in the northern and eastern quarters of the horizon is no less beautiful than the nearer view of the great summits of Parnassus appearing through the rocky ravine of the Cachales, and which being now covered with snow, add a brilliant contrast to the woody precipices of the mountain. The modern houses interspersed with gardens, and the ruined walls of the ancient city, complete the embellishments of this interesting scene. There is no road in common use from Velítza across the mountain, either to Arákhova or Kastrí, and the inhabitants penetrate no farther than a woody slope at a small distance, where they cut fire wood. In the time of Pausanias there were two roads from Tithorea across the mountain to Delphi, one direct[1], the other longer, but practicable to wheel carriages. The two routes probably coincided as far as the extremity of the ravine of the *Cachales*, after which the carriage road may have crossed the plain anciently belonging to Lycoreia, and now to Arákhova, and below the latter may have joined the road to Delphi from the Schiste, thus diverging to the left of the direct

[1] Pausanias (Phocic. c. 32.) assigns 80 stades as the length of the shorter road, but this number cannot be correct, as the direct distance is hardly less than 12 G. M.

route from Tithorea, which probably joined that from Lilæa, just above the Delphic cliffs, where remains of the ancient way still exist. It is not impossible that the carriage road might still be traced by the marks of the wheels in the rocks.

The Proestós of Velítza, an old man whom I find winding cotton in his gallery, shows me, on the opposite side of the *Cephissian* valley, the small village of Léfta, which he has often visited, and out of respect to its Hellenic remains calls Leftópoli. It lies a little to the right of the pass of Fondána, on the modern route from Pundonítza to Turkokhório, the position of which may be recognized at a great distance by a remarkable rocky peak, near one of the highest summits of the ridges of *Cnemis*.

Meletius reports the following inscription as existing at Lefta in his time:

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστὸν Μέγιστον, ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος Ἐλατέων.

This inscription, therefore, as well as the modern name, leave not a doubt of Lefta having been the site of *Elateia*, and the fact is confirmed by every mention of it in ancient history. Lefta, like Velítza, stands at the head of a long slope reaching to the river, from which it is a mile more distant than Velítza. Placed about the middle of the great fertile basin which extends near twenty miles from the narrows of the *Cephissus* below *Amphicleia*, to those which are at the entrance into *Bœotia*, it was admirably situated for commanding the passes leading into Southern Greece from the *Transætæan* provinces. Hence it may have been,

that Elateia, which was unknown to Homer, became, under a different state of society and general politics, the greatest city in Phocis, and about the time when Greece was threatened with subjection to Macedonia, was more important than Delphi itself. Elateia was then the key of Southern Greece, as Demosthenes and Æschines show, as well as the consternation of the Athenians, when Philip seized the place, not long before the battle of Chæroneia[1].

A little below Lefta stands the large village of Dhragománo, or Tragománo, to the left of which is seen Esséd, or Turkokhório, not far from the river side. Near the road from Velítza to Turkokhório, on the right bank of the *Cephissus*, are the vestiges of a Hellenic town. The ruins are now

[1] Pausanias (Phocic. c. 34.) describes Elateia as the largest town in Phocis *except* Delphi, and as situated over against Amphicleia, the road thither leading, for the greater part, through the plain of the Cephissus, and gently rising to the walls of Elateia, which is exactly conformable to the reality.—Strabo, p. 424.

Pausanias admired the agora of Elateia, in which was the stele of Elatus and a temple of Æsculapius, containing a beardless statue of the god, made by two Athenian artists, Timocles and Timarchides. The Elateienses had also a theatre; an ancient brazen image of Minerva; and on the summit of a steep mountain, 20 stades above the city, a temple of Minerva Cranæa, containing an armed statue of the goddess, by the sons of Polycles of Athens, who had represented on the shield of the goddess the same subjects which adorned that of Minerva in the Parthenon, namely, the battle of the Amazons and the Gigantomachia. There were stoæ and habitations for the servants of the temple, and particularly for the priest, who was a boy constantly residing there for five years and then changed for another. Some remains of the temple still exist on the mountain above Lefta.

called Paleá Fiva. Meletius writes the name Παλαιαὶ Θῆβαι, but Φήβα is the vulgar pronunciation in this part of the country.

Having now visited either in this or my former journey, the principal ancient positions in the valleys of the Upper *Cephissus* and its branches, and having ascertained the situation of some which I have not visited, I shall endeavour to apply the ancient names to the several sites which still bear evidences of antiquity, taking for granted from what has already been stated, that those of Amphicleia, Tithorea, and Elateia, are indisputably determined. It seems almost equally certain, that the Paleókastro or Hellenic ruins, half a mile westward of the Kefalovrýses, or sources of the *Cephissus*, which I visited on my former journey, having crossed thither from *Delphi* by Aguriani, are the remains of *Lilæa*; that route being the most direct and easy passage across the mountain, could not have been any other than the road alluded to by Pausanias, when he says that the distance from Delphi to Lilæa was 180 stades [1], with which our time distance of six hours and a half sufficiently accorded. As to the remark of Pausanias, that the source of the Cephissus very often issues from the earth, especially towards noon, with a noise resembling the roaring of a bull, I was not surprised to find that the present natives had never made any such observation at Kefalovrýses, though they admit that the water

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 33.

often rises suddenly from the ground in larger quantities than usual, which cannot but be accompanied with some noise. The Megáles Vrýses, on the other hand, do not intermit, and are surrounded with marshy ground.

I am thus particular in showing that the ruins at Paleókastro are those of *Lilæa*, because the description which Pausanias has given of Charadra, as situated on a lofty rock [1], agrees in this particular with the ruins. But there are some insurmountable objections to the site being that of Charadra. Upon an examination of them, it is found that all the principal part of the city stood in the plain at the foot of the rocks, that the precipitous part was the citadel only, that the whole was a much larger place than one can imagine Charadra to have been; and that exactly at the Kefalovrýses, where we should in that case be inclined to look for Lilæa, there are no remains except those of a single building, probably a temple, which may have been sacred to the river-god himself, as Pausanias states, that sacred rites in honour of Cephissus were celebrated at the sources of the river [2]. When to these considerations is

[1] Χαράδρα δὲ εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀπωτέρω ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὑψηλοῦ κειμένη κρημνοῦ καὶ ὕδατος οἱ ἐνταῦθα σπανίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι· ποτὸν δέ σφισι ποταμός ἐστι Χάραδρος κατερχομένοις ὅσον τρία ἐπ' αὐτὸν στάδια· ἐκδίδωσιν δὲ ἐς τὸν Κηφισσόν.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 33.

[2] An absurd idea prevailed, and which had been sanctioned by Alcæus in a hymn to Apollo, that the Castalia at Delphi was derived from the sources of the Cephissus, although in fact the former is in a much higher situation. To show their belief in the fable, or

added the testimony of the same ancient traveller that the Charadræi suffered from a want of water, whereas there are some abundant springs close to the ancient walls at Paleókastro, with the Kefalovrýses at a very short distance; and when it is further remarked that Pausanias describes the torrent of Charadra as being three stades distant from the town, whereas that of Paleókastro is close to the ruined walls, we can have no hesitation in rejecting the opinion that Paleókastro was Charadra, and cannot but conclude that it was Lilæa.

It then becomes a question whether Charadra, which Pausanias places at twenty stades beyond Lilæa, coming from Delphi, stood at Suvála to the eastward, or at Mariolátes to the westward of Paleókastro, at both which places there are remains of a small fortified town. Two reasons support the former opinion: 1. The distance of twenty stades is nearly that of Suvála from Paleókastro, whereas Mariolátes is more distant; and 2. The torrent at the latter does not join the *Cephissus*, but is a branch of the river of Graviá, which itself joins the Apostoliá before the latter is united with the *Cephissus*.

Placing Amphicleia at Dhadhí, there can hardly remain a doubt that the ruins opposite to it at Mulki, below Verzaná, where a torrent unites with

their veneration for it, the Lilæenses on certain stated days, threw cakes and other things, regulated by ancient custom, (*πέμματα ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἄλλα ὁπόσα νομίζουσιν*,) into the source of the Cephissus, which were said to reappear in the Castalia.—Pausan. Phoc. c. 8.

the Cephissus, are those of Tithronium; for Pausanias describes that place as being in the plain, (meaning the valley,) fifteen stades beyond Amphicleia [1]—that is to say beyond Amphicleia, according to the direction which he had been pursuing from Delphi by Lilæa; and the distance of those ruins from Dhadhí, although I think underrated at fifteen stades, is not far from the truth. The ruins near Klúnista, which I visited from Ternítza, accord equally with those of Drymæa, those ruins being about twenty stades from the former, which is the distance stated by the ancient traveller between Tithronium and Drymæa, though in this instance also the interval assigned by Pausanias appears to me to be below the reality. The three places were so situated that we may easily

[1] *Ἀμφικλείας δὲ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις πεντεκαίδεκά ἐστι Τιθρώνιον ἐν πεδίῳ κείμενον· παρέχεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην. Ἐκ Τιθρωνίου δὲ εἴκοσιν ἐς Δρυμαίαν σταδίοι· καθότι δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἐς Δρυμαίαν ἐξ Ἀμφικλείας ἡ εὐθεῖα περὶ τὸν Κηφισσὸν συμμίσγουσιν, ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Τιθρωνεῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλσος τε καὶ βωμοί· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ναός· ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀμφικλείας ἡ Δρυμαία σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀποτραπέντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν, [Δρύμος καλουμένη] κατὰ Ἡροδότου λόγους*, Ναυβολεῖς δὲ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα· καὶ οἰκιστὴν [λέγουσιν] οἱ ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι σφισι Φῶκον παῖδα τοῦ Αἰάκου. Δήμητρος δὲ θεσμοφόρου Δρυμαίοις ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου πεποίηται· καὶ αὐτῇ Θεσμοφόρια ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 33.

Naubolus, from whom the Naubolenses took their name, was an ancient Phocian hero, the father of Iphitus: *Ἰφίτου Ναυβολιδάο.*—Hom. Il. B. v. 518, and one of the Argonauts, Apollod. l. 1. c. 9.

* Herodot. l. 8. c. 33.

imagine Pausanias to have been correct in his subsequent remark, that the road from Amphicleia to Drymæa joined that from Tithronium to Drymæa near the Cephissus; since it might be more convenient to follow the river from Tithronium to Drymæa, than to make a more direct course over the heights. As Pausanias adds that, at the junction of the roads, there was a grove containing altars and a temple of Apollo without a statue, within the limits of the Tithronenses; and that the turning to the left led to Drymæa, it seems evident that the grove of Apollo stood on the left bank of the Cephissus, and that the direct road from Amphicleia crossed the Cephissus near the temple, where a turning to the right led to Tithronium and on the left to Drymæa.

The words of Pausanias, therefore, so perfectly accord, in their general purport, with the three positions of Dhadhí, and the two ancient sites below Verzaná and Ternítza, that we may be assured of the identity of the two latter with Tithronium and Drymæa respectively, although the number of stades stated in the text of the ancient traveller may not be correct. The error, indeed, in the word eighty, which he assigns as the number of stades between Amphicleia and Drymæa, is self-evident, if the two other distances, which amount only to thirty-five stades, are correct.

As Pausanias has not noticed any of the places, of which remains are still found in or around the valley lying westward of the sites of Drymæa and Lilæa, it may be inferred that no part of that valley

belonged, at least in his time, to the Phocic community, but was all included in Doris, the position of which district on this frontier of Phocis is clearly shown by Lilæa, Drymæa and Tithronium having been sometimes attributed to Doris [1]. Herodotus describes Doris as lying between Trachinia and Phocis, and as occupying a breadth of only thirty stades. The Persians marched through it from Trachinia, but spared it because the Dorians had joined them, after which "following the Cephissus, they destroyed every thing; and burnt the cities Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, the cities of the Pedieis, and Tritæeis, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ [2]." Erochus and Tritæa not being even named by Pausanias, their site was perhaps unknown in his time, and it is a mere conjecture, deduced from the order of the enumeration of Herodotus, and the general distribution of the other ancient sites, that I have placed those names on the map. The city of the Pedienses we might presume, from the same indication added to that of the name, to have stood near the Cephissus, in some part of the plain between Tithorea and Elateia. It is precisely in this situation, that the ruins at Paleá Fiva are found. As Herodotus has not named Ledon, it is not improbable that the city of the Pedienses may be the same place as Ledon, which, in the time of Pausa-

[1] Ptolem. l. 3. c. 15. Philippus Tritonon [lege Tithronium] et Drymas Doridis, parva atque ignobilia oppida cepit: inde Elatiam, &c.—Liv. l. 28. c. 7. Schol. Pindar, Pyth. 1. v. 121. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. v. 385.

[2] Herodot. l. 8. c. 31, 33.

nias had been abandoned, and the name transferred to a few habitations on the river's bank, forty stades below the former position[1].

Lilæa not being comprehended by Herodotus among the towns which were destroyed by the Persians, would seem at that time to have belonged to the Dorienses, who, having medized, were spared by the invaders[2]. Whence, probably, some later authors have ascribed it to Doris, though in general it was considered a Phocic city. But it was evidently, therefore, on the frontier, and the ruins, consequently, at Mariolátes and Graviá are certainly those of two of the Dorian towns. The breadth of thirty stades, which Herodotus assigns to Doris, agrees nearly with the extent of the valley of the Apostoliá from the foot of Mount *Parnassus*, where Mariolátes and Graviá are situated, to that of Mount *Œta*, where the road from Zitúni to Sálona, after crossing that mountain by the pass of Nevrópoli, enters the valley of the Apostoliá. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that all this valley was a part of Doris. From Strabo, likewise, notwithstanding the imperfection of his text, the extent and position of Doris may be understood, and even some details of its topography[3]. He observes that the Western Locris was separated from the Eastern by Mount Parnassus, which extended northward from the neighbourhood of Delphi to the junction of the Œtæan with the Ætolian mountains, and to the Dorians which lay between them;—that Phocis was

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 33.

[2] Herodot. l. 8. c. 31.

[3] Strabo, pp. 417. 427.

thus conterminous with both divisions of Locris,—that on the western side of Parnassus dwelt the Locri Ozolæ, some of the Dorians and the Ætolians of Mount Corax, and on the eastern side of the same mountain the Phocians and the Dorians of Tetrapolis, who formed the larger portion of that nation, and who extended from Parnassus towards the east [1]. The latter passage of the Geographer explains those authorities which ascribe to Doris a greater number of towns than four, and shows exactly the position both of the Tetrapolis and of the remaining portion of Doris. The latter, which lay between the Locri Ozolæ and Mount Corax, comprehended the mountains on the right, or western side, of the pass leading from Graviá to Sálona. The towns of this portion of Doris would seem to have been Amphanæ and Metropolis, for Stephanus describes these as places in Doris [2]. According to Strabo, the four towns of the Tetrapolis, were Erineus, Bœum, Pindus and Cytinium, some of which names are confirmed by several other authors [3]. He adds, that Pindus stood above Erineus, that it was sometimes called Acyphas, and that a river of the same name as the town,

[1] *τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἕῳ Φωκεῖς καὶ Δωριεῖς οἱ πλείους, ἔχοντες τὴν Τετράπολιν παρακειμένην πως τῷ Παρνασσῷ πλεονάζουσαν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕῳ μέρεσιν.*—p. 417. Some correction must here be allowed in the bearing: a particular in which the ancients were often inaccurate. The Tetrapolis confined upon the northern, not the eastern side of Parnassus.

[2] Stephan. in *Ἀμφάναι, Δυμᾶν, Μητρόπολις.*

[3] Ptolem. l. 3. c. 15. Plin. l. 4. c. 7. Scylax.—Scymn. Ch. v. 592. Diodor. l. 4. c. 67. l. 11. c. 79.

flowed by the walls [1], and joined the Cephissus near Lilæa.

It is evident, upon comparing this passage with my former remark, as to the junction of the river now called Apostoliá with the *Cephissus*, not far below the sources of the latter, that the Apostoliá was the ancient Acyphas or Pindus, and consequently, that upon its banks we should search for Erineus and Pindus. Of these the latter, as well from its name, which is a word belonging to a lofty situation, as from a remark of Strabo, that the town of Acyphas was considered to belong to the Œtæan cantons, was probably towards the sources of the river in the mountain, which is connected northward with the Patriótiko or *Œta* proper; and which to the south gives rise to the river Mornós, which joins the sea near 'Epakto. The other two towns of the Tetrapolis were in the situations already noticed, at Mariolátes and at Graviá.

Of these, there can be little doubt that Graviá was the ancient Cytinium, Thucydides having described the position of Cytinium in a manner not to be mistaken, in his account of the expedition of Demosthenes from Naupactus, in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war [2]; when Demosthenes intended, if he had been successful over the Ætolians, to have then passed through the Locri Ozolæ, leaving Parnassus on his right, to Cytinium of Doris, and from thence to descend into Phocis,

[1] Strabo, p. 427.—Stephanus (in 'Ακύφας) confirms the name of Acyphas as one of the four towns, on the authority of Theopompus.

[2] Thucyd. l. 3. c. 95.

the people of which were to have assisted him against Bœotia.

Graviá stands exactly at the northern entrance of the pass leading from the valley of *Doris* to the plain of *Amphissa*, in the middle of the isthmus included between the *Maliac* and *Crissæan* gulfs. The defile is formed by the ravines of two torrents flowing in opposite directions; namely, that of Graviá, which, as I have already remarked, joins the Apostoliá near the union of the latter with the *Cephissus*, and that of another stream which crosses the plain of *Amphissa* into the *Crissæan* Bay: the two ravines form a complete separation of the highlands of this part of Greece, dividing Parnassus from the mountains which are connected with the Ætolian and Œtæan summits, and which thus exactly correspond to the *ἀνὰ μέσον* Δωριεῖς, or intermediate Dorians of Strabo.

It is obvious that a fortified town at the entrance of such a defile, was of great military importance, and of this we find two examples in history, besides that which has already been alluded to. Soon after that unsuccessful expedition of Demosthenes against Ætolia, Eurylochus, at the head of 2500 Spartans and 500 Heracliotæ, prepared to march from Delphi through the western Locris to assist the Ætolians against Naupactus, and made choice on this occasion of Cytinium, as the place in which he secured the hostages whom he had received from the Locrians. But the most remarkable instance is, the occupation of Cytinium by Philip of Macedonia, when he took possession also of Elateia, not long before the battle of Chæ-

roneia [1]. It was on hearing that the Athenians had decreed to support the resistance of the Amphissienses to the Amphictyonic council, that Philip took this step, of which the object and consequence were, the capture of Amphissa, the approach to that place from the northward having been completely commanded by Cytinium. If Cytinium was at Graviá, it will follow that the ruins near Mariolátes are those of Bœum.

Herodotus relates that Doris was anciently named Dryopis [2], but in later times they were distinguished, and Dryopis like Doris was a tetrapolis [3]. In the time of Strabo it was comprehended as well as the Parasopias, and a town named Œniadæ, in the Œtæa, which even included Acyphas of Doris to the S.W., and Anticyra of Melis to the N.E [4]. It is evident, from these testimonies regarding Dryopis, together with another fact stated by Strabo, namely, that Tymphrestus, at the sources of the Spercheius, now Velúkhi, was a Dryopic mountain, that Dryopis occupied the mountainous country extending from the head of the valley of the Apostoliá towards Mount Velúkhi and Karpenísi.

At 12.55 we quit Velítza, and continue to follow the foot of the great steeps of *Parnassus* at the head of a long slope, stony and quite uncultivated, which descends from our road to the river, until at 1.32, having a monastery of the Panaghía half an hour on the right, on the side of the mountain, we turn

[1] Ανσιμαχίδης Ἀχαρνεύς· ἐπὶ τούτου Φιλίππου καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον.—Philochor. ap. Dionys. p. 742.

[2] Herodot. l. 8. c. 31.

[3] Strabo, p. 434.

[4] Ibid.

to the left of the upper road leading to the Zimenó pass, and descend towards the Stená (τὰ Στενὰ), as the narrow valley is now called, through which the *Cephissus* enters the *Bœotian* plains. Having passed the Dhrakoplýmata [1], as two large natural basins in the ground are called, one of which is 150 yards in diameter, forming a perfect circle with a very regular hollow within, we leave, a quarter of an hour farther, the village of Aghía Marína a little on the right, and descend exactly in the direction of the peaked summit of Mount Khlomó, passing between the lower heights of *Parnassus*, and an insulated rocky hill which here terminates the upper or *Phocian* valley of the *Cephissus*. This hill, which stands exactly on the foot of the great slope of *Parnassus*, is very steep on every side except the south-east, where it throws out a low termination, between which and another low height quite insulated, there is a narrow plain. At the foot of the latter height, to the south, stands a village called Krevasará, and along its eastern side flows the *Cephissus*, beyond which is another small insulated height near the foot of a rocky mountain, which rises from thence and takes a north-eastern direction towards Tálanda. The approaches, therefore, to the straits leading into *Bœotia* from the plain of *Elateia*, are on either side of the hill of Krevasará.

To the left of the *Cephissus* are the small villages of Sfaka, Meralí, Khúbavo, and Bélissi vulgarly

[1] δρακοπλύματα: the word δρύκων, properly a serpent, signifies, when thus used in composition, any thing monstrous or terrible. The analogous name in English to δρακοπλύματα, would be, the Devil's wash-tubs.

called Belish [1]. Sfaka and Khúbavo are on opposite sides of the extremity of the mountain just mentioned; Meralí stands on a small insulated height between them, and Bélissi is opposite to Khúbavo, at the foot of a mountain similar and parallel to the former, and separated from it by a valley a mile in width. Between Meralí and Khúbavo, the river Kinéta issues from a small lake which extends northward round the extreme point of the mountain as far as Sfaka, and having received a torrent which rises in Mount Khlomó, joins the *Cephissus*, near the khan of the Kadý which I visited in my former journey, and which stands on the right bank of the latter river, two miles below Krevasará, where is a bridge over the river in the narrowest part of the Stená or Straits. Though the lake which feeds the Kinéta is supplied from subterraneous springs, these are not always sufficient to afford a running stream in summer. At 2.23 we arrive at Bissikéni [2], vulgarly Bishkén, which stands in a narrow plain between the heights of *Parnassus* and the larger and more western of the two insulated rocky heights before mentioned. The proestós and inhabitants know of no ancient remains in this vicinity, except at a height on the left bank of the Kinéta, and a tower at the south-eastern extremity of the heights in proceeding from Bissikéni to the bridge near the Kadý's Khan. The latter is described by the proestós as a *μαστορικὸν πρᾶγμα*, meaning such as modern masons construct,

[1] *Σφάκα, Μεραλὴ, Χούμπαβος, Μπέλισσι.*
[2] *Μπισσικένι.*

but the remains near Bélissi, he states to be of large wrought masses of stone. Their position in the Stená seems to correspond exactly with that of Parapotamii as indicated by Theopompus, who, in a passage preserved by Strabo, states that Parapotamii stood at a distance of forty stades from Chæroneia in the entrance from Bœotia into Phocis, on a height of moderate elevation, situated between Parnassus and Mount Edylium,—that these two mountains were separated from each other by an interval of five stades, through which the Cephissus flowed; and that Mount Edylium extended from thence sixty stades as far as Hyphanteium, on which Orchomenus was built [1].

Having remained half an hour at Bissikéni, we proceed, in one hour precisely, to Dhavlía. The road follows an opening which separates the higher

[1] Ap. Strabo, n. p. 424. According to the text of Strabo, Theopompus added the remark that Parapotamii served as a boundary to the people of Panopeus, Daulis and Ambryssus (Ἀμβρυσέας), but this last word is obviously erroneous, Ambryssus having been near the Corinthiac Gulf: perhaps we ought to read Ἀνεμωρέας, for the verse of Homer Οἵτ' Ἀνεμώρειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο, by coupling Anemoreia with Hyampolis, appears to place the former on this frontier of Phocis. If we compare this indication with the remark of Strabo, that Anemoreia stood on a part of Mount Parnassus, which served as a boundary between the Delphi and the other Phocians, when the Lacedæmonians had separated the former from the rest of the Phocic community, there seems no situation that will conform to the several data so well as that advanced summit of the *Parnassian* ridge which lies to the south of Bissikéni, and which forms with the opposite mountain, *Edylium*, the pass of *Parapotamii*, or Stená of the *Cephissus*.

Parnassian ridges from the advanced mountain which forms the western side of the Stená of the *Cephissus*. The pass is a narrow valley, cultivated only in the parts towards Dhavlía. The road is much shorter than by the Stená, and in winter has the further advantage of avoiding the marshy or muddy valley near that river. It is probably the route by which Hortensius eluded the enemy in the Elatic Plain, and effected a junction with Sylla at Patronis [1]. The issue of the pass is at the upper extremity of a vale branching from the plain of *Chæroneia*, and terminating at the foot of the great summits of *Parnassus*. Many streams water this valley, turn several mills, and then uniting take a northerly course, close to the foot of the heights by the village Khasnési, below which the stream enters the plain and joins the Mavroneró or Mavronéri, a copious perennial stream, which issues from the foot of the same mountain a mile beyond Khasnési. On the southern face of the height which bounds the vale to the south, stands the village of Dhavlía, separated by a hollow from another height, on which are some remains of the Acropolis of the ancient Daulis. The name had assumed the form Δαυλεία as early as the time of Strabo, but is now by the vulgar more commonly accented on the last syllable, Dhavliá. The modern village belongs to Hassán Bey of Livadhía, now residing in 'Egripo, and whose father was pashá of the latter place. It contains forty houses. The inhabitants cultivate vineyards in the upper valleys and on the

[1] Plutarch. in Syllâ.

sides of the hills, and corn in the plain below, and exercise the trade of agoyátes with their mules.

Dec. 1.—The vale between Dhavlía and the site of the ancient Daulis is covered with vineyards, and refreshed by many springs and rivulets, which, in the plain below, join a branch of the *Cephissus* called Plataniá, which receives all the torrents from the adjacent slopes of *Parnassus*, *Cirphis* and *Helicon*, and has its extreme sources at Dhístomo, but is nevertheless dry in summer. The Plataniá unites with the Mavronéri very near the junction of the latter with the *Cephissus*. It is to the Mavronéri that the *Cephissus* owes its water in summer, for I found it dry in July above the junction of the Mavronéri, even as high up as a little below Dhadhí, where its waters were consumed by the plantations of cotton and kalambókki, whereas it contained water below the junction of the Mavronéri, and even as far as Skripú. Hence, below the junction, the *Cephissus* is now called Mavronéri or Mavroneró, and above it the river of Dhadhí, or simply τὸ ποτάμι. Below the Kinéta, which it receives in the narrowest part of the Stená, it turns to the eastward, and continues, all the way to *Orchomenus*, to flow at a small distance from the foot of the mountain which extends from the Stená to Skripú in a high stony ridge, subdivided into two nearly equal parts by a small branch of the river. This mountain, the same which I before described as parallel to that of Khúbavo, and which Theopompus so clearly indicates under the name of Edylium, was sometimes called Acontium in its whole extent, for Strabo remarks that Mount Acontium extended

from Orchomenus to Parapotamii [1], and attributes to it the same length as Theopompus [2]. Properly, however, it would seem that Hyphanteium was the eastern extremity of the ridge, Acontium its highest point, and Edylium the division of it westward of the small branch of the *Cephissus* above mentioned; for Plutarch mentions a place called Assia as situated between Edylium and Acontium [3].

The entire circuit of the walls of the acropolis of Daulis, which seems to have been nearly circular, and formed of masonry almost regular, may be traced on the summit of the height which rises opposite to the modern village to the south. Within the inclosure is an old church of St. Theodore, containing a marble inscribed with small and very ancient characters, so nearly obliterated that I have not attempted to copy them; there is also an inscription of names on a block of variegated marble. Three or four years ago, in the vineyards at the foot of the height on the north, a more interesting monument was found, which having been conveyed to Dhavlía, now stands before the door of the church. It is a quadrangular stele, four feet six inches long, one foot three inches broad, and ten inches thick, adorned only with a simple moulding at the top.

[1] *Πρότερον μὲν οὖν οἰκεῖσθαι τὸν Ὀρχόμενόν φασιν ἐπὶ πεδίῳ. ἐπιπολαζόντων δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀνοικισθῆναι πρὸς τὸ Ἀκόντιον ὄρος παρατεῖνον ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίους μεχρὶ Παραποταμίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι.*—Strabo, p. 416.

[2] *τὸ δὲ Δαύλιον (Ἡδύλιον) παρατείνειν ἐφ' ἑξήκοντα στάδια μεχρὶ τοῦ Ὑφαντείου ἐφ' ᾧ κεῖται ὁ Ὀρχόμενος.*—Theopomp. ap. Strab. p. 424.

[3] *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀκοντίου καὶ τοῦ Ἡδυλίου, πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀσσίοις.*—Plutarch. in Syllâ.

One of the broad sides is inscribed with forty-seven lines, and one of the narrow sides with forty-nine lines. The monument records an arbitration concerning the property and boundaries of certain lands in the district of Daulis, made at Chæroneia on the 24th of October, in the year of our æra 118 [1]. The following is a translation of the inscription on the broad dimension of the stone.

"With good fortune to the consuls, the emperor Trajan Adrian Cæsar Augustus, the second time, and Cneius Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, on the 9th of the Calends of November, in Chæroneia. Zopyrus, son of Aristion, and Parmenon, son of Zopyrus, acting on behalf of the city of Daulis, have witnessed the following as a faithful copy of the underwritten decision of Titus Flavius Eubulus: I, T. F. Eubulus, having been appointed judge and arbiter by the proconsul Cæsius Maximus, and having acted under the inspection of the proconsul Valerius Severus, between Zopyrus son of Aristion and Parmenon son of Zopyrus and Memmius Antiochus, concerning the land in dispute, have, after hearing each side as long as they wished, and after an actual inspection of the place, and upon receiving an order from the excellent proconsul Clodius Granianus [2] to declare my decision, adjudge as is underwritten. Four hundred and

[1] See the Greek text at the end of this volume. Copies of the inscriptions in Greek capitals may be seen in the Rev. R. Walpole's collection of Travels in the East, vol. i. p. 459, vol. ii. p. 513.

[2] Thus it appears, that during the process there were three different proconsuls.

thirty-five Phocic plethra of the land called Dryppius, which appear from the writings exhibited to me to have been purchased by Memmius Antiochus from the heirs of Cleon, belong to Antiochus; whatever exceeds this quantity (in Dryppius) is the property of the city of the Daulienses. In like manner, in the land Euxyleia four hundred and thirty plethra I judge to belong to Antiochus, and the remainder to the city. The beginning of the measurements in the lands Dryppius and Euxyleia shall be commenced wherever Antiochus may think proper; but in Platanus and Moschotomeæ the measure for both parties shall begin in the same place, and from thence the remainder of the measurement shall proceed; and in all these measurements no account shall be taken of torrents or rugged places, or such as cannot be cultivated if they exceed the dimensions of ten sphyræ [1]. The following persons were present: I, Titus Flavius Eubulus, have declared my determination and affixed my seal. Lucius Mestrius Soclarus; Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes; Neicon, son of Symphorus; Lamprias, son of Neicon; Zopyrus, son of Antipatrus; Sosibius, son of Dracon; Neicon, son of Alexandrus; Leon, son of Theodotus; Callon, son of Phylax; Cassius, son of Martianus. By a decree of the city."

On the narrow side of the stele is the following:

[1] This is evidently a superficial measure, probably a division of the plethrum. Smaller patches than ten sphyræ were not to be accounted for.

"The road to the Archagetes shall be two calami[1] in breadth. They shall jointly engrave the landmarks and boundaries of the measurements within the twentieth day of the twelfth month, we examining them when they shall be engraved. Concerning the land Dryppius, we adjudge, from a view of the writing exhibited by Serapias, son of Zopyrus the agent[2], and by the Archons Philon, son of Sosicrates, and Damon, son of Zopyrus, that if any thing should be wanting to the four hundred and thirty-five plethra assigned by the decision of Eubulus, Serapias shall have a right to demand it from the city of the Daulienses. These were present: I, Curius Autobulus, adjudged, and sealed the first seal. I, Nicephorus, son of Lycomedes, adjudged; I, Agasias, son of Timon, adjudged; I, Publius Ælius Damoxenus, sealed the fourth seal; Eisid(otus) the fifth; Metrodorus, son of Apollodotus of Anticyra; Neicaretus, son of Pistus of Tithorea; I, Tyrannus, son of Tyrannus, sealed; Acindynus, son of Callicrates of Tithorea; Sextus Cornelius Axiochus; Eunus, son of Epaphras; I, Callinicus, son of Cleonicus of Tithorea, sealed."

[1] The *κάλαμος* was a linear measure; if it was nearly equal to the modern Italian *canna*, the road was about fifteen feet in breadth.

[2] *τοῦ ἐγδίκου.* Zopyrus was the colleague of Parmenon on behalf of Daulis in the former affair, to which this judgment was probably long posterior; for it would seem that Zopyrus was now absent or dead, that one of his sons had obtained the interest of Antiochus in the land Dryppius, and that another was one of the Archons of Daulis.

Pausanias, who visited Daulis about fifty years after the date of this inscription, remarks, that there was a place in the Daulia named Tronis, where stood the heroic monument of a hero called the Archagetes, whom some supposed to be Xanthippus, a warrior; others Phocus, son of Ornytion[1]. It is evidently to this place that the beginning of the second inscription refers, where it is said that "the road to the Archagetes shall have a breadth of two calami." It is not impossible that Tronis is an erroneous reading for Patronis, the name, according to Plutarch, of the place where Sylla was encamped before he was joined by Hortensius, who, as I have already remarked, probably arrived through the same pass which I traversed from Bissikéni into the valley northward of Dhavlía. The biographer, indeed, describes Patronis as being in the plain of Chæroneia, but the whole plain, as far as the pass of the Cephissus, was undoubtedly often designated as the plain of Chæroneia. In Platanus, the name of one of the portions of land mentioned in the award of Eubulus, we have the origin apparently of the modern appellation of the river Plataniá.

While I was copying the inscription, which was my first employment this morning, a funeral took place. The corpse was carried into the church, the service read over with wonderful haste, and at a certain point a howling was set up by three women,

[1] Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Δαυλίας χώρα καλουμένη Τρωνίς· ἐνταῦθα ἡρῷον ἥρω Ἀρχηγέτου πεποίηται· τὸν δὲ ἥρω τοῦτον Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἀφανῆ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ Φῶκον εἶναι τὸν Ὀρνυτίωνος τοῦ Σισύφου φασίν.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 4.

relations of the deceased, after which the corpse was put into the ground, and small loaves of wheaten bread, boiled maize, and wine, were distributed to the company, who assembled after the service in great numbers, and seated themselves round the wall of the church-yard.

Pausanias remarks of Daulis, that the inhabitants were few in number, but the tallest and stoutest of all the Phocians. The name of the place he supposed to be derived from δαῦλος, because the position had formerly been a forest[1]. The only building described by him is a temple of Minerva, containing an ancient statue, and another still more ancient made of wood, said to have been dedicated by Procne, for Daulis was supposed to have been the scene of the well-known story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomele.

Immediately above Dhavlía, on the site of Mount Liákura, stands the monastery of Aghía Arsalí, and below it a metókhi, where the monks retire when the snow covers their upper habitation. About five miles to the south-west of Dhavlía is the entrance of the Zimenó Dervéni, or opening between the mountains *Cirphis* and *Parnassus*, which leads to *Delphi*. It is the σχίστη ὁδὸς, or τριπλῆ κέλευθος, the cleft or triple way celebrated among the ancients for being the place where Laius fell by the hands of his son Œdipus. I searched in vain there, in my former journey, for any traces of the tomb of Laius and his servant, which Pausanias describes as covered with a heap of stones. The

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 4.

road, as he justly observes, becomes more steep and rugged, from that point towards Delphi, and difficult even to a man on foot. Between Daulis and the Schiste, but at what distance from either Pausanias does not specify, stood the Phocicum, or place of meeting of the deputies of the cities of Phocis; it was a large building divided within lengthwise by columns, between which and the wall there were seats for the deputies. At one end, in an open space, was a Jupiter seated on his throne, Minerva and Juno standing on either side of him[1]. The ascent from Daulis to the summit of Parnassus was less rugged than that from Delphi, but longer[2]. This route probably led by the modern convent of Aghía Arsalí. The road from *Daulis* to *Ambryssus*, now Dhístomo, follows up the vale of the Plataniá in nearly a straight course, having Mount *Cirphis* on the right hand, and on the other a part of the *Helicon*, which is so distinct from Paleovúni, or the proper *Helicon*, that it had undoubtedly some specific name among the ancients, though it has not been preserved by history. It is itself subdivided into two summits, that to the east called the mountain of Surbi, that to the west the mountain of Zara, or Tzara, from villages of those names.

Having crossed the Plataniá in twenty-five minutes from the foot of the hill of *Daulis*, we leave, in fifteen minutes more, the village of Malta on the right side of the road, and then in eight minutes arrive at 'Aio Vlasi. In the course of this

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 5. [2] Ibid. c. 4.

route the Stená of the *Cephissus*, or *Bœoto-Phocic* Strait, opens from the foot of the hills of Khasnési, and 'Aio Vlasi admits a view through the Stená: the hill of Krevasará being then nearly hid by the heights of Khasnési, and that of the Paleókastro, near Bélissi, appearing to advance half across the pass. In the course of our morning's ride many ὀρνιὰ, (vultures,) were in sight, and a great number of lapwings, which the Greeks call καλημάνη. At 'Aio Vlasi the woman of the cottage where I dine wears a low bonnet or hat, made at Dhadhí, which is completely covered on the outside with a coat of mail made of parás. Just over the ears, instead of parás, the covering is made of Spanish or Austrian dollars and Turkish pieces of 100 parás. The owner is of Dhadhí, and in reply to my inquiries says, "this is the fashion of our town; here they have other fashions."

On this side of Mount *Œta*, it may be remarked, that itinerant salesmen, and even saleswomen are to be met travelling singly, which is hardly ever to be seen beyond *Thermopylæ*. During the last two days we have met several persons from Aspraspítia selling fresh sea-fish; and at 'Aio Vlasi have found a caravan of asses laden with corn and kalambókki, and conducted by an Agrafiote woman. To be able to do this, or to wear such caps as that just mentioned, without risk, implies a greater degree of security than the Christians enjoy to the northward of Mount *Œta*, where the resistance of the mountaineers to Alý Pashá, his continual attempts to reduce them, the march of his Albanians through the country,

the incursions of the kleftes, and the poverty, idleness, and rapacity of the Turks, particularly those of Lárissa, lead to the unceasing oppression of the Christians, and have made their condition more miserable than in this part of Greece, where the protection enjoyed by the districts of Livadhía and Athens, the one as a vakúf, the other as a royal appanage, is not without some beneficial effects upon the Christians; the administrators taking care to send proper persons to reside as Vóivodas, and readily attending to the complaints of the Greeks, so that the Turkish governor finds it difficult to enrich himself by oppression. Another cause is the smaller proportion of Turks, the effect of whose bigotry, insolence, idleness, profligacy, and greediness of gain, has every where a tendency in proportion to their numbers, to degrade the condition and character of the rayáh, and at length to drive him into the districts where the Turks are not so numerous, and which are better protected by the Porte. As to the circumstance of a large proportion of the lands to the southward of *Œta* being held by Greeks, I fear it makes very little difference to the working farmer, in his profits or his enjoyment of the fruits of the earth; his terms of cultivation are the same, whether with the agás of 'Egripo and Thebes, or with the archons of Livadhía and Athens, all of whom take care that he shall never be out of their debt, nor enabled to obtain from the soil more than a subsistence of the scantiest kind.

In proceeding from 'Aio Vlasi to Kápurna, we

leave, at eight minutes beyond 'Aio Vlasi, a village called Mera to the right of the road, in the entrance of a valley leading into that which is watered by the western branch of the river of Livadhía, and along which leads the road from Livadhía to the Zimenó Pass, branching to the left to Dhístomo; these were anciently the routes from Lebadeia to Delphi and Ambryssus. Kápurna stands at the foot of the same ridge as 'Aio Vlasi, in a hollow between a steep summit and a long even height, which advances from the ridge into the valley in a north-easterly direction, and hides Kápurna from all the great plain towards the Lake *Cephissis*. A projection of the heights on the other side towards the vale of Mera conceals it in like manner from the upper part of the plain of *Daulis*, but the hill of Kervasará is seen from Kápurna, through the Stená of the *Cephissus*.

The rocky heights which overhang the villages of 'Aio Vlasi and Kápurna have preserved considerable ruins of *Panopeus* and *Chæroneia*. Pausanias says, that Panopeus[1] was distant 20 stades from Chæroneia, and 7 from Daulis: but the latter number is obviously erroneous. I was 48 minutes in walking my horse from the foot of the hill of Daulis to 'Aio Vlasi, and 35 from thence to Kápurna. The latter space of time corresponds tolerably well to the 20 stades of Pausanias, according to the average rate of 30 stades to the hour; it

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 4. According to Strabo (p. 423.) it was called Phanoteus in his time, and Thucydides (l. 4, c. 76. 89.) names the district Phanotis; but Panopeus is the form employed by Homer, and by Pausanias.

is probable, therefore, that the number of stades between Daulis and Panopeus was 27 instead of 7, and that the word εἴκοσι has been lost by the copiers of Pausanias. The 7 stades which he assigns to the circumference of the walls of Panopeus is exactly confirmed by the present remains.

Panopeus partook of the ruin of the other cities of Phocis at the end of the Phocian war, but like them also was re-established by the Athenians and Thebans a little before the battle of Chæroneia [1]. In the time of Pausanias, although it had neither agora, nor theatre, nor gymnasium, nor fountain [2], nor public building for the use of the magistrates [3], and consisted only of huts on the side of a torrent, it was still called a city, and sent deputies to the Phocic council. The only antiquities besides its walls were the tumulus of Tityus on the side of the torrent [4], and a building of crude bricks, containing a statue of Pentelic marble, but whether intended for Æsculapius or for Prometheus, Pausanias could not ascertain. Panopeus having been placed between two cities, which were themselves not 5 miles asunder, seems to have derived its importance from being the frontier fortress of Phocis, towards Bœotia. We find, accordingly, considerable remains of the ancient walls; their general form is a triangle, of which the southern side follows a course parallel to the torrent of Mera, and the two others inclose the northern face

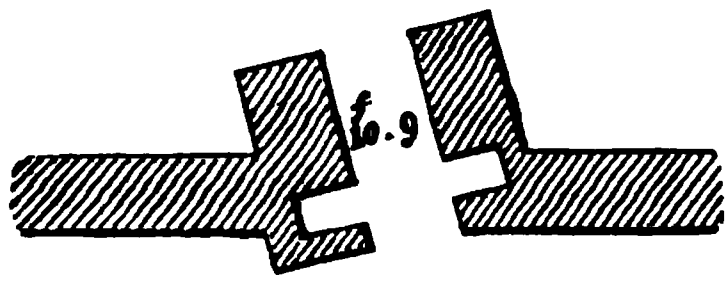
[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 3.

[2] ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην.—Ibid. c. 4.

[3] ἀρχεῖα.

[4] ἐπὶ τῇ χαράδρᾳ.

of the hill, forming an angle, somewhat greater than a right angle, at the south-west. They included a small portion of the plain at the north-western end of the site. Here the walls are built in lines nearly straight, and were flanked with towers at the usual intervals. On the height the sides are broken into re-entering and salient angles, in the manner best suited to defend the ascent of the rocks, with towers at the most prominent angles, projecting 20 feet from the walls, and in some places still 30 feet high. The masonry is of the third or intermediate order, between the polygonal, in which there were no regular courses, and that in which the courses were equal and horizontal. Each of the two summits into which the hill is divided had its interior inclosure. That to the south-west retains three gates: one leading to the lower town, and two opening to the country. In all the three, the entrance is oblique to the wall, as in the annexed plan of one of the latter gates.



The torrent of Mera is evidently the χάραδρα which Pausanias mentions, and was probably the Bœoto Phocic boundary. Some large masses of stone on this side, which appear to have fallen from the hill, may answer to those sandy coloured rocks from which Prometheus made the human race, but I can neither perceive the smell of human flesh in

them, which Pausanias recognised, nor any remains of the tumulus of Tityus, although, according to the same traveller, it was not less than a stade in circumference.

At Kápurna, scarcely any vestiges of the town wall of *Chæroneia* are traceable in the plain, but in the Acropolis, which incloses an extremely rugged height, there is a large piece of wall, of masonry of the third order, in excellent preservation, and well calculated to give an idea of the beautiful and imposing effect of this fine mode of building when complete. The hill corresponds exactly to the "precipitous height above the city, called Petrachus [1]," though Pausanias, who thus describes Petrachus, has not mentioned it as the Acropolis of Chæroneia, which the existing fortifications prove the hill in question to have been. The other remains at Kápurna are a theatre, of which all the middle part was excavated in the rock of Mount Petrachus, and the ends consisted of a mass of earth faced with masonry, of which the ruins still remain. Several rows of the lower seats are evidently buried below the earth, accumulated at the foot of the height; but there are two diazomata, or præcinctions, above ground, and consequently three divisions of seats. In the lowest division three or four seats only are now visible above the surface; the middle contains twelve rows, and the upper four, above which there is a high perpendicular excavation in the

[1] Ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πετραχὺς καλούμενος.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 41.

rock, and the remains of two or three rows of seats above it.

On the face of the same rock is inscribed, in letters of the best times, with the omicron smaller than the other letters, the words *Ἀπόλλωνος δαφναφορίῳ, Ἀρτάμιδος σοωδίνας*[1]. In some inscriptions reported by Meletius as existing at Chæroneia in his time[2], we find the same Bœotic dialect employed, and the same Diana mentioned, but with the more common epithet of Eilethuia, or in the Bœotic dialect, *Εἰλειθίη*. The worship of the same deity, but without the epithet is recorded on another monument, erected in honour of one of her priestesses by the council and people of the Chæronenses[3].

A stone in the wall of a church near a fountain below the theatre, is inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Macrinus, by the council and people of the Chæronenses. It is difficult to decipher the second name of the emperor, but it certainly is not Opilius, as usually written in Latin authors. To me it appears to be ΟΝΦΑΛΙΟΣ, *i. e.* Omphalius[4].

[1] V. Inscription, No. 24.

[2] (1) *Εὔνομα, Ἀμφίλυτος, Κριτολάα, Πουθίας, Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθίῃ·*

(2) *Κριτύλαος, Ἀριστίων, Κάλλις, Καλλιπίδας, Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθίῃ·*

(3) *Ἐνπέδωνος . . . . ἄρχοντος, μηνὸς Θηλουθίου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, Πάλλας Κρίτωνος ἀνατίθησιν τὴν ἰδίαν θεράπαιναν Καλλὼ ἱερὰν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. . . . . .*—Melet. Vol. ii. p. 335. 8vo. Ven.

[3] *Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Χαιρωνέων τὴν ἱερείαν Ἀρτέμιδος Χαροπείναν, Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Διδύμου θυγατέρα, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν θέαν θρησκείας.*

[4] *. . . . καὶ θειότα (τον) αὐτοκράτο(ρα) Μάρκον Ὀνφάλιον Σεβηρὸν Μακρεινὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Χαιρωνέων.*—V. Inscription, No. 25.

Another inscription on a stone at the same fountain was engraved in honour of Demetrius Autobulus, a Platonic philosopher, by his maternal grandson Flavius Autobulus[1]. An ancient church of the Panaghía, in the village, preserves many remains of ancient art, particularly an inscribed marble, upon which are several records of the dedication of certain slaves, both male and female, to Sarapis, by which process they obtained their liberty, or at least became ἱεροδουλοι, or slaves only to the god. In some instances the manumission was immediate, but more frequently after the life of the owners, and with a reserve of the children born of them in the meantime. The names of the Bœotian months Homolius, Alalcomeneius, Thelu-thius, Prostaterius, and Bucatius, occur in these documents[2]. It appears from the inscriptions re-

The following is a Latin inscription in honour of the same emperor, the shortness of whose reign has rendered such monuments rare:—Herculi victori. Pro Salute Imp. Cæs. M. Opelii Aureli Severi Macrini Aug. L. Jubentius L. F. Ter. Severus Aug. N. dispensator.—Gruter. p. 50.

As Macrinus reigned only one year, A.D. 217, 218, we have the exact date of the inscription of Chæroneia.

[1] *Δαμάτριον Αὐτόβουλον φιλόσοφον Πλατωνικὸν Φλάβιος Αὐτόβουλος τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς πάππον.*—V. Inscript. No. 26.

The Autobuli appear from the following inscription which Meletius found at the same fountain, to have been descendants of the celebrated Plutarch.

Σέξτον Κλαύδιον Αὐτόβουλον, ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρὶ, ἔκτον ἀπὸ Πλουτάρχου, ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν ἐν βίῳ καὶ λόγοις ἐπιδειξάμενον ἐν τῇ . . . . . β', ἡ πρὸς μητρὸς μάμμη Καλλίκλεια . . . . καὶ οἱ γονεῖς καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ . . . . . —Melet. vol. ii. p. 334.

[2] See the text of several of these inscriptions at the end of this volume.

ported by Meletius, that slaves, both male and female, were dedicated in the same manner to Diana, Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθίῃ. The other remains of antiquity in the church of the Panaghía are an antique chair of marble, called by the *learned* ὁ φρόνος τοῦ Πλουτάρχου[1] (Plutarch's chair),—two columns of dark grey granite, two Ionic capitals, and many ancient fragments in the walls. A large pedestal without any inscription forms the altar or holy table[2].

Pausanias has neither noticed the theatre of Chæroneia, nor the temples of Diana and Sarapis, which the inscriptions prove to have existed here, and which stood, perhaps, upon the very sites of the churches where the inscriptions are found. According to him, the principal object of veneration at that time was the sceptre, or, as they called it, the spear[3] of Jupiter, made by Vulcan, and the only one of the reputed works of Vulcan which Pausanias considered genuine. It was kept in the house of a priest annually appointed, and was said to have been found between Chæroneia and Panopeus, whither it had been brought by Electra, daughter of Agamemnon, to whom it devolved through Hermes and Pelops. Daily sacrifices were made to the sceptre, and a table stood constantly before it, covered with meat and cakes, which accords so exactly with some of the representations on the temples of Egypt, that one cannot

[1] φρόνος for θρόνος, like Φήβα for Θῆβαι. Pindar, a Bœotian, in like manner used φὴρ for θήρ.

[2] ἁγία τράπεζα.

[3] δόρυ.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 40.

but suspect that the worship was derived from thence, together with that of Sarapis, and that the local mythus was a posterior invention.

On the summit of Mount Petrachus stood a small statue of Jupiter, and in some part of the territory[1] were two trophies erected by Sylla and the Romans for their victory over Taxiles. Of the more celebrated victory of Philip, son of Amyntas, on the same scene of action, there was not any such monument, because the erecting of trophies was contrary to the Macedonian custom. But there was a polyandrium of the Thebans who were slain in that battle, surmounted by a lion, not far from Chæroneia, on the road to Lebadeia, and it would seem from Strabo, that here stood also monuments, erected at the public expense, in honour of all who had fallen on the same occasion[2]. As these memorials were probably on the field of the first battle of Chæroneia, the situation of which no ancient author has exactly described, we may presume that a large tumulus, which rises conspicuously from the plain near the right bank of the Cephissus, is not a monument of the victory of Philip, but the place of sepulture of those who fell in the contest of the Romans with the Mithradatic army, for that tumulus, instead of being in the road from Chæroneia to Lebadeia, is about midway to Orchomenus, and it seems evident from Plutarch, that the Roman battle occurred in the middle of the plain.

In the time of Pausanias, Chæroneia was noted

[1] χώρα.

[2] *ταφὴ πέσοντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ δημόσια.*—Strabo, p. 414.

for the manufacture of oils extracted from odoriferous flowers.

Quitting Kápurna at seven in the evening for Livadhía, we follow the foot of the hills for a quarter of an hour, then ascend them, and at the summit enter upon a plain of a rich soil, now very muddy, which we cross in a quarter of an hour by a paved road, then descend and enter the plain of Livadhía, fifty-five minutes from Kápurna. Ten minutes farther cross a stream flowing to the left, the same already mentioned as the western branch of the river of Livadhía, then passing through fields of rice and kalambókki, by a muddy road and bad pavement, at the end of one hour and twenty minutes from Kápurna, enter Livadhía.

CHAPTER XII.

BŒOTIA.

Livadhía, *Mideia*, *Lebadeia*, river *Hercyna*, *Grove of Trophonius*—Inscriptions of Livadhía—*Coroneia*—*Alalcomenæ*—Petra—Mountains *Libethrium*, *Laphystium Tilphossium*—*Temple of Minerva Itonia*—Rivers *Curalius*, *Phalarus*, *Isomantus*—Krúpi—Skripú, *Orchomenus*, *Treasury of Minyas*, Monastery of Skripú, *Temple of the Graces*, Inscriptions—Rivers *Cephissus*, *Melas*—*Lake Cephissis*—*Tegyra*.

DEC. 2.—The town of Livadhía has an imposing appearance from the northward, and forms a scene no less singular than beautiful. Its houses are surrounded for the most part with gardens, and thus occupy a large space of ground on some steep acclivities at the foot of a precipitous height which is crowned with a ruined castle, said to have been built by the Catalans. This height is an abrupt northerly termination of Mount *Helicon*, and is separated eastward from similar hills by a torrent issuing from the mountain between lofty precipices, and falling with great rapidity over a rocky bed as it passes through the middle of the town. It is the ancient Hercyna. Above the Kastro, or castle hill, it is generally dry, the principal contribution of water being from some sources at the southern extremity of the town, under the eastern side of the Kastro. Derivations are

made from it to every part of the town, and into the gardens which surround the houses. There are springs also in many parts of the site; so that by the effect of this abundance of water, combined with the shelter of the overhanging mountains, the air in the summer, in the upper part of the town, during an hour or two in the morning and evening, has a most agreeable coolness, as I experienced when I was last at Livadhía: the same mountains, however, by excluding the regular breezes, cause the general temperature to be excessively hot, and in winter create humidity, by depriving the town of the sun's rays, which at present no longer fall even upon the lowest quarter of the town after two o'clock. From these causes the climate is not considered either agreeable or healthy, and it is said that in summer, in consequence of the want of ventilation, the noxious exhalations of the irrigated fields of cotton and rice, although near two miles distant from the upper quarter of the town, are felt in every part of it. Velítza, having a similar position and aspect, is affected in the same manner by the adjacent mountain; and there the village was in shade even before one o'clock. In fact, all the ancient cities of Doris, Phocis, and Bœotia, which occupied the strong and otherwise advantageous situations under the northern sides of Parnassus and Helicon, experienced more or less the same inconvenience, and had a similar climate in winter, as Pausanias has remarked in particular respecting Lilæa[1].

[1] ἔχει δὲ ἡ Λίλαια καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας μετωπώρου καὶ ἐν θέρει καὶ ἦρος ἐπιτηδείως· τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μὴ ὁμοίως ἧπιον γίνεσθαι, κωλύει τὸ ὄρος ὁ Παρνασσός.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 33.

Livadhía has a greater air of opulence than any place in Northern Greece, not even excepting Ioánnina. This is partly real in consequence of the small number of Turks who generally are not only poor themselves but the cause of poverty in others, and is partly the effect of the construction of the larger Greek houses, which having spacious chambers and galleries in the Turkish manner, are shown to advantage on the steep declivity of the hill. It may be observed, however, that this style of building, the effect of Greek vanity always ready to ape Turkish grandeur, although agreeable in summer is in general little suited to a place where the winter is both long and severe. There are about 1500 houses in the town, of which 130 only are Turkish. The most conspicuous object is a tower with a clock in it. The district contains seventy villages, of which the largest are Dhadhí and Arákhova. Xerokhóri, Fyla, and several others in *Eubœa*, are inscribed in the vilayéti, as well as Kálamo and some others in Attica.

The Homeric Mideia was situated, according to Pausanias, on a height[1], from whence the inhabitants under the conduct of Lebadus, an Athenian removed to the lower ground[2], and there built the town to which they gave the name of Lebadeia. It would seem, therefore, that Mideia stood on the site of the Kastro, and of the western division of the modern town, having its eastern side defended by the Hercyna, and that Lebadeia occupied the

[1] *ᾠκεῖτο ἐπὶ μετεώρου.*—Pausan. Bœot. c. 39.

[2] *ἐς τὸ χθάμαλον.*

lowest part of the present town. It is difficult to believe, however, that the Kastro was not at all times a part of the ancient city, being so essential to its safety. The only remains of antiquity are some Hellenic squared stones in the walls of the ruined castle, with a few inscriptions and architectural fragments dispersed in the town. This strong and well-watered position having always been occupied by a considerable population, the ancient materials have so long been applied to repairs that nothing is now left in its original position.

Lebadeia was chiefly celebrated for the oracle of Trophonius, son of Erginus, king of Orchomenus, who, at a time when the Greeks were chiefly indebted to Phœnicia for artists [1], obtained with the aid of his brother Agamedes, such celebrity as a constructor of temples, treasuries, palaces, and other works [2], that by a consequence natural in a superstitious age of the admiration in which his

[1] That Phœnicia was looked up to by the Greeks as a school of art before the Trojan war, may be inferred from some passages in Homer. The pilasters which adorned the entrance of the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, some fragments of which are in the British Museum, resemble the Persian style, which we may suppose to have been allied to the Phœnician. It is not uncommon to find very ancient engraved gems in the Moréa, of a similar style of art. The masonry of some Phœnician ruins in the island of Gozo, which have only recently been excavated, greatly resembles that of the great entrance into Mycenæ.

[2] *τούτους φασὶν, ὡς ηὐξήθησαν, γενέσθαι δεινοὺς θεοῖς τε ἱερὰ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ βασίλεια ἀνθρώποις.* — Pausan. Bœot. c. 37.

talents were held, he was believed after his death to predict futurity, and to have been the son not of Erginus but of Apollo [1]. The extensive reputation which his oracle had acquired at a remote period, is proved by its having been consulted by Crœsus and Mardonius [2]; and more than six centuries afterwards, its administrators were still successful in maintaining the popular delusion. Pausanias, who himself consulted the oracle, has left us an accurate description of the process, omitting only what he saw or heard in the sacred adytum, which it was not lawful to reveal [3]. He describes the grove of Trophonius as situated at a small distance from Lebadeia, or as separated from Lebadeia by the river Hercyna, for the defective text leaves his meaning doubtful [4]. The source of the river was in a cavern which contained upright statues holding sceptres with serpents entwined on them. It was uncertain whether these were statues of Æsculapius and Hygieia, or of Trophonius and Hercyna. On the river's bank there was a temple of Hercyna, containing the statue of a virgin bearing a goose in her hand. It represented the nymph Hercyna, from whom, when playing with Proserpine, a goose escaped, flew into the cavern, and concealed itself under a stone: Proserpine, having

[1] This, adds Pausanias, I believe, as will every one who consults the oracle.

[2] Herodot. l. 1, c. 46, l. 8, c. 134.

[3] Pausan. Bœot. c. 39.

[4] The words are *διείργει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς* (scil. *τῆς πόλεως*) *τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Τροφωνίου*, which can hardly be complete; hence it has been proposed to insert the words *Ἕρκυνα ὁ ποταμὸς* after *Τροφωνίου*.

drawn forth the goose and removed the stone, water followed, and became the source of the river Hercyna. Upon the bank of the river there was also a monument of Arcesilaus.

The grove of Trophonius contained his temple, in which was his statue by Praxiteles, resembling a statue of Æsculapius, — a temple of Ceres, surnamed Europe, who was the nurse of Trophonius, and a statue in the open air of Jupiter Hyetius (Pluvius). Above this place was the oracle [1], and farther on in the mountain [2] the hunting-place of Proserpine [3]; also a large unfinished temple of Jupiter the King, a temple of Apollo, and another temple containing statues of Cronus, Juno and Jupiter. He who had resolved to consult the Oracle, first passed a certain number of days in a building sacred to the good dæmon and to good fortune [4], where, among other expiations, he was enjoined to abstain from ablution in hot water, and to bathe in the Hercyna; he sacrificed to the deities worshipped in the grove, and a priest [5] declared from the entrails of the victims whether Trophonius was favourable to the sacrificer. On the night of consultation he again sacrificed a ram in the trench [6] of Agamades, at the pillar [7] of the same person, whom he invoked. At this trench the ground was said to have opened and received

[1] *ἀναβᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον.* — *Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους.*

[2] *ἀναβᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους.*

[3] *Κόρης θήρα.*

[4] *Δαίμονος Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς.*

[5] *μάντις.*

[6] *ἐς βόθρον.*

[7] *στήλη.*

Trophonius when he quitted the earth. The appearance of the victim was here considered as of more importance than at the former place. If they were still found to be favourable, the consulter of the Oracle was conducted to the Hercyna, where he was washed and anointed by two young citizens of Lebadeia called the Hermæ. He was then led to the two fountains of the Hercyna [1], which were close to one another, and drank of them; first of the fountain of oblivion, to obtain forgetfulness of preceding events; and then of the fountain of memory, to strengthen his remembrance of what he was about to behold. He next addressed his prayers to a wooden statue of Trophonius, made by Dædalus, which none but those who consulted the Oracle were allowed to see, after which, clothed in a linen garment [2], girded with sashes [3], and wearing sandals peculiar to the place [4], he was conducted to the Oracle [5]. The first object which presented itself was a circular barrier, equal in size to a threshing-floor of very small dimensions [6], it was formed by a basement of white marble about two and a half feet high [7], upon which stood spits [8] of brass connected together by bands [9] of the same material. Within the circumference [10] was a hollow [11], not natural, but constructed artificially in the

[1] τοῦ ὕδατος.
[2] χιτῶνα λινοῦν.
[3] ταινίαις.
[4] ἐπιχωρίας κρηπῖδας.
[5] πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον.
[6] ἅλων τὴν ἐλαχίστην.
[7] ἀποδέουσι δύο πήχεις.
[8] ὀβελοί.
[9] ζῶναι.
[10] περιβόλου.
[11] χάσμα γῆς.

most finished manner [1], and in form resembling an oven (or kiln) [2], the diameter was about four peeks (six feet), and the depth not more than eight peeks (twelve feet). There was no constructed descent, but a light narrow ladder was brought for the use of him who descended, and who found at the bottom a small opening between the bottom and the masonry [3] two spans (a foot and a half) wide, and of which the height appeared to be one span (nine inches) [4]. Lying on his back, and holding honey-cakes in his hands, he introduced his legs into the hole, and then his knees, when on a sudden the rest of his body was carried forward with rapidity, as if involved in the current of a rapid and mighty river. The future was then revealed to him; not to all persons in the same manner, but to some by the sight, and to others by the hearing. He returned by the same opening by which he entered, and again with the legs foremost. The priests then conducted him to the throne of memory, which was not far from the Adytum, where they questioned him as to what he had seen, and then delivered him to his friends, who led him back to the sanctuary of Agathodæmon. At first he was so terrified, that he appeared to have no recollection either of himself or others, but at length recovered his mind and the power of laughing, and was bound to inscribe on a tablet [5] what he had seen or heard.

[1] *οὐκ αὐτόματον, ἀλλὰ σὺν τέχνῃ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ᾠκοδομημένον.*

[2] *κριβάνῳ.*

[3] *ὀπὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἐδάφους καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος.*

[4] *σπιθαμῶν τὸ εὖρος δύο, τὸ δε ὕψος ἐφαίνετο εἶναι σπιθαμῆς.*

[5] *ἐν πίνακι.*

Such is the account of Pausanias from his own experience. Philostratus, the only other author who has entered into particulars of the same kind, has added little or nothing to Pausanias, and differs from him only in describing as made of iron the railing of the circular barrier, which Pausanias states to have been brazen.

I have already remarked, that the river which traverses Livadhía is the continuation of an occasional torrent from Mount *Helicon*, which is joined by some copious sources at the southern extremity of the town, on the eastern side of the Castle hill. It is evident that these were the reputed springs of the river Hercyna, adjoining to which was the Grove of Trophonius. They issue on either side of the torrent, those on the left bank from the rock, through several small spouts, which are sometimes dry in summer, as I witnessed in the month of July. Those on the right bank of the torrent form the main body of the river at all times, and flow perpetually from under the rocks in many large streams, the subterraneous course of which is, apparently, from near a cavern in the rocks on the right side of the ravine, which is now almost choked up by the rubbish of the town, of which that situation happens to be a common place of deposit. The great sources are called τὰ γλυφὰ νερὰ, or the water unfit for drinking, in contradistinction to the other springs, which are named τὰ κριὰ, or the cold waters; in fact, the former are of a higher temperature, and not so agreeable to the taste. Immediately above the Kriá on the side of the Castle hill, is the cavern which the learned of Livadhía point out as the Cave of Trophonius. It is not very deep, does not

reach down to the soil of the valley, nor has it any appearance of an interior opening, though there are some traces of artificial excavations in it, and of niches and inscriptions near it [1].

Such being the present appearance of the sources of the Hercyna and adjoining places, it becomes impossible to apply the description of Pausanias with any certainty, there being, instead of one source in a cavern, two sources, and a cavern opposite to each, and neither source having its origin in its corresponding cavern. As to the latter discrepancy, nothing is more likely than that during the ages which have elapsed since the sacred grove and its buildings were first ruined, and their site left to the effects of natural causes, the torrent, or even the ordinary rains, should have obstructed the caverns with alluvial soil, and should have caused one or both the springs to emerge on the bank of the torrent below the cavern, instead of issuing in the cave itself. But admitting this supposition, there still remains the question, which of the caverns contained the reputed source of the Hercyna? I think the eastern; first, because the permanent and larger sources of the river are on that side; secondly, because that situation will suit either of the two interpretations given to the words of Pausanias descriptive of the position of the grove relatively to that of the city, while the western cavern is not well adapted to either; thirdly, because the wider and more sloping ground was there better suited to contain the grove and its buildings, which required a considerable space,

[1] V. Inscription, No. 34.

than that on the western side, where the space between the Kriá neră and the perpendicular rocks of the Castle hill is not only narrow, but almost entirely exposed to inundation from the torrent. It seems more probable, therefore, that the sacred inclosure and its various structures occupied the ground around the Glyfá and the cavern on that side. It is clear from the narrative of Pausanias, that the μαντεῖον, or place where the oracle was enounced, was quite distinct from the cavern of the sources, though it appears to have been situated also at the foot of the hill, since he describes it as ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους. The description which he has given of the well constructed of masonry, with an elevated border, surmounted by a railing of brass, is perfectly intelligible; but the ὀπὴ, or cavity, at the bottom of the wall within, was so small, that unless we suppose all that followed the introduction of the legs of the consulter of the oracle into this aperture, to have been the effect of his own imagination[1], it is necessary to conclude, that the priests had some concealed mode of enlarging the opening, which is the more probable, as a circumstance mentioned by Pausanias favours the opinion, that there was not only a cavern or subterraneous chamber, but a second opening. He states, that a soldier of Demetrius (Poliorcetes), who had entered the adytum without performing the previous rites, and with the hope of finding something there worth stealing, was deprived of life in consequence of his impiety; and

[1] Plutarch introduces, in his dialogue on the genius of Socrates, a man who describes himself as having been two nights and a day in the cavern of Trophonius, and as having seen an abundance of strange visions in that time.

his body was found cast out, not near the sacred entrance[1], but in another place. However this may be, it is evident that nothing but an extensive excavation can lead to the discovery of the adytum, since the ὀπὴ, or aperture, was twelve feet below the circular κρηπὶς of white marble, and there has probably been a considerable accumulation of soil above that which was the surface in the time of Pausanias. I am informed that the torrent, although now dry, sometimes pours a potent stream into the *Hercyna;* its origin is in an elevated plain, situated between the summit of *Helicon*, nearest to Livadhía, and the heights of which the Castle hill and opposite rocks form the termination. This plain is cultivated in some parts by the people of Surbi.

The three inscriptions which have been published by Spon and Wheler, are still in existence. That which is in the mosque, formerly a church on the hill near the castle, is in excellent preservation. The stone forms the lintel of the door of the minaret of the mosque. The two other inscriptions are lying in the yard of another mosque, at the Bazár, and seem to have suffered some erasure since the time of the two travellers. A third inscription in the same inclosure, not noticed by them, but published by Pococke, with his usual inaccuracy, still remains, but very much damaged. Of these four ancient documents the first mentioned is a dedication to Juno Basilis by a priest, at the

[1] κατὰ στόμα τὸ ἱερόν.

termination of his quinquennial administration; during which his wife also had been priestess[1]. The epithet Basilis corresponds to that of the Jupiter Basileus, whose large unfinished temple stood in the grove of Trophonius. And the word πενταετηρὶς is illustrated by a fifth inscription, which I found in a private house in the town. It is in the Bœotic dialect, in characters beautifully formed, and evidently of a much earlier period than the dedication to Juno Basilis. It testifies that Neon, the son of Ascon, after having held the office of Agonothetes in the Basileia, dedicated a vase, for anointing with oil, to Jupiter the king, and to the city[2]. It can hardly be questioned, therefore, that the quinquennium mentioned in the dedication to Juno Basilis, related to the Basileia, which recurred, like the Olympic festival and many others, at the end of four complete years. The Basileia was probably the same institution named at a later period Trophonia, which we find noticed by two Greek authors[3], as well as in an inscription of Megara,

[1] Ἥρᾳ βασιλίδι καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων. Μένανδρος Χρησίμου, ἱερητεύσας πενταετηρίδα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἱερητευούσης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Παρησίας τῆς Ὀνασιμβρότου.—V. Inscr. No. 29.

[2] Νέων Fάσκω(νος)
ἀγωνοθετεί(σας)
τὰ Βασίλεια
τὸ ἐληοχρισ(τήριον, or ιον)
ἀνέθεικε τοῖ (Διἰ)
τοῖ Βασιλεῖ(κῃ τῇ)
πόλι.
—V. Inscr. No. 33.

χριστήρια δὲ μεθ' ὧν ἐχρίοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς τοπαλαιόν.
Suid. in Χρίσμα.

To anoint with oil was one of the ceremonies of the grove of Trophonius: ἐλαίῳ χρίουσι δύο παῖδες, &c.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 39.

[3] J. Poll. l. 1, c. 1, § 37.

published by Spon and Wheler; for it appears that the oracular predictions were ascribed to Jupiter, and that the deity worshipped here was often called Jupiter Trophonius[1]. The great unfinished temple of Jupiter mentioned by Pausanias was probably commenced not long after the battle of Leuctra, for we are informed by Diodorus that Epaminondas, with a view to encourage the Bœotians, when preparing for the battle, procured a person to pretend that, having consulted the oracle of Trophonius, he was ordered to communicate to the army, that when they had obtained the victory, they were to institute a periodical festival at Lebadeia in honour of Jupiter the king[2]. The Basileia was established accordingly, and was accompanied by a stephanites agon or contest, in which the victor was rewarded with a crown[3].

The three inscriptions at the mosque in the

Schol. Pind. Ol. 7, v. 154. Larcher, Hist. d'Hérodote, l. 8, note 195, cites Philemon in the Lexicon of Apollonius, to show that the games were also called Ἐρώτεια βασίλεια: the name Eroteia appears to have had its origin in a tragical love story told by Plutarch (in narrat. Amator.), of one Straton of Orchomenus, who became enamoured of Aristocleia of Haliartus, as he saw her bathing in the fountain Hercyna, previously to her carrying the sacred basket in the rites of Jupiter the king, τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ κανηφορεῖν.

[1] Liv. l. 45, c. 28. Strabo, p. 414.

[2] Another of the devices of the Theban commander was to cause the arms, which were suspended in the temple of Hercules at Thebes, to be suddenly removed, which the priests interpreted to mean that Hercules was about to make use of his arms to assist the Bœotians.

[3] Diodor. l. 15, c. 53.

Bazár are all in the Bœotic dialect. The first is a conscription of the young men of twenty years of age[1], in the year when Charopinus was archon of the Bœotians, and . . . . . magistrate of Lebadeia. The names I did not copy, because many of the letters are doubtful, and accuracy is the more necessary in consequence of the singularity of the dialect. The second inscription at the mosque is more complete, and contains a dedication to Trophonius (here written Trephonius), by the horsemen of Lebadeia, for a victory in the Pambœotian festival[2]. These two inscriptions were published by Spon and Wheler. The third, of which there is a copy in the Inscriptiones Antiquæ of Pococke, has the remains of the words ἔδοξε τῇ πόλι Λεβαδειήων in the first line, and seems to have contained a catalogue of dedications or deposits in the temple of Trophonius[3].

From Dec. 3 to Dec. 8.—In the course of these days I made several excursions from Livadhía, particularly one in search of Coroneia and Alalcomenæ, in company with Mr. Gell, whom I found at Livadhía. The former of these ancient places is supposed by the Greeks to have stood at Grá-

[1] The letters as I copied them were IKATIΓETIEΣ, but the middle letter was doubtless not a γ, but a digamma; and the word ϜικατιϜετιες, the Bœotic form of εἰκοσιέτεις—men of twenty years of age.—V. Inscr. No. 30.

[2] Τοὶ ἱππότῃ Λεβαδειήων ἀνέθιαν Τρεφωνίῳ, νικάσαντες ἱππασίῃ Παμβοιώτια, ἱππαρχίοντος Δεξίππω Σαυκρατείω, Ϝιλαρχιόντων Μύτωνος Θρασωνίω, Ἐπιτίμω Σαυκρατείω.—V. Inscr. No. 31.

The Pambœotia were celebrated periodically at the temple of Minerva Itonia, near Coroneia.—Strabo, p. 411.

[3] V. Inscr. No. 32.

nitza, on the mountain to the eastward of Livadhía, because the Bishop of Coroneia resides there. But that situation does not agree with the ancient authorities. Following the road from Livadhía to Thebes, along the foot of the Gránitza mountain, we arrive in forty-seven minutes at a kalývia of Gránitza, on the foot of the mountain: here stands a single Hellenic tower, about half of which remains. On the opposite side of the plain are seen the walls of *Orchomenus*, inclosing the extremity of the mountain above Skripú. We then follow the foot of the mountain for seven minutes, pass some large perennial springs, and in forty-seven minutes more, opening upon a valley which extends several miles in a southerly direction towards *Helicon*, arrive at a fountain where are two or three sepulchral inscriptions, with nothing but the name in the nominative and χαῖρε. This was a common kind of epitaph in Bœotia. Another, often employed both here and in Phocis, was the name in the dative preceded by the preposition ΕΠΙ. In neither mode, the father's name occurs. The first is precisely the Sicyonian fashion, as described by Pausanias. The Athenians invariably inscribed the name both of the man's father and of his demus. We have now directly before us a bicipitous height, standing at the entrance of the valley, watered on either side by a rivulet, stretching southward towards Helicon, in a direction parallel to the adjacent mountains, and thus dividing the valley into two branches; this height is undoubtedly the position of *Coroneia*. Both the streams rise in *Helicon*; the eastern flows from Mount Zagará; the

western, which is considerably the larger, is composed of branches from Steveníko and Mount Paleovúni, and from St. George and the mountain of Gránitza[1]. This river is crossed by a bridge on the direct road from Livadhía to Thebes. In five minutes from the fountain we ford it, and in eighteen more arrive at the summit of the Acropolis of Coroneia, which seems to have been of a circular form and large extent. There remain a fine piece of polygonal wall on the eastern, another on the southern side of the Acropolis, some large masses of Roman tile-work on the very summit, and a piece of the town wall at the bottom of the hill, on the south-eastern side. Fragments of ancient pottery are observable in the fields on every side, but more particularly toward the south-east, where the town seems chiefly to have been situated, and where a great part of it must have been hid from the view of *Orchomenus* and the plain. There are several sources of water on the same side of the hill, many pieces of ancient squared stones in two ruined churches, and at a third church, just below a ruined tower of lower Greek or Frank construction, two inscriptions, one only of which is in a copy-

[1] I learn from Mr. Finlay, who in the spring of 1829 crossed from Khósia by Kúkora and Steveníko to St. George, that the chief sources of this river are at a chapel between Steveníko and St. George, where are many remains of antiquity, and the following inscriptions:—1. Θεὸν Ἀδριανὸν, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἐπιμελοῦντος Π. Αἰλίου Διωνύμου. 2. Ἐπὶ Ἀρίστῳ Ἀρίστωνος, Ἀριστονείκα λε (35) χρηστὲ χαῖρε. 3. Ἀρίστων, Ἀρχελάα, Ἀριστονείκα. 4. Ἵππων— 5. Φοισίας. No. 4. is in characters of the best times. No. 5. in very ancient; the φ is thus, ⊕; the Σ thus, ⊆.

able state of preservation. It is in honor of one Paramonus, who had held the office of strategus; like many similar inscriptions, it does not contain the name of the city[1]. Here also is a sculpture in low relief, almost buried in the ground, together with some fragments of sepulchral and other wrought stones. At a Turkish fountain close by are two or three other mnemata inscribed only with names.

Having crossed the stream on the eastern side of the hill of Coroneia, which, after following the foot of the heights for a short distance, crosses the plain, and joins the marshes below A. Dhimítri, we proceed eastward along the foot of the mountain, which here ends in a little low cliff and projecting point under the village of Koriani, or Goriani[2]. This point, as well as the slope of the hill has a fertile soil, and is now ploughed. Continuing along the extremity of the heights, we pass under the village of Sulinári, from whence flow two or three rivulets; beyond the last, on a rocky end of the slope, are some polygonal foundations, apparently those of a single building, such as a temple. They are remains perhaps of the peribolus of the temple of Minerva Alalcomeneis, already celebrated in the time of Homer[3]; for the situation corresponds perfectly to that of Alalcomenæ,

[1] Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Παράμονον Λ . . . . . στρατηγήσα(ντα) ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.—V. Inscr. No. 28.

[2] Κωριανὴ, Γκωριανή.

[3] Δοιαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρήγονές εἰσι Θεαῶν
Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηὶς Ἀθήνη.
Il. Δ. v. 7.

as indicated by Strabo and Pausanias[1]. The neighbouring stream therefore is the Triton, upon the banks of which, near the lake, stood the towns Athenæ and Eleusis, which were destroyed by an inundation[2]. About midway between the Triton and the projecting precipitous hill called Petra, are some squared stones and fragments of ancient pottery at a ruined church. The road from Sulinári to Rastamýti[3] crosses a connecting ridge, which unites the Petra with the other mountains. Instead of following this road as far as the latter village, we turn to the left on the crest of the ridge, and proceed to the extreme summit of the Petra, where we find some remains of a small ancient tower, or fortress, having a wall of polygonal masonry, together with the foundations of a triangular castle of later date.

This height commands an extensive and interesting view of all the western division of Bœotia, comprehending its vast plain, with the surrounding heights from the neighbourhood of Thebes to Parnassus. Assisted by the recollections of my former journey, I easily recognize all the positions which Strabo and Pausanias have described around the *Cephissian* lake. The inner, or north-eastern bay of the lake lies before us, as far down as the katavóthra, together with Topólia and the adjacent islands, about half-way between which and the mountain of the Sphinx, now called Fagá, is a remarkable aperture in the hills on the borders

[1] Strabo, p. 401, 411, 413. Pausan. Bœot. c. 33.

[2] Strabo, p. 407. Pausan. ib.

[3] Ῥαστάμύτη.

of the lake, near which stands the village of Kardhítza, probably on the site of *Acræphium*. It is easy to distinguish the several summits in the mountainous region between the Euripus and the lake Copais, to which the ancients gave the names of Ptoum, Messapium, and Hypatus. Parnes rises behind the position of Thebes.

The marshy region around the lake leaves a broad plain opposite to *Coroneia*, but at Petra advances so far as to touch this point of the mountains. Near the position of *Haliartus*, which stood on a low but conspicuous eminence, close to the foot of the hills below Mázi, the marsh again approaches very near the hills, and beyond it is seen the plain of *Haliartus*, extending from Mount Fagá to the lower acclivities of *Helicon*, and terminating eastward in the ridge of *Onchestus*, which connects those two mountains. Petra is very rocky on the northern side, and the descent is only practicable on foot. From the extreme point of the hill issue the copious sources which cause the marshes of the lake *Cephissis* to encroach so far upon this part of the plain, as to leave only room at the sources for the main route from Livadhía to Thebes, and thus to make the Petra a pass of some strength. The consequence is, that the road from Livadhía to Thebes is not unfrequently interrupted by robbers who establish themselves on the Petra. Some foundations of a Hellenic wall which are observable stretching into the plain, belonged probably to a work for the defence of the pass.

Returning to Livadhía, we cross, in 37 minutes from Petra, the bridge over the river which flows

on the north-western side of the hill of *Coroneia*. The rocky extremity under Sulinári, where are the ancient vestiges, is somewhat less than half way between Petra and the bridge. From the bridge there is an interval of 30 minutes to Kalamáki, where are several mills on the last slope of the mountain, turned by the copious springs which I passed in the morning by an upper road. Rákhi, a Kalývia of Gránitza, is half a mile to the right of Kalamáki, and beyond it, Karyá, near the borders of the marsh.

A short examination of the description which Pausanias has given of the places, comprehended in this day's excursion, will, I think, suffice to justify the ancient names which I have already assigned, as well as to identify the river Phalarus and the mountains Libethrium, Laphystium, and Tilphusium [1]. He states, that Mount Tilphusium and the fountain Tilphusa were about fifty stades distant from Haliartus. Here it was said, that Teiresias, proceeding towards Delphi from Thebes, died on drinking the water. His tomb was at the fountain [2]. Alalcomenæ was a small town [3], situated on the extreme declivity of a mountain not very high. In the plain below it [4] stood the temple of Minerva Alalcomeneis, which, having been deprived of its ancient statue of ivory by Sylla, was in consequence neglected; its ruin had been accelerated by an ivy tree, which had displaced the

[1] Pausan. Bœot. cc. 33, 34.

[2] *πηγῇ*. c. 33.

[3] *κώμη οὐ μεγάλη*.

[4] *ἀπωτέρω τῆς κώμης ἐν τῷ χθαμάλῳ*.

stones. A small torrent [1] flowed near, called Triton. Between Alalcomenæ and Coroneia, and not far from the latter [2], stood the temple of Minerva Itonia, where the common council of the Bœotians assembled. The temple contained brazen statues of Minerva Itonia, and of Jupiter, by Agoracritus, the disciple of Phidias, to which those of the Graces had recently been added. In Coroneia, the most remarkable objects were the altars of Hermes, Epimelius, and of the winds, and a little below them a temple of Juno, containing an ancient statue made by Pythodorus of Thebes, in which the goddess was represented, bearing in one hand the Sirenes [3]. Mount Libethrium was about [4] 40 stades from Coroneia; here were statues of the Muses, and of the nymphs Libethrides, and two fountains, named Libethrias and Petra, resembling the breasts of a woman, and producing water like milk. From Coroneia to Mount Laphystium and the sanctuary [5] of Jupiter Laphystius, the distance was about 20 stades: the statue was of stone. Above it there was an image of Hercules Charops. Between Mount Laphystium and the temple of Minerva Itonia, the river Phalarus crossed the road, flowing to the Lake Cephissis. Over against [6] Mount Laphystium was the city Orchomenus.

[1] *ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας χείμαρρος.*

[2] *πρὶν ἐς Κορώνειαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι.* c. 34.

[3] The Sirens had been persuaded by Juno to contend with the Muses in singing, and the latter having obtained the victory, formed crowns for themselves from the feathers of the wings of the Sirens.

[4] *ὡς.*

[5] *τέμενος.*

[6] *πέραν.*

This last remark of Pausanias seems alone sufficient to identify Mount *Laphystium* with the mountain of Gránitza, which is separated from Mount *Helicon* by a pass leading from St. George to Livadhiá, and advances near Kalamáki, north-eastward, into the plain exactly opposite to the hill of Skripú or *Orchomenus*. The exact situation of the temenus of Jupiter Laphystius cannot easily be ascertained but by the discovery of some remains of the temple, as the distance of twenty stades from *Coroneia* will correspond with many points on the mountain of Gránitza. The temple of Minerva Itonia was at the foot of the mountain in the plain on the eastern side of Coroneia, and as it would appear from Strabo, on the bank of the torrent which flows there, for he observes of this temple, that it was founded after the Trojan war by the Bœoti of the Thessalian Arne, who having been expelled from Thessaly by the Epirotes [1], occupied Coroneia, and built the temple in the plain before the city [2]. He adds, that the river which flowed by the temple, received its name Cuarius, written Coralius by Alcæus in some verses relating to Coroneia, from a Thessalian stream [3], and that at the temple of Minerva Itonia, the Pambœotian festival was celebrated. If, as seems evident from the various testimonies just cited, the river on the eastern side of Coroneia was the Cuarius, it follows that the river of St. George, on the western side, is the

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 12.

[2] ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ.—Strabo, p. 411.

[3] In p. 438 of Strabo, the Thessalian river is named Curalius. Alcæus being of Mitylene, and writing in Æolic, used ω for *ου*.

Phalarus. According to Plutarch, a branch of the Phalarus, which joined it near Coroneia, was named Isomantus, and more anciently Oplias [1]. This seems to be the rivulet from Steveníko, which joins that of St. George a little above the ancient site.

In like manner as the pass of St. George, separating the mountain of Gránitza from the main body of *Helicon*, renders probable the supposition that the former mountain had a separate name, and was the ancient Laphystium, so a similar reason leads to the opinion, that the mountain of Zagará was the ancient Libethrium; that remarkable summit being completely separated from the great heights of *Helicon*, by an elevated valley, in which are two villages named Zagará, and above them, on the rugged mountain, a monastery [2]. The distance of forty stades, which Pausanias places between Coroneia and Mount Libethrium, will correspond to some place in the vale or on the mountain of Zagará: and it is not impossible that the monastery may occupy the exact position of the sanctuary of the Muses.

[1] Πρὸς Κορώνειαν χειμαῤῥοῦν, τῷ Φαλάρῳ ποταμῷ συμφερόμενον παρὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὃν πάλαι μὲν Ὀπλίαν νῦν δὲ Ἰσόμαντον προσαγορεύουσιν.—Plutarch. in Lysand.

[2] Ζαγαρὰ, or more commonly Ζαγορὰ, is a name found in many parts of Greece, and appears to have been introduced by the Servians or Bulgarians, although no people of those races may now be found in the places so called. We learn from the Byzantine history, that the kingdom of Bulgaria, when its capital was Achris, was known at Constantinople by the name of Zagorá, which some of the Byzantines supposed to have been formed from a Greek word, ἐξαγορά.—Nicetas in Alex. Comn.—Nicephor. Gregor. l. 5, c. 1.

If Zagará was Libethrium, Tilphusium, Tilphossium or Tilphossæum was evidently confined to the height now called Petra. It is justly described by Harpocration as a mountain near the lake Copais [1]. The fortress on the summit, probably bore the same name, which was derived from the source Tilphusa or Tilphossa, at the foot of the hill [2]. In the hymn to Apollo, commonly ascribed to Homer, the word is written Delphusa [3], and seems in that ancient poem, which contains many geographical inconsistencies, to have been confounded with Delphi, a word of the same etymological origin [4], and derived also from its remarkable fountain. At Tilphusa, besides a tomb of Teiresias there was a sanctuary of Apollo Tilphosius [5].

Dec. 8.—At 10.5, quitting my lodging in the lower part of the town of Livadhía, I descend along the right side of the *Hercyna* into the valley, through gardens and a rich cultivated tract; and at 10.25, leaving the road to Kápurna to the left cross a little below the junction of its two branches, the river which is formed by the union of the *Hercyna* with that already mentioned as flowing from a valley to the westward. The Hercyna is the more considerable stream of the two, is permanent in summer, and abounds in trout, which are not produced in the western branch; the course of the united river, nevertheless, is a continuation of that of the western branch, and appears from Theophrastus to have been called, at its junction with

[1] Harpocrat. in Τιλφωσσαῖον.
[2] Pindar. ap. Athen. l. 2, c. 4. Strabo, p. 411. Pausan. Bœot. c. 33.
[3] Hymn. in Apoll. v. 244.
[4] τέλλω.
[5] Strabo, ibid.

the lake, not Hercyna, but Probatia[1], which was probably the name of the western branch. The valley which it waters, is the territory, perhaps, of a town near Lebadeia, named Trachin[2]. I have already observed, that the road from Livadhía to Kastrí and Sálona by "the triple way," as well as that to Dhístomo or *Ambryssus*, led along this valley. Proceeding, we soon arrive under some rocky hills on the northern side of the vale of *Lebadeia*,—and having passed, at 10.45, through the little hamlet of Krupi at the foot of these hills, soon begin to open the vale of *Chæroneia*. At 11.15, we are at the eastern extremity of the heights which separate the valleys of *Chæroneia* and *Lebadeia*, and which terminate northward in a projection immediately opposite to the high precipitous summit of Mount *Acontium*; midway in the plain, rises the barrow near the right bank of the *Cephissus*, which I suppose to be a monument of the battle between Sylla and the forces of Mithradates; near the tumulus, the river turns from its previous course along the foot of the Acontium, towards the middle of the plain, but near *Orchomenus* again approaches the mountain, and then "winds like a serpent[3]" round *Orchomenus* into the marshes.

[1] Theophr. de plant. l. 4, c. 12.

[2] Strabo, p. 423.

[3] . . . . Ὃς παρὰ Πανοπίδα Γληκωνά τ' ἐρυμνὴν
Καί τε δι' Ὀρχομενοῦ εἰλιγμένος εἶσι, δράκων ὡς.
Hesiod. ap. Strabon. p. 424.

It would seem, from these verses, that Glecon was another name for Chæroneia.

The direct road from Livadhía to Tálanda now branches to the left, and after crossing the plain of *Chæroneia* enters the vale which separates *Acontium* from *Edylium*, from whence it proceeds, over the connecting ridge, to Vogdháni. Before we begin to cross the plain in a direct line to the extremity of Mount Acontium, upon which Orchomenus was built, we pass an insulated hill near the extremity of the *Chæroneian* ridges, on the summit of which stands one of a system of towers, resembling those which are observable in the Moréa. They seem to have been intended for communication by signal, and may all be attributed to the Frank princes who possessed Greece in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of the most remarkable in *Bœotia* are—near Bissikéni, at Neokhório in the district of *Thespiæ*, at Megalomúlki on the site of *Haliartus*, at Xerópyrgo on a point of the hill which projects into the marshes two miles E.N.E. of *Orchomenus*, and there is another beyond the latter, not far from Topólia. We now cross the opening of the vale of *Chæroneia* direct to Skripú, cross the *Cephissus* by a bridge, and arrive at Skripú exactly at noon. This village consists of about one hundred houses, standing partly on the rocky base of the mountain, and partly on the river side in the plain, just where, after having flowed along the southern side of *Acontium*, it turns from an eastern to a north-eastern course, and thence north into the marshes. Passing through the village, we proceed to the monastery of the θεοτόκος, situated a little beyond it to the northward.

Orchomenus, like many other Greek cities, occupied the triangular face of a steep mountain, at

its rise from the plain ; and possessed in perfection those advantages of position, which the Greek engineers generally sought for, being defended on every side by precipices, rivers, and marshes. The summit is naturally separated from the ridge of *Acontium*, which accounts for the distinctive appellation Hyphanteium mentioned by Theopompus. But the upper part of the hill forming a very acute angle, was fortified differently from the customary modes.

Instead of a considerable portion of it having been inclosed to form an acropolis, there is only a small castle on the summit, having a long narrow approach to it from the body of the town, between walls which, for the last two hundred yards, are almost parallel, and not more than twenty or thirty yards asunder. Below this approach to the citadel the breadth of the hill gradually widens, and in the lowest part of the town the inclosed space is nearly square. It is defended on the lowest side by a wall, which crossed the slope of the hill along the crest of a ledge of rock, which there forms a division in the slope. In this wall, which is at three fourths of the distance from the castle to the monastery, there are some foundations of the gate which formed the lower entrance into the city; and on the outside of it are many large masses of wrought stone, the remains, apparently, of some temple or other public building. The southern wall of the city, which follows a line parallel to the *Cephissus*, is traceable, with scarcely any intermission, through a distance of three quarters of a mile; and in many places several courses of masonry are still extant. The wall derives its flank defence from square towers, placed for the most part at long intervals, with an intermediate short flank, or break, in the line of wall. In a few places, the masonry is of a very early age, but in general it is of the third kind, or almost regular. The former dates from the earlier and more celebrated Orchomenus, the latter is probably posterior to the battle of Chæroneia, when the Orchomenii were restored to their possessions by Philip, son of Amyntas, and when their city, which

had been destroyed near thirty years before by the Thebans, was re-established.

Towards the middle of the northern side the hill of *Orchomenus* is most precipitous, and here the walls are not traceable. The circumference of the whole was about two miles. The citadel occupies a rock, about forty yards in diameter, and seems to have been an irregular hexagon; but three sides only remain, no foundations being visible on the eastern half of the rock. At the northern angle are the ruins of a tower, and parallel to the north-western side there is a ditch cut in the rock, beyond which are some traces of an outwork. The hill is commanded by the neighbouring part of Mount *Acontium*, but not at such a distance as to have been of importance in ancient warfare. The access to the castle from the city was first by an oblique flight of forty-four steps, six feet wide, and cut out of the rock; and then by a direct flight of fifty steps of the same kind.

The monuments which Pausanias remarked at Orchomenus were temples of Bacchus and of the Graces, the treasury of Minyas, a fountain[1], to which there was a descent, tombs of Minyas and of Hesiod, and a brazen figure bound by a chain of iron to a rock, supposed to represent a spectre which had haunted this rock, and which the oracle of Delphi, on being consulted, pronounced to be the ghost of Actæon. The Oracle ordained that the remains of Actæon should be buried, and the statue erected which Pausanias saw. The temple of the Graces was extremely ancient; they were

[1] κρήνη.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 38.

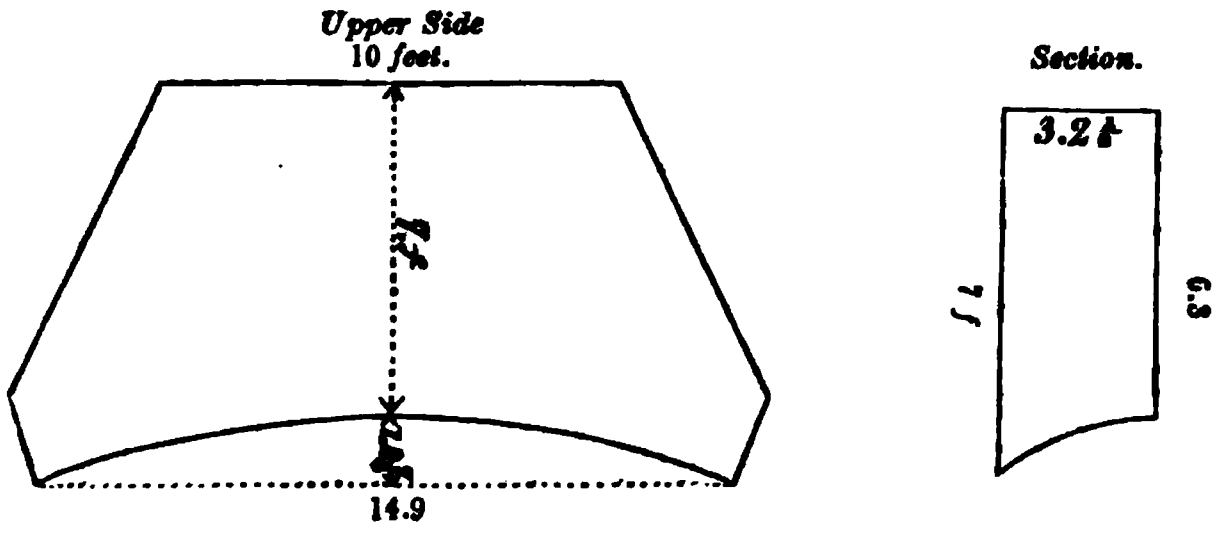
worshipped under the figure of rude stones, said to have fallen from heaven in the time of Eteocles, the founder of the temple, who lived several generations before the Trojan war. It was not until the time of Pausanias that statues of the goddesses, in stone, were added. The treasury of Minyas was a circular building rising to a summit not very pointed, but terminating in a stone which was said to hold together the entire building [1].

Some remains, which have every appearance of having belonged to the last-mentioned building, are found to the eastward of the lower wall, where the height terminates in a low projection which is separated from the river by a level only a few hundred yards in breadth. The artists employed by Lord Elgin attempted to excavate the ruins of the building, but were deterred from making much progress by the large masses of stone which presented themselves, and which they had not the means of removing. As all the lower parts of the construction are buried in the ruins of the upper, they will probably be found *in situ* whenever a complete excavation shall be made. Some details may then be obtained of this curious edifice, which was supposed to be a century more ancient than the similar building at Mycenæ, and the first of the kind that was ever erected [2]. The door-way, of which there are considerable

[1] *λίθου μὲν εἴργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περιφερές ἐστιν αὐτῷ· κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι.*

[2] *θησαυρόν τε ἀνθρώπων, ὧν ἴσμεν, Μινύας πρῶτος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν χρημάτων ᾠκοδομήσατο.* —Pausan. Bœot. c. 36.

remains, closely resembled that of the treasury of Atreus. In both, the sides of the door inclined, so as to make it wider below than above; nor are the dimensions of the corresponding parts very different in the two doors. The width is the same within a few inches: here I measured eight feet three inches immediately below the soffit, at Mycenæ eight feet six inches. There were probably two great slabs in the architrave, as at Mycenæ, though one only is now left, which is of white marble, of six unequal sides, sixteen feet in its greatest length, eight in its greatest breadth, and three feet two inches and a half in thickness. It is consequently much smaller than the larger of the two slabs above the door of the treasury of Atreus, which is twenty-eight feet long and nineteen broad on its upper surface, and three feet nine inches in thickness. As at Mycenæ, the edge of the stone, which formed a part of the interior surface of the building, was curved both horizontally and vertically. The versed sine of the arch on the upper surface is one foot three inches and seven-eighths, and the chord fourteen feet nine inches, which will give a diameter of about forty-one feet.



The corresponding dimension of the treasury of Atreus, or its diameter at the top of the door, is about

thirty-seven feet. From this comparison, therefore, it would seem that the treasury of Minyas was larger than that of Atreus, though there could hardly have been such a difference between the two monuments as the reader might infer from the admiration of Pausanias in the one instance, and his silence in the other. Of the Orchomenian building he asserts that there was nothing more wonderful either in Greece or in any other country, and he compares it to the walls of Tiryns and the pyramids of Egypt. But the extravagance of the latter comparison is brought down to a reasonable level by the former; and was probably suggested to Pausanias by a peculiarity in the Orchomenian treasury, in which it appears to have differed from that of Mycenæ [1], namely, that the former was not subterraneous like the latter, and consequently that its exterior form resembled, in some measure, that of the Egyptian pyramids. A subterraneous construction of this kind, when formed on the side of a hill as at Mycenæ, presented from without little more than an entrance into the hill between walls ending in a door-way; whereas the description of the treasury of Minyas as rising to a *summit* not very pointed, seems evidently to imply that it was not hidden in the earth. The situation of the ruins of the treasury of Minyas confirms in some measure this supposition, the ground being rocky and almost level, and therefore in neither particular adapted to a building like that of Mycenæ, which required a sloping hill of friable materials. Perhaps the assertion of the Orchomenii as to the

[1] See *Travels in the Morea*, c. 20.

upper stone of their building, which suggests a difference of construction between their treasury and that of Atreus, may also be explained by the former having been exposed to view, and not subterraneous; since it is probable that in that case the upper stone was not simply super-imposed, as at Mycenæ, but was connected with the surrounding masonry. It might even be inferred from the meaning which Pausanias on all other occasions gives to the word ἁρμονία, that the upper part of the building at Orchomenus was a dome constructed with stones shaped to a center; though it ought also to be remarked that Pausanias, by the addition of the word φασὶ, seems not to have been himself quite convinced that the assertion of the Orchomenii was correct.

Strabo observes, that the Orchomenus of his time was supposed to stand on a different site from the more ancient city, the inundations of the lake having forced the inhabitants to retire from the plain towards Mount Acontium[1]. This seems to accord with the position of the treasury on the outside of the existing walls, since it cannot be conceived that Minyas would have so placed it. It is probable, therefore, that the city, in the height of its power, extended to the extreme point of the hill below the treasury, and perhaps even to the bank of the Cephissus.

The monastery of Skripú stands about midway between the treasury and the river, below the lowest slope of the hill, on a level with the river's

[1] Strabo, p. 416.

bank. It contains a large church, consisting of a dome and three aisles, which was built, as some inscriptions coeval with the walls of the church indicate, at the end of the ninth century, by Leo, who held the dignity of Protospatharius under the emperors Basil, Leo, and Constantine the seventh. The monastery probably occupies the exact site of the temple of the Graces; for it is in the memory of the present occupants that the pedestal of a tripod dedicated to the Graces, which is now in the church, was found in an excavation made on the spot. Of the other inscriptions which the convent contains, two have been removed by the persons employed by the Earl of Elgin since I was last here[1]; the rest I have transcribed. They are all, except one, in the Bœoto-Æolic dialect, which employed the digamma, and are consequently very important to philology. Among them are three epitaphs of a very remote antiquity. All the other documents in which the digamma is employed are in characters of a good time of art, and appear to be all nearly of the same date. That one of them, having no appearance of being more recent than the others, is not so old as Alexander, is proved from its being a decree of Proxenia in favour of "an Æolian from Alexandreia," or native of Alexandreia Troas, the name of which city was not changed from Antigoneia to Alexandreia until after the death of

[1] The two removed are now in the British Museum: one of these, which is the longest of all, relates to a loan which had been made by a man of Elateia to Orchomenus, and partly liquidated. As interest for the remainder he was to enjoy a limited right of pasture in the Orchomenian land.

Alexander[1]. It is probable, therefore, that they are all of the third or of the latter end of the fourth century B.C., as after that time the cities of Greece were rapidly impoverished, in consequence of the wars between the Romans and their adversaries, of which Greece became the scene. The document in which the digamma and other dialectic forms are not used, we may suppose to have been posterior to the distinction of dialects; but not long afterwards, as it contains, like one of the dialectic inscriptions, a catalogue of victors in the games, with many of the same titles, and is engraved in characters indicative of no great difference of date. In the inscriptions in which the digamma is employed, the people are called Ἐρχομενίοι, and the town Ἐρχόμενος, an orthography clearly showing that the coins bearing the types of a Bœotian shield, of an ear of wheat, a grain of wheat, and a garland of olive, with the legend EPXO, EPX, EP, or E, were all the money of this celebrated and wealthy republic.

One of the inscriptions which is inserted in the exterior wall of the monastery, is a dedication to Bacchus by two victorious choregi; probably the stone supported a tripod[2], as certainly did another in the church, which records the dedication of a tripod to the Graces by the Bœotians by command of the oracle of Apollo. This oracle was probably that of Tegyra, a place noted for its temple of Apollo

[1] Strabo, p. 593.

[2] The second inscription from Orchomenus in the British Museum is a similar dedication to Bacchus. The worship of Bacchus at Orchomenus is alluded to by Pausanias.

and oracular responses, and at that period of time, a dependency of Orchomenus [1].

Of the three sepulchral inscriptions of remote antiquity to which I before alluded, one is that of a woman named Cydille, in the nominative; the two others, which are on one stone, are those of Baceuas and Dexon in the dative, preceded by ἐπί. Κυδίλλη is written Κυδίλλε. Baceuas is Βακευϝας with the digamma, as in the more modern Bœotic inscriptions, and Dexon is Δεχσον, when neither Ξ nor Ω were in the alphabet. The A, B, Δ, Λ, N, Σ, Υ, X, are all of very antique forms, and most of them resemble the same letters in the Latin alphabet [2].

Exactly at the foot of the precipitous rocks which formed the limit of the northern side of the city, are the sources of the river anciently called Melas, and now Mavropotámi, synonyms derived apparently from the dark colour of its deep transparent waters. Among several sources there are two much larger than the others, and both considerable rivers. One flows north-eastward, and at a distance of little more than half a mile meets the *Cephissus*, which a little beyond the junction becomes so enveloped among the marshes extending from thence to the heights to the north-east, on

[1] Plutarch in Pelopid. Id. de defect. orac.—Semus et Callisthenes ap. Stephan. in Τήγυρα.

[2] As the greater part of the inscriptions of Orchomenus have now been repeatedly published and commented upon, I have lithograved only the above-mentioned and one other unpublished (V. Inscript. Nos. 35, 36, 37), but have placed all the most interesting at the end of this volume, in the cursive character.

which stands a tower called Xerópyrgo, as to be scarcely traceable; but it re-appears in a single body about three miles to the eastward of Skripú, and after flowing for some distance in the direction of Kardhítza turns towards Topólia, where it enters the lake, which in the present season fills the whole of the north-eastern bay of the *Cephissian* basin.

The other large source or branch of the *Melas*, which is to the westward of the former, follows for a considerable distance the foot of the cliffs of *Orchomenus*, and is then lost in the marshes. This illustrates Plutarch, who, after having remarked that "the plain of Orchomenus is the largest and finest in Bœotia, but naked of trees and plants, except towards the Melas," observes, that "this river rises below the city of Orchomenus, and is the only river in Greece which is navigable at its sources, though it has not a long course, the greater part being lost in impervious and muddy marshes[2], and the remainder uniting with the Cephissus near the place where the lake produces the auletic reed." According to the same author, the Melas augmented about the summer solstice, like the Nile, and produced plants of the same kind as those of the Nile, but not so large, and bearing no fruit[1].

Although I cannot obtain a confirmation of the periodical swelling of the Melas from the present inhabitants, such a negative testimony will hardly

[1] Plutarch in Syllâ. Some of these remarks are repeated by the biographer in the life of Pelopidas.

invalidate the observation of the more enlightened native of the neighbouring Chæroneia, especially as such an increase of waters about midsummer seems no more than natural, the subterraneous river, which here emerges from its limestone cavities, being probably fed by the melting of the snows on Helicon or Parnassus, and its water, therefore, being naturally most abundant in the season when the snows melt with the greatest rapidity. The marshes still produce in abundance the reeds for which Orchomenus was anciently noted. The auletic or flute-reed is described by Pliny as very long, and without knots[1]. Plutarch observes, that the best were produced near the junction of the Cephissus and Melas. But the latter river was not generally favourable to them, according to Theophrastus, who mentions as the best situations some deep pools called the Chytri, in a place named Pelicania, between the Melas and Cephissus[2]; the confluence of the Probatia and that of the Cephissus with the lake, a place to the northward of the latter junction, named Boedrias, and generally wherever the water was deep and the bottom muddy[3]. Hence the growth and quality depended upon the depth of water in the lake, which varied annually, and was said to be greatest every ninth year. Distinct from the auletic reed were the

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 16, c. 35.

[2] The place where the Cephissus joined was named ὀξεῖα καμπή, or the sharp turning: near it was a fertile plain named Hippias.

[3] Theophrast. de plant. l. 4, c. 12. Strabo (p. 407) notices the auletic reeds of the marshes of Haliartus.

Characeias, or reed serving to make fences and pallisades, which was very thick and strong, and grew on the banks of the lake; and the Plotia, so called as growing on the πλόαδες, or floating islands, which, like those of the Lake of Ioánnina, are formed of decayed reeds, rushes, and roots of grass, furnishing a soil for fresh plants, and which, detaching themselves from the edge of large tracts of the same materials, are launched into the lake by the wind.

These and other peculiarities of the *Cephissis* it would be interesting to examine more minutely, but not a single monóxylo is possessed by any of the villages on this side of the plain. Hence the inhabitants derive little or no benefit from either the vegetable or animal productions of the lake and its surrounding marshes, though the monks of Skripú describe all the watery parts as being covered at times with water-fowl, and are fully aware of the excellence of those eels so renowned among the ancient Athenians, and which the monks describe as large, white, of delicate flavour, and light of digestion. They are taken in considerable numbers by the people of Topólia in the permanent part of the lake near that town, from whence, either fresh or salted, they are carried for sale throughout the surrounding country, especially in the time of Lent. When both Attica and Bœotia were rich and populous, the Cephissis and other lakes of Bœotia furnished the people of this province with the means of a constant and advantageous traffic with Attica, which possesses not a single trout stream, nor a lake except that of Marathon, which

in the summer is reduced to such small dimensions, that a Bœotian eel could hardly exist in it.

Although the ancients employed the words Cephissis and Copais without any clear discrimination, a very convenient distinction may be made between the Copais or lake of Copæ, which was the north-eastern extremity of the basin, where even in summer some water always remains, and the Cephissis, which comprehends the whole tract of occasional lakes and marshes, impassably limited by a range of heights on the northern and eastern sides, but blended with the plain in the opposite quarter, and in all directions enlarging or diminishing its boundaries according to the season. At present the plain is dry half way from Skripú to Xerópyrgo, the rest is a marsh; the edge of which follows a line drawn from Xerópyrgo to Petra; but the level of the waters is now much lower than it is expected to be in the spring. Southerly gales, as Pausanias has observed, are apt to inundate the levels near *Orchomenus*.

The fertility of this plain is shown by its maize: I counted 900 grains in one cob; the reed is very strong and large, and, plastered with mud, it forms the most common material of the cottages near the *Cephissic* marshes. The stem contains a considerable quantity of saccharine matter: I have often seen the Egyptians eat it like a sugar cane, but here it is too valuable to be much used in its immature state.

The citadel of Orchomenus, besides the unlimited view which it commands of the great western basin of Bœotia, and its renowned barriers, looks down

to the north-east upon a country of considerable extent, lying between the mountains of Tálanda and the northern shore of the lake. It is cultivated around a few villages, but in general furnishes pasture only, the soil being, in most parts, of no great fertility. The principal villages are Lutzi, Radhi and Pavlo, lying in that order from hence, and all belonging to the district of Thebes. Beyond them in the mountains towards the *Euboic* frith, are Proskyná and Malesína in the Vilayéti of Tálanda, and Martíno in that of Livadhía.

Xerópyrgo, situated three miles E.N.E. of Skripú, on the heights which bound the marshes, is probably the site of Tegyra, for Plutarch says that Tegyra stood not far from Orchomenus, above the marshes of the Melas, and that the road from the one to the other led through a pass caused by those marshes. This pass was the scene of an important victory gained by Pelopidas over the Spartans, and which was soon followed by that of Leuctra[1]. Tegyra not being named in the Homeric catalogue of the Bœotian cities, and having been so near to the powerful Orchomenus, was probably never of any great importance, except from its temple of Apollo, and an Oracle which had ceased before the battle of Tegyra. In the time of Plutarch all the part of Bœotia to the northward of the lake Copais, seems to have been no better inhabited than it is at present, for in one of his Dialogues he introduces an assertion, that about Tegyra and Mount Ptoum, two places formerly so much famed for their oracles, hardly a

[1] Plutarch. in Pelop.

herdsman or shepherd was to be met with in a day's journey. All Greece, he adds, could hardly furnish 3000 hoplitæ, or the number which the State of Megara alone sent against the Persians at Platæa[1]. It is not to be supposed, however, that the best parts of Greece were as much depopulated as these unproductive districts; or that the population of Greece had diminished, in the same proportion as the number of regular troops maintained by it. The Roman conquest had put an end to the maintenance of native soldiers, and to the military art in Greece, and although as early as the time of Polybius, the population and wealth of the country had been grievously diminished, and had not improved in the reign of Augustus, there can be little doubt, that between this time and that of Hadrian, Greece had somewhat recovered, in consequence of the peace and protection which the country enjoyed in common with the other provinces of the Roman Empire, and to a greater degree than many of them.

[1] Plutarch. de defect. Orac.

CHAPTER XIII.

BŒOTIA, PHOCIS, LOCRIS.

Departure from Skripú—Source of the *Melas*—Tzamáli, *Aspledon*—Exarkhó—*Abæ*—*Temple of Apollo*—Vogdháni—*Hyampolis*—Tálanda—*Atalanta*—*Opus*—*Cynus*—*Orobiæ*—*Ædepsus*—Topography of Eastern *Locris*—*Daphnus*—*Alope*, *Cnemides*, *Thronium*, river *Boagrius*, *Scarpheia*, *Nicæa*, *Pharygæ* or *Tarne*, *Augeiæ*, *Bessa*, *Calliarus*—Mount *Cnemis*—Mount Khlomó, *Cyrtone*—*Corseia*—Return to Váltesi—Kalapódhi, *Naryx*—Sfáka—Meralí—Khúbavo—Paleókastro of Bélissi, *Parapotamii*—River *Cephissus*—Kápurna—Return to Livadhía—Ancient military transactions in the plain of *Chæroneia*—battle between Sylla and Archelaus—Mount *Philobœotus*—River *Assus*—Mount *Thurium*—Rivers *Morius*, *Molus*—*Assia*—Departure for Thebes—Petra—*Ocalea*—Mazi—*Haliartus*—*Death of Lysander*—River *Lophis*—Fountain *Cissusa*, *Orchalides*—Mount *Alopecum*—Rivers *Permessus*, *Olmeius*—*Onchestus*—Mount Fagá, *Phœnicium* or *Phicium*—The *Teneric* plain—Thebes.

DEC. 9.—This forenoon, having quitted the monastery of Skripú, I cross the north-eastern angle of the ancient city, and at 10.58 begin to pass by a narrow paved road, between the foot of the upper cliffs which formed the northern boundary of the city and the summit of the lower, which immediately overhang the principal source of the *Melas*, or that which joins the *Cephissus*. It is difficult to understand where the Temple of Hercules could have been, which Pausanias places at the springs

of the Melas, seven stades from Orchomenus [1], for the rock rises so abruptly from them, that there is no position for a temple, and the sources are not seven stades from Orchomenus, but immediately under its northern side. At 11.9, we quit the lower range of cliffs, the higher still overhanging the road, and soon afterwards begin to descend the rugged side of the mountain, by a most perilous path. At 11.33, having arrived at the foot of the hill, we enter a plain on the north-eastern side of Mount *Acontium*, bounded eastward by the marshes of the *Melas*, and pursue the borders of the marsh to Tzamáli, a small collection of huts on the brink, where we arrive at 11.45. This seems to be the site of Aspledon, a Bœotian city in the time of the Trojan war, but in that of the Roman Empire an abandoned site of the Orchomenia. Strabo states, that its distance from Orchomenus was twenty stades, which is sufficiently correct, and that the Melas flowed between them [2], which is true as to the *northern* Melas, though it is not crossed in the road. It is not easy, however, to understand "the western exposure," by which Strabo endeavours to account for Eudeielus, the name of Aspledon in later times, Tzamáli being open to the eastward, and surrounded by heights in a western direction. Nor is the abandonment of the place by its inhabitants in consequence of the scarcity of

[1] Pausanias, Bœot. c. 38.

[2] .... *τὴν Ἀσπληδόνα .... Εἶτ' Ευδείελος μετωνομάσθη καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ χώρα τάχα τι ἰδίωμα προσφερομένη ἐκ τοῦ δειλινοῦ κλίματος οἰκεῖον τοῖς κατοικοῦσι καὶ μάλιστα τὸ εὐχείμερον. ..... Διέχει δὲ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ στάδια εἴκοσι μεταξὺ δ' ὁ Μέλας ποταμός.*—Strabo, p. 415.

water, as reported by Pausanias [1], compatible with the vicinity of such a river as the Melas. Upon examining, however, the words of the two authors, we find that neither of them guarantees the fact which he alludes to, from his personal knowledge. The word *τάχα*, employed by Strabo, and the *φασὶ* of Pausanias, leave the origin of the name, Eudeielus, and the cause of the abandonment of the site of Aspledon, equally doubtful.

At Tzamáli we quit the Topólia road and turn to the left to the head of the plain; at 11.55 leave to the right that which conducts to the places lying between the northern shore of the *Cephissis* and the *Euboic* frith, and at 12.11, arriving at the western extremity of the plain of *Aspledon*, ascend some rugged hills which connect Mount *Acontium* with the peak now called Khlomó. At 12.35, at the head of the ascent, we enter upon a plain which, interrupted by some small heights, reaches to the northern side of Mount *Acontium*, and is connected in the opposite direction with a hollow which slopes to Khúbavo, Bélissi, and the Stená of the *Cephissus*. At 12.45 we halt till 1.24 at a fountain to dine; and after a rugged descent, arrive at 1.40 at Exarkhó [2], a village of 30 houses, in a spot where two narrow valleys meet, which rise from hence towards two summits of the ridge of Khlomó. The northern is the largest, and is in great part cultivated.

On a peaked hill above Exarkhó, to the west,

[1] *Ἀσπληδόνα δὲ ἐκλιπεῖν τοὺς οἰκήτορὰς φασιν, ὕδατος σπανίζοντας.*—Pausan. Bœot. c. 38.

[2] Ἔξαρχός.

are the ruins of a small polis, probably *Abæ*. The hill being, like all the others of this range, a bare rugged rock of white lime-stone, and the walls being built of the same stone, the ruins might easily be passed without notice at a short distance, although nearly half the height of the wall is in some places extant. No remains are now to be seen on the summit of the peak ; but on its south-western side two parallel walls are traceable at the distance of about 100 yards asunder, which formed apparently an interior inclosure of the citadel. These walls in most part are a perfect specimen of the second order of Hellenic masonry, having, as it were, but one course in the whole work. Some of the polygonal masses are very large. As usual in Greek fortresses of the highest antiquity, there were very few towers, the cross defence being chiefly procured by simple flanks at intervals. There is one tower, however, near the principal gate. This gate, which is now buried to within six feet of the top, is of a singular form, the upper part, which is three feet high, diminishing from ten feet in breadth to seven and a half. This seems to have been merely an opening to admit light, for immediately below it there are projections from the wall on each side, which were evidently pivots for the suspension of folding doors. There are the vestiges of two other gates immediately opposite to each other in the parallel walls before noticed. The hill is quite insulated, and is very difficult of ascent on the north-eastern and eastern sides, where no walls are now traceable. I cannot recognize any remains of the theatre which Pau-

sanias remarked, and which, as well as the Agora, was of an antique construction. Having descended the hill on the west, passed through a ravine, and entered the plain at a point which is half way on the road from Exarkhó to Vogdháni, we arrive a little farther at a small eminence advancing into the valley, upon which are some remains of a square building of regular Hellenic masonry, but built of stones smaller than usual. The lower part of the wall of one side of the inclosure is extant, together with a portion of one of the adjoining sides. Within the inclosed space lies a large square stone, with a simple moulding, together with another, circular and pierced in the middle, probably the peristomium of a cistern or granary. I have little doubt that these are remains of the temple of Apollo of Abæ, whose oracle was of such ancient and extensive celebrity, that it was consulted, together with that of Trophonius, by Crœsus, and again by Mardonius[1]. It was twice destroyed by fire; the first time by the Persians, in their march through Phocis, after they had taken Hyampolis[2]; and again, in the Phocic war, B. C. 346. The Bœotians were posted at the temple, while the Phocians were erecting a fortress at or near Abæ[3], when a fire

[1] Herodot. l. 1, c. 46; l. 8, c. 134.

[2] Id. l. 8, c. 33.

[3] *τῶν Φωκέων οἰκοδομούντων φρούριον περὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Ἄβας καθ' ἃς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγων ἱερὸν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Βοιωτοί.*—Diodor. l. 16, c. 58. Pausan. Phocic. c. 35. The Phocians were probably repairing the citadel of Abæ itself on the summit of the hill.

having occurred, accidentally according to Diodorus, but which Pausanias attributes with more probability to the Thebans, the temple was destroyed, as well as some Phocian refugees within it. Hence it is evident that the temple was not within the city, which agrees with the existing ruins. The most ancient and celebrated temples of Greece were generally so detached. The grove of Trophonius furnishes a neighbouring example, and perhaps that of the Graces at Orchomenus was another. The practice was closely connected with the peculiar character of the people, whose sense of the inviolability of the sacred places, was only exceeded by their jealous mistrust of one another. After the second misfortune, the temple of Abæ remained a ruin until the reign of Hadrian, when that emperor caused a smaller to be erected adjacent to the ancient building; and of this, or rather of its peribolus, the existing walls are probably the remains. In the new temple, Pausanias found three ancient upright statues, in brass, of Apollo, Latona, and Diana, which were dedications of the Abæi, and had perhaps been saved from the former temple.

From hence it takes me 10 minutes to ride to Vogdháni[1] a village smaller than Exarkhó, and situated just at the upper extremity of a valley, which slopes to Bélissi and Khúbavo, and where the torrents from Mount Khlomó and the adjoining ridges unite, and descend through the middle of the aforesaid valley to the *Cephissus*. The prin-

[1] Βογδάνη.

cipal branch comes from the north, along a vale which is inclosed between Mount Khlomó and a parallel ridge which has already been described as having its south-western termination at Khúbavo, Meralí, and Sfaka, at the northern entrance of the Stená of the *Cephissus*.

At 5 minutes northward of Vogdháni, a point or tongue, advancing from the western mountain into the valley, is crowned with the ruins of a small ancient town, which Pausanias shows to have been Hyampolis; for he states that the road from Orchomenus to Opus led by Abæ and Hyampolis, but that Abæ was a little on the left of the route [1]. Mount Khlomó being exactly interposed between Skripú and Tálanda, near which latter *Opus* was situated, the road from Orchomenus to Opus naturally followed the easy valleys to the westward of that mountain, instead of making a direct course over it, and traversed consequently the site of Exarkhó, leaving the hill of Abæ on the left, from whence it passed under the walls of Hyampolis, which advance into the middle of the valley. The road from Hyampolis to Elateia is expressly described by Pausanias as a mountain-road; and we find accordingly, that a mountain occupies all the space between Leftá and Vogdháni.

[1] Ἐς Ἄβας δὲ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Ὑάμπολιν ἔστι μὲν ἐξ Ἐλατείας ὀρεινὴν ὁδὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἐλατέων ἄστεως· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Ὀποῦντα λεώφορος ἡ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ ἐς ταύτας φέρει τὰς πόλεις. Ἰόντι οὖν ἐς Ὀποῦντα ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ ἐκτραπέντι οὐ πολὺ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰν ὁδὸς ἡ ἐς Ἄβας . . . . . Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ (ab Abis scil.) ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ὀποῦντα εὐθεῖαν, Ὑάμπολις τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου σε ἐκδέξεται. — Pausan. Phocic. c. 35.

Hyampolis having been situated at the entrance of a narrow vale, leading to the *Opontia* and sea-coast of the *Epicnemidii*, and which formed a convenient entrance from Locris both into Phocis and into Bœotia : its name occurs on several occasions in ancient history. Herodotus has related some remarkable circumstances attending a victory gained at Hyampolis by the Phocians over the Thessalians [1], and Diodorus informs us, that a contest took place here on a somewhat similar occasion, between the people of Bœotia and of Phocis [2], in the year B. C. 347. Before that time, Jason of Pheræ, returning out of Bœotia after the battle of Leuctra, and passing by Hyampolis in his way to Heracleia Trachinia, had taken the *προάστειον*, or outer city, probably from the same motive which prompted him to destroy the walls of Heracleia, namely, that they should not be any impediment to his free passage into Greece [3]. It was undoubtedly for a similar reason that the walls of Hyampolis were demolished by Philip son of Amyntas [4].

The entire circuit of the fortifications is traceable, but they are most complete on the western side. The masonry is of the third, nearly approaching to the most regular kind. The circumference is about three quarters of a mile. The

[1] Herodot. l. 8, c. 28.
[2] Diodor. l. 16, c. 56.
[3] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6, c. 4.
[4] *Φιλίππου κατασκάψαντος.* Pausan. Phocic. c. 35. As Pausanias adds, that the ancient agora, council-house, and theatre, still remained, it was evidently against the fortifications that Philip directed his politic vengeance on this occasion.

direct distance to this ruin from the summit of *Abæ* is not more than a mile and a half in a north-west direction. Below Vogdháni, on the side of a steep bank which falls to the valley of Khúbavo, a fountain issuing from the rock is discharged through two spouts into a stone reservoir of ancient construction, which stands probably in its original place.

Dec. 10.—Ten minutes from Vogdháni south-westward, is another source of water, which issues from the rocks on the side of the road leading from Tálanda to Livadhía, near three small ruined churches standing in a grove of trees: the stream from the rocks having joined that which flows from the fountain of Vogdháni, falls into the united torrent from the valleys of *Abæ* and *Hyampolis*, and from thence flows to the *Cephissus* near Bélissi. One of the ruined churches contains an inscribed stone, but ill preserved, and in so dark a situation that I was unable to copy it, though I could distinguish the words *ἀργυρίου μνᾶς τριάκοντα*, and at the end *μάρτυρες οἱ θεοί*. Having returned to Vogdháni, and set out for Tálanda, I again visit the ruins of Hyampolis. On a small level in the centre of the ancient site lie some architectural fragments of considerable dimensions, adorned with mouldings, and a large cistern faced at the top with wrought stones, but below hollowed out of the rock, which is here covered only with a thin layer of earth. The opening of the cistern is 9 feet 10 inches long, and 4 feet broad, and spreads below into the usual spheroidal form; it is now filled with rubbish. There are many other smaller cisterns of the same kind, some of

which are lined with stucco. The ground within the fortress is partly cultivated. The valley of *Hyampolis*, like most of the similar sites in Bœotia, has a light fertile soil, but is marshy in winter.

Pausanias says of Hyampolis, that though it had been burnt by Xerxes, and again destroyed by Philip, there remained an ancient Agora, a small council-house[1], a theatre not far from the gates, a stoa built by Hadrian, and a temple of Diana, of which he did not see the statue, as it was shown only twice a year. He adds, that with the exception of a single well, the inhabitants had no other water than that which fell from heaven. The larger receptacle, therefore, was probably a public cistern, and the smaller excavations may have been private repositories for the same purpose. Abæ was no better supplied with water than Hyampolis, but both of them had a good resource at no great distance in the fountains which I have described.

Leaving the ruins at 10.13, we follow the valley which conducts to Tálanda, and which at the widest part is half a mile broad, bounded on either side by the lower heights of the two including ridges. To the left leads the road to Kalapódhi, Geli[2], and a monastery of St. Elias; a part, probably, of the ancient ὀρεινὴ ὁδὸς, from Hyampolis to Elateia. On our right are the steeps of Mount Khlomós, or Khlomó[3]. At 10.43 the village of Váltesi is a quarter of a mile on the left; above which the vale narrows rapidly: instead of following it we ascend

[1] *βουλευτήριον*. — Pausan. Phocic. c. 35.

[2] Καλαπόδι, Γκέλι.

[3] Χλομός.

the lower heights of Khlomó, when Kalapódhi soon appears in a cultivated slope of the opposite hills, two miles in direct distance from us, and three miles distant Geli in a higher situation, to the northward of the former. St. Elias is on the other side of the ridge of Geli. We now pass over barren hills covered with the purno-kókki oak: at 11.18, Purnári, which derives its name from those shrubs, is a mile on the left, at the head of the little valley of Váltesi, which has now dwindled to a mere ravine. Soon afterwards, crossing a brook which flows into the plain of Tálanda, we descend the mountain, and at 12.20, after a halt of 15 minutes arrive in the plain, at the entrance of which are some mills turned by the same stream. We then diverge to the right under Mount Khlomó, and at 12.38 enter Tálanda, or Talándi [1].

This town contains about 300 houses, of which one-third are Turkish; some of these are large, and each having its garden, they look well at a distance; but the greater part are said to be desolate, and verging to ruin, partly in consequence of a plague, which carried off entire families not many years ago. The governor is Isséd Bey, a son of the Kapijilár Kiáyassy of Alý Pashá. The Greek quarter is separated from the Turkish. The bishop τοῦ Ταλαντίου, who is a suffragan of the metropolitan of Athens, is at the head of the community, and has a tolerable house at the Episkopí, standing in a garden of oranges, lemons, and other fruit trees, which, although a mere wilderness, is the best in the

[1] Τάλαντα, Ταλάντων.

place, and is considered as something extraordinary in this country. The plain is very fertile, but little cultivated for want of hands. The marshy parts towards the sea yield kalambókki, the rest of the plain excellent wheat, vines, from which a tolerable wine is made, and a few olive trees, which succeed perfectly. The mero-kámato, or price of daily labour, is the same as at Athens, Livadhía, &c.; namely, forty parás a-day, with an oke of wine. The district contains between thirty and forty villages, the greater part of which are very small, and but half inhabited, many of the people having migrated to the districts of Livadhía and Athens since Alý Pashá has possessed the place. The mukatá is now in the hands of his son Velý, who is endeavouring to induce the emigrants to return, by promising to remit a part of the impositions. The town stands entirely in the plain, but immediately at the foot of a steep and lofty mountain called Rodha, which is connected with Khlomó, and a branch of which intercepts the view of the south-eastern extremity of the gulf, while an advanced ridge of the mountain called Xerovúni obstructs it to the northward, leaving the plain only, which is included between them, visible from the town, and beyond it the Gulf of Tálanda, the *Euboic* channel, and the cultivated region round Roviés in *Eubœa*, on either side of which, but particularly to the southward, that coast consists of steep high cliffs. The island of Atalanta[1],

[1] Ἡ Ἀταλάντη δὲ νῆσος κατὰ Ὀπουντα ἵδρυται, ὁμώνυμος τῇ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.—Strabo, p. 425. In the first year of the Peloponnesian war, Atalanta, then a desert island, was fortified by the Athenians as a place of offence against Locris,

now called Talandonísi, which is separated by a narrow frith from the *Bœotian* shore, and extends into the centre of the gulf, shelters the Skala, or port of Tálanda, which is an hour distant from the town to the east; there are at present two three-masted vessels lying in the harbour.

It is evident that the modern town has derived its appellation from the island, for the loss of the initial vowel is common in the transition of ancient names into modern, and thus Tálanda affords one among many instances in Greece of a preservation of name with a change of position.

Many fragments of Hellenic buildings are dispersed about the town. Among them I remarked a frize of Ionic dentils at the fountain in the Greek quarter, and some Ionic capitals in two ruined churches; a marble chair in a church on the outside of the town: in that of St. Panteleemon a broken inscription, which has been published by Meletius, and in that of St. Theodore another, which, as well as the former, contains the name of Opus. But notwithstanding these remains, and that Tálanda occupies an advantageous and agreeable situation, abounding in water, it is certain that Opus was not exactly in this spot. The distance of Tálanda is much too great from the sea to correspond with the testimony of Strabo and Livy, the former of whom places Opus at a distance of

and of defence for Eubœa (Thucyd. l. 2, c. 32. Diodor. l. 12, c. 44.) In the sixth year of the war, a part of the Athenian works were destroyed by a great inundation of the sea, caused by the same earthquakes which prevented the Lacedæmonians from invading Attica. —Thucyd. l. 3, c. 89.

fifteen stades from the shore, the latter only a mile. The mountain, moreover, which rises immediately behind Tálanda, steep and unbroken, affords no site for an Acropolis, nor are there any traces of ancient walls to be found at Tálanda.

At Kardhenítza, on the other hand, a village situated an hour to the south-eastward of Tálanda, on the side of the hill which rises from that corner of the plain, and just above the inner extremity of the *Opontian* gulf, there exist the remains of an ancient city in a position more elevated than Tálanda, and at a distance from the sea corresponding to the fifteen stades of Strabo. On the ridge above Kardhenítza stands a single tower, partly Hellenic, and conspicuous from all the plain of Tálanda as well as from other parts of the adjacent country. It was well placed for commanding the road leading from the *Opontia* into *Bœotia* round the eastern side of Mount Khlomó. The inner extremity of the *Opontian* Gulf below Kardhenítza is a shallow bay bounded by a high peninsula on the north-western side; and on its opposite shore, joined by a river, which flows from a village called Proskyná, and which, as it corresponds to the Platanus of Pausanias, may guide us to the positions of Corseia, Cyrtones, and Halæ.

Strabo confirms the position of Opus at Kardhenítza, by remarking that Cynus, the ἐπινεῖον or emporium of Opus, was sixty stades distant from that city, on the cape which terminated the Opontian Gulf[1]; and that a fertile plain lay between

[1] Ὁ δ' Ὀποῦς . . . . σης περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους, ... ἀπέχει τῆς θαλάσ- τοῦ δε ἐπινείου καὶ ἑξήκοντα·

the two places, thus leaving little doubt that Cynus occupied the north-western cape of the gulf, where at the distance of about a mile to the north of the village of Livanátes, is a tower called Paleópyrgo, and some Hellenic remains, distant about eight miles, in a direct line from Kardhenítza. On the heights above Livanátes inland are the ruins of a Hellenic fortress, which seems to have been intended for the protection of Cynus towards Elateia, in the same manner as the tower before-mentioned protected Opus towards Orchomenus. Such having been the positions of Cynus and Opus, it is evident that Livy has given an incorrect idea of that of Cynus, in his narrative of the campaign of the year B.C. 207, when the Romans and Attalus king of Pergamus, were engaged in assisting the Ætolians against Philip. He relates, that when Attalus occupied Opus, Sulpicius, with the Roman fleet, anchored at Cynus, on his return from an unsuccessful attempt upon Chalcis, and his words are, "Romanus celeriter abstitit incepto, classemque inde ad Cynum Locridis (emporium id est urbis Opuntiorum mille passuum a mari sitæ) trajecit [1]," giving the idea that Cynus was on the shore immediately below Opus, instead of being sixty stades distant. He had probably misapprehended Polybius, whose narrative he followed.

Κῦνος δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον, ἄκρα τερμιτίζουσα τὸν Ὀπούντιον κόλπον σταδίων ὄντα περὶ τετταράκοντα. Μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀποῦντος καὶ Κύνου πεδίον εὔδαιμον· κεῖται δὲ κατὰ Αἰδηψὸν τῆς Εὐβοίας, ὅπου τὰ θερμὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, πορθμῷ διειργόμενος σταδίων ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.—Strabo, p. 425.

[1] Liv. l. 28, c. 6, 7.

Roviés, which is on the coast of *Eubœa*, nearly opposite to *Cynus*, is a small town partly inhabited by Turks, but chiefly by Greeks. Here are some remains of the walls of *Orobiæ*, of which Roviés is the modern form by the usual changes. Lipso indicates, by a similar corruption, the site of Ædepsus, and its hot baths, which were sacred to Hercules, are said to be still called τὰ θερμά. The distance from Cynus seems correctly stated by Strabo.

The eastern Locrians, the only Locri mentioned by Homer, and who were all under the command of Ajax, son of Oileus, are described by the poet as "the Locrians who dwelt opposite to Eubœa[1]:" at a later period they were divided into two parts by a narrow branch of Phocis, containing the district of Daphnus, which thus caused Phocis to extend from the Corinthiac to the Maliac Gulf. Daphnus, however, falling to ruin, and its lands having been assigned to the Opontii, the Locrians then occupied the whole shore from Thermopylæ to Halæ in Bœotia. If Strabo is correct, Daphnus might be exactly recognized by its distance of ninety stades from Cynus, and of one hundred and twenty from Elateia, as well as by its harbour[2]. Between it and Cynus was Alope[3]. Cne-

[1] Λοκρῶν, οἳ ναίουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης
Οἳ Κῦνόν τ' ἐνέμοντ' Ὀπόεντά τε Καλλίαρόν τε
Βῆσσάν τε Σκάρφην τε καὶ Αὐγειὰς ἐρατεινὰς,
Τάρφην τε Θρόνιόν τε, Βοαγρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα·
Τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἔποντο.

Il. B. v. 535.

[2] Strabo, pp. 416, 424, 426. Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 7.

[3] The ruins of a small town and citadel on an insulated hill near the shore were found by Sir William Gell at a time dis-

mides was a fortress, the situation of which may be recognized near the modern Nikoráki by its position on a projection of the coast opposite to the islands anciently named Lichades, and the Eubœan promontory Cenæum [1]. The site of Thronium

tance beyond the Cape of Cynus, which, according to his rate of travelling, agrees with fifty stades. There can be little doubt, therefore, of its being, as he supposed, the site of Alope.

[1] *Μετὰ δὲ Δαφνοῦντα Κνημίδες χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν, ὅσον σταδίους εἴκοσι πλεύσαντι· καθ' ὃ καὶ τὸ Κήναιον ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀντίκειται, ἄκρα βλέπουσα πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ τὸν Μαλιέα κόλπον, πορθμῷ διειργομένη σχεδὸν εἰκοσισταδίῳ. Ταῦτα δ' ἤδη τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων ἐστὶ Λοκρῶν. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ αἱ Λιχάδες καλούμεναι τρεῖς νῆσοι, πρόκεινται, ἀπὸ Λίχα τοὔνομα ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἄλλαι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι παράπλῳ, ἃς ἐκόντες παραλείπομεν. Μετὰ δὲ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ Κνημίδων λιμὴν, ὑπὲρ οὗ κεῖται τὸ Θρόνιον ἐν σταδίοις τοῖς ἴσοις κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν. Εἶθ' ὁ Βοάγριος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ παραῤῥέων τὸ Θρόνιον· Μάνην δ' ἐπονομάζουσιν αὐτόν· ἔστι δὲ χειμάῤῥους, ὥστ' ἀβρόχοις ἐμβαίνειν τοῖς ποσίν· ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ δίπλεθρον ἴσχειν πλάτος. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σκάρφεια, σταδίοις ὑπερκειμένη τῆς θαλάττης δέκα, διέχουσα δὲ Θρονίου τριάκοντα, ἐλάττοσι δὲ μικρῷ * * * * * * * ἔπειτα Νίκαια καὶ αἱ Θερμόπυλαι.*—Strabo, p. 426.

From a fragment of Æschylus, cited by Strabo in another place, (p. 447,) it would seem that on one of the islands there was a monument of Lichas, who was fabled to have been hurled into the sea by Hercules, when suffering from the effects of the poisoned garment. The following are the lines of Æschylus:—

Εὐβοΐδα καμπὴν ἀμφὶ Κηναίου Διὸς
Ἀκτὴν, κατ' αὐτὸν τύμβον ἀθλίου Λίχα.

Strabo here asserts, that in the word Euboida the poet alludes to a city Eubœa, destroyed by one of the earthquakes to which the island and adjacent coast of Bœotia are very subject. The word *ἀκτὴ*, (peninsula,) is well illustrated

was ascertained by Meletius, who found above the village Románi, at a place named Paleókastro, where some remains of the city still exist, a dedicatory inscription of the council and demus of the Thronienses [1]. The situation is at the distance from the sea which Strabo mentions, on the bank of a broad torrent perfectly corresponding to the Boagrius, which flowed by Thronium [2], and which is described by Strabo as sometimes dry and sometimes flowing with a stream two plethra in width. Thronium was the chief town of the Epicnemidii, where the coins with the legend ΛΟΚ.ΕΠΙΚ. or ΛΟΚΡ. ΕΠΙΚΝΑ. were probably struck.

Thirty stades from Thronium, towards Nicæa and Thermopylæ, stood another Locrian town, Scarpheia, ten stades from the sea, and something less than thirty from another place of which the name is lost. It appears from Pausanias that Scarpheia was in the ordinary route from Elateia to Thermopylæ by Thronium [3], and equally so from Livy, who states that Quinctius, before the battle of Cynoscephalæ, marched from Elateia by Thronium and Scarpheia to Heracleia [4]. By this circumstance, therefore, and by the numbers of Strabo, the exact position of Scarpheia is ascertained to have been between the villages 'Andera

by a view of the promontory, which is much more nearly an island than the maps have hitherto made it.

[1] *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Ἄρχοντος Ἀλεξίου, Γραμματέος Εὐφράνορος, Ταμία Ἀριστένους, ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ Θρονιέων Ἀλκινόα Δημητρίου . . .* —Melet. Geog. vol. ii. p. 325. 8vo. Ven.

[2] Il. B. v. 533. Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 7. Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. 22.

[3] Pausan. Achaic. c. 15.

[4] Liv. l. 33, c. 3.

and Molo, which being fixed, it will follow that the deficient name in the text of Strabo is either Nicæa, of which the probable position has already been indicated, or the town which stood at Pundonítza; for to either of them the something less than thirty stades would be applicable. If the latter place was intended, the deficient word may have been Tarphe, or Pharygæ, the former of which was the Homeric name, and the latter that attached in the time of Strabo to a town which then possessed a temple of Juno Pharygæa, and was supposed to be a colony of Argos. Tarphe was the only Homeric town in Locris then inhabited; and Pundonítza, from its strength, its fertile plain, and the relative importance and convenience of its position, is more likely than any other to have preserved its inhabitants then, as it does to this day. Its territory perfectly corresponds to the well-wooded and productive district which Strabo ascribes to Tarphe [1]; and the word Pharygæ [2] is well adapted to a situation like that of Pundonítza, in the midst of the passes leading over Mount *Cnemis* into *Phocis*. Although the other Homeric towns of the Locri were no longer in existence, their sites were known [3]. Augeiæ was

[1] Ἡ Τάρφη κεῖται ἐφ' ὕψους, διέχουσα . . . . . σταδίους εἴκοσι, χώραν δ' εὔκαρπον καὶ εὔδενδρον ἔχει· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ δάσους ὠνόμασται· Καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Φαρύγαι; ἵδρυται δ' αὐτόθι Ἥρας Φαρυγαίας ἱερὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φαρύγαις τῆς Ἀργείας· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄποικοί φασιν εἶναι Ἀργείων.—Strabo, p. 426.

[2] From φάρυγξ — *guttur*, *fauces*.

[3] Ὧν δὲ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται, Καλλίαρος μὲν οὐκέτι οἰκεῖται . . . . τι πεδίον· καλοῦσιν οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος τῷ τόπῳ· εὐήροτος γάρ ἐστι. Οὐδ' ἡ ἑξῆς δὲ Βῆσσα ἔστι δρυμώδης τις τόπος· οὐδὲ αἱ Αὐγειαὶ ὧν τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι Σκαρφιεῖς.—Strabo, p. 426.

near Scarpheia, and Bessa and Calliarus were names descriptive of the places to which they were attached: the former among the woods of Mount Cnemis, the latter in a district well suited to the plough [1], and hence, probably, in some part of the elevated plain which lies between Pundonítza and Mount *Cnemis*. Calliarus was perhaps the place twenty stades from Tarphe, of which the name is wanting in Strabo.

The most difficult question in the geography of this part of the country, is that of the ancient appellation of the peak, now called Khlomó, the most conspicuous of the secondary summits of this part of Greece, and presenting itself on all sides as a mountain which could not have failed to have had some celebrity among the ancients. Was it the proper Cnemis, and were the ridges which lie between it and Callidromus, considered only subordinate portions of the same mountain? some of the best authorities support this opinion. Anciently there was no distinction of Opontii and Epicnemidii, nor are the latter mentioned by Homer or Herodotus or Thucydides or Polybius, when speaking of the Eastern Locrians, of whom Opus was considered the metropolis [2]. Even Strabo,

[1] *εὐήροτος.*

[2] Κλυτὰν Λοκρῶν . . . *ματέρ' ἀγλαόδενδρον.*
Pindar. Olymp. 9, v. 31.

Ὁ δὲ Ὀποῦς ἐστὶ μητρόπολις καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν πέντε στηλῶν τῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἐπιγεγραμμένον πρὸς τῷ πολυανδρίῳ.

Τούσδε ποτὲ φθιμένους ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδος ἀντία Μήδων
Μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθυνόμων Ὀπόεις
Κεύθει . . . . . Strabo, p. 425.

from whom the distinction is chiefly derived, in one place describes Opus as the metropolis of the Epicnemidii [1], and the same is confirmed by Pliny and Stephanus [2]. If Pliny is incorrect in adding that the river Cephissus flowed through the Epicnemidii to the sea, he shews at least that he protracted their boundaries quite to Bœotia, which accords with Mount Khlomó, and not with any mountain to the north-westward of it. Pausanias, though he has not employed the word Epicnemidii on any occasion, but has applied to all the Eastern Locrians the name Hypocnemidii, or Locrians under Mount Cnemis, includes among them the Opontii, as he shows in alluding to the mention of the Opontii by Herodotus, but more particularly in his description of the bounds of Phocis [3]. "The Phocians," he says, at the beginning of his Phocica, "extend to the sea opposite to the Peloponnesus and towards Bœotia, from Cirrha, the port of Delphi, to the city Anticyra. But towards the Maliac Gulf they are prevented from being a maritime people by the Hypocnemidii, who border on Phocis in that direction; these are the Scarphenses beyond Elateia, and above Hyampolis and Abæ, those who possess Opus and its port Cynus." It is probable that Pausanias here specifies Scarpheia, because it was the only town in that part of Locris subsisting in his time. From these several testimonies the inference would not be unreasonable, that the whole mountainous ridge of Eastern Locris was called Cnemis,

[1] Ὀποῦς ἡ τῶν Λοκρῶν μητρόπολις τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων.—Strabo, p. 416.

[2] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 7.—Stephan. in Ὀπόεις.

[3] Pausan. Phocic. c. 1, 8, 20.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 203.

and consequently that Khlomó, the highest, and by far the most remarkable summit, was the proper Cnemis. Upon examining the places themselves, however, there is great difficulty in agreeing to such an opinion. Mount Khlomó is so completely separated from the ridges of Fondána and Grados by the valley leading from *Hyampolis* into the *Opontian* plain, that it cannot be conceived that the two mountains were ever considered identical, or that they had not some separate denomination. Strabo more than once informs us, that the district of Daphnus, on the shore of the Euboic strait which was afterwards ascribed to the Opontii, belonged in more ancient times to Phocis [1], and thus separated the Opontii bordering on Phocis and Bœotia, from the Epicnemidii bordering on the Œtæi and Malienses. Now it is impossible to suppose that the proper Cnemis should at any time have been excluded from the Epicnemidii as distinguished from the Opontii, which it would have been when Daphnus belonged to Phocis, if we identify *Cnemis* with Khlomó. The position of the fortress of *Cnemides*, moreover, exactly at the foot of the central part of the mountains, which extend from the plain of Pundonítza to that of Tálanda, is a strong proof that this was the real Mount Cnemis, which we may easily believe to have been sometimes considered as comprehending the district of Opus within its denomination, because it stretches into the plain of Opus, and because Cynus, the naval dependency of Opus, was in fact situated on its eastern extremity. On the other hand, it would be very difficult to believe that Mount Khlomó was

[1] Strabo, p. 416, 425.

ever entirely included within the boundaries of Locris, as it is surrounded on every side, except the north, by Phocic and Bœotian districts. Little can be adduced on either side of this question from the remark of Strabo, (p. 425), that Mount Cnemis was fifty stades distant from Cynus, since we are at liberty to make the measurement from the site of *Cynus* either to the nearest part of Mount Khlomó, or to the mountain of Grados, and in either case it will not be found very incorrect. So doubtful, however, is the text of Strabo in this place, that he may very possibly have meant by fifty stades, the distance, not to Mount Cnemis, but to Alope.

Upon the whole, I have little hesitation in concluding that the maritime summits lying between Pundonítza and *Cynus*, together perhaps with that more inland, named Fondána, were the proper *Cnemis*. Khlomó perhaps bore the same appellation as a Bœotian town described by Pausanias as built upon a lofty mountain, which from the tenor of his narrative could hardly have been any other than Khlomó. After having informed us that Holmones and Hyettus were villages [1] of the ancient Orchomenia, the former twelve stades from Copæ, the latter seven stades from Holmones, and that Hyettus still contained a temple, in which the sick sought remedies for their diseases, and where the Deity was worshipped under the shape of a rude stone,—he proceeds to remark, that about twenty stades beyond Hyettus stood Cyrtones [2], more anciently called Cyrtone [3]. "It is built," he adds,

[1] κῶμαι. Pausan. Bœot. c. 24.

[2] Κύρτωνες.

[3] Κυρτώνη.

"upon a lofty mountain [1], and contains a grove, and temple of Apollo, with upright statues of Apollo and Diana, a source of cold water issuing from a rock, a temple of Nymphs at the source, and a small grove of planted trees." After having crossed the mountain from Cyrtones, occurred the small town Corseia, half a stade below which there was a grove of wild trees, chiefly the holly-oak [2], and a small statue of Hermes in the open air. In the plain below, the river Platanus joined the sea, on the right of which was the small maritime city Halæ, the last of those belonging to the Bœotians on the sea which separated Locris from Eubœa. Considering the position of the Orchomenia in general with relation to that of Copæ, now Topólia, and of the river Platanus near the maritime frontier of Bœotia at Halæ, we cannot but infer that Holmones, Hyettus and Cyrtone, lay in a north-western direction from Copæ, that the road to Corseia crossed Mount Khlomó not far to the eastward of the peak, and that as this summit is the only mountain in this part of Bœotia meriting the description of an ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, the city Cyrtone was very near it on the eastern side. Whether any ruins still exist to confirm this opinion, remains to be explored. Corseia is noticed by Demosthenes and Diodorus as an important fortress of Bœotia [3]; in the Phocic war it fell into the hands of the Phocians, together with Orchomenus and Coroneia. I am informed that ruins corresponding in situation to the description of Pausanias still exist near Proskyná, from the

[1] ᾥκισται δὲ ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ.
[2] πρῖνοι.
[3] Demosth. de Leg. Fals.—Diodor. l. 16, c. 58.

heights around which is collected the river, which I suppose to have been the *Platanus*.

Between the mouth of this river, and the shore below *Opus*, a large stream issues from the mountain, and joins the bay of Armyrá to the eastward of the salt sources, from which that harbour takes its name. In a country where subterraneous rivers so often occur, we may readily suspect this stream to originate in the *Cephissic* basin, which has no discharge for its superfluous waters but through the mountains which separate it from the *Euboic* frith. Now it is remarkable, that Strabo notices a chasm near Orchomenus, which absorbed the waters of the Melas [1], and that in illustration of these words of the geographer, there is, to the northward of *Orchomenus*, between Tzamáli and Xerópyrgo, a bay similar to that at the north-eastern end of the lake, where the *Cephissus* begins its subterraneous course. I have already stated, that the northern *Melas*, instead of flowing like the southern to the *Cephissus*, takes from its very sources a direction entirely different, and which, although I could not trace it through the marshes, tends exactly towards the bay above mentioned; there is a great probability therefore that the stream finds its way through the marshes, and flowing to the end of the bay, there enters a Katavóthra, of which the emissory is the river which issues between *Opus* and the mouth of the *Pla-*

[1] *Γενέσθαι δέ φασι καὶ κατὰ Ὀρχόμενον χάσμα καὶ δέξασθαι τὸν Μέλανα ποταμὸν τὸν ῥέοντα διὰ τῆς Ἁλιαρτίας καὶ ποιοῦντα ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἕλος τὸ φύον τὸν αὐλητικὸν καλαμόν.*—Strabo, p. 407.

tanus; for this point is exactly at the end of the shortest line through the mountains, from the extremity of the bay of the *Cephissis* near Tzamáli. In summer, the question might perhaps be resolved, even by a distant view from the heights of *Orchomenus*, without descending into the unhealthy marshes. An actual inspection is the more necessary, as the testimony of Strabo regarding the chasm of the Melas is not free from suspicion: for he describes the Melas as flowing through the Haliartia, which being at the opposite end of the Cephissic basin, either shows Strabo to have been very ignorant of the locality, or his text to be here, as in so many other places, very much corrupted.

Dec. 11.—After employing the morning in a tour around Tálanda, I proceed at 1.30, on my return to Livadhía, by the way of *Parapotamii*, and the *Bœoto-Phocic* straits. At 2.20 leave the road to Vogdháni on the left, and cross into the little vale of Purnári, which is connected with that of Váltesi, though a low ridge immediately above the latter village separates the course of the waters, flowing respectively to the *Opontian* bay and to the *Cephissus*. At 3, leaving Váltesi a little on the left, we ascend a cultivated champaign, which is separated from the valley of Khúbavo and Bélissi by the rocky mountain on the western side of the pass of *Hyampolis*; and on the other side is bounded by the rugged heights extending to *Elateia*, and in the direction of *Cnemis*. In the midst of this elevated valley stands the small village of Kalapódhi, where we arrive at 3.25, having stopt a few minutes at a

ruined church on the side of the road, composed almost entirely of wrought stones and other Hellenic remains, among which are some portions of frizes and architraves; a little farther two pieces of a large Doric column, 4 feet 2 inches in diameter, lie nearly buried in the ground. These dimensions indicate the former existence of some large building in this place, for it is not easy to believe that such masses could have been brought hither from the temple of Abæ, which is 4 miles distant, still less from that of Minerva Cransea, near Elateia, which is at a much greater distance and separated by rugged hills.

In the church-yard at Kalapódhi lies a sepulchral stone, bearing the common ornament of a cockle-shell between two roses, and inscribed with the word Ἀμύνανδρος in beautiful characters. Possibly the district around Kalapódhi was that of the Locrian town Naryx, noted for having been the birth-place of Ajax, son of the Oileus; for it is evident, from the description of the coast of Locris by Strabo, that Naryx was not near the sea [1]; and there are two historical occurrences recorded by Diodorus, in which the reference to Naryx is well suited to this position. In the year B. C. 395, the same in which Lysander was slain at Haliartus, Ismenias, commander of the Bœotians, undertook an expedition against Phocis, and defeated the Phocians near Naryx of Locris; whence it appears that Naryx was near the frontier of Phocis. In the year 352, Phayllus, who commanded the Phocians, and their allies, and who not long before had been

[1] Strabo, p. 425. Stephan. in Νάρυξ and Ὀζόλαι.

defeated by the Bœotians near Orchomenus, again on the Cephissus, and a third time near Coroneia, invaded the Epicnemidii, took several towns, occupied and lost Naryx, and advanced to Abæ, where he was surprized by the Bœotians, who, elated by this success, entered and laid waste Phocis,—but in attempting to relieve Naryx, which was again besieged by Phayllus, were defeated by him. The town was in consequence taken by Phayllus, who soon afterwards died[1]. The Doric column may have belonged to the principal temple of the Narycii, where Ajax doubtless received heroic honours.

Having lost 10 minutes at Kalapódhi, we proceed along the valley, and arrive at 3.47 at a rugged ridge, where begins the descent into the plain of *Elateia*. Dhragománo and Leftá are not seen, on account of a projection of the mountains on the right, but Turkokhório is visible. At 4.15 we arrive at Sfaka, a small hamlet on the descent, and from thence, after having halted 10 minutes, descend into the plain at the point of the rocky mountain, which beginning from hence, stretches eastward to Vogdháni, where it forms the western side of the pass of *Hyampolis*; many copious springs issue from the mountain, and not only form a long lake at the foot of it, but make this whole corner of the *Elatic* plain marshy during the greater part of the year. A paved causeway leading to Leftá and Turkokhório passes above the springs along the foot of the mountain, which to the very summit is a mere rock. The marshy edges of the lake begin a little below Sfaka, and

[1] Diodor. l. 14. c. 82; l. 16, c. 37, 38.

the lake is prolonged round the point of the mountain as far as opposite Meralí [1], where a stream issues from it, which, as I before remarked, joins the *Cephissus*, in the Stená; a part of the water is conducted by a canal to some mills between Meralí and Khúbavo.

We arrive opposite Meralí at 5.5, but are obliged to make a detour in order to cross the canal and river, the latter by a bridge. The best lodging which the village affords, is a long cottage of the usual kind, but in this instance so filled with oxen, horses, asses, bags of wheat, and baskets of kalambókki, that with difficulty I find space sufficient in it. The wheat is the produce of the *ἡμεροκάματο* [2], or day-labourers' share of the harvest, which is a kuvéli of 22 okes per diem, now selling at Livadhía for 5½ piastres; to this is added an oke of wine. The wages in the cultivation of vines and cotton are a piastre a day and an oke of wine, —the ordinary price of day-labour in Greece. In kalambókki it is customary for the labourers to take a tenth of the produce. Meralí stands on the side of a round low hill, which, though now in pasture, consists of a very fertile and cultivable soil, without any rock. It is separated from the height of Krevasará, which is lofty and rocky, by a level of about three fourths of a mile, through which flows the *Cephissus*. The river approaches the south-eastern corner of the latter height, where it is crossed by a bridge in the main road from Zitúni by Turkokhório to Livadhía. In a line

[1] *Μεραλή*.

[2] Vulgarly, *μεροκάμαρο*.

with the hill of Krevasará, and separated from it by a narrow plain, rises the lofty insulated conical height, which I have already remarked (Nov. 30) as being in face of Bissikéni, towards Krevasará; this height ends in a low summit, crowned with one of those towers of which I before remarked, that there appears to have been a system of them pervading Bœotia and Phocis. A castle of the middle ages, or perhaps of the same date as the towers, crowned the extreme point of the *Edylian* ridge, from whence to the opposite advanced heights of *Parnassus* the distance is about half a mile. This is the strongest part of the *Bœto-Phocic* pass. In the narrow level stands the khan of the Kadý on the right bank of the *Cephissus*, opposite to which the Kinéta, or river which issues from the lake of Sfaka, joins the *Cephissus* just under the extremity of the aforesaid rocky point, upon which stands the ruined castle.

Dec. 12.—Leaving Meralí at 9, and re-passing the bridge and canal, I ride up in 15 minutes to Khúbavo, which stands on the foot of the rocky mountain, in the opening of the valley rising to Vogdháni, immediately opposite to Bélissi[1], on the foot of Mount *Edylium*. These are all small hamlets of about 20 houses, each with a pyrgo for the Spahí, who is generally an Albanian. While inquiring at Khúbavo concerning a treasure of ancient medals, said to have been found by one of the inhabitants of that place, the sudden appearance of one of these Spahís, with hanjár

[1] Μπέλισσι.

and pistols in his girdle, puts an end to the enquiry, as none of the villagers dare answer such questions in his presence. Two or three of them, however, follow me in crossing the plain to the Paleó-kastro, and show me a large quantity of small gilt copper coins, of the lower empire, which were a part of the treasure.

The Paleó-kastro consists of the remains of a castle of lower times, inclosing a small table summit to the westward of Bélissi. This height is connected with the foot of the extremity of Mount *Edylium* by a low ridge of rock, over which passes the road from Vogdháni to the bridge of the *Cephissus*, near the khan of the Kadý. The hill is rocky all around, but the level summit is ploughed and cultivated. Among the remains of the modern castle are a few pieces of a Hellenic wall of the polygonal kind. There can be little doubt that these are remains of the city of the Parapotamii, the position, as I before remarked, agreeing in every respect with its description by Theopompus and Strabo[1].

Leaving the Paleó-kastro at 11, and passing over the ridge which joins it to the mountain, I descend to a ford of the *Cephissus* a little below the khan, and having crossed the river, follow its right bank: at 11.30 cross by a wooden bridge a canal derived from the Mavro-neró, and three minutes farther the united stream of the Mavro-neró and Plataniá by a stone bridge; the *Cephissus* being then only a few paces on the left. Soon

[1] Ap. Strabon. p. 424. V. sup. p. 97. 99.

afterwards the road quits the river, and crosses the plain in the direction of Kápurna, where I arrive at 12.8, and in the afternoon return to Livadhía.

Placed, as the valley of Chæroneia is, at the entrance of the extensive and fertile plains of Bœotia, and most conveniently situated for observing all the entrances into them from the side of Phocis, it often became the scene of military operations, though, unfortunately for history, the most remarkable of them did not occur until after the time of the best historians. In the year B.C. 447, Chæroneia was taken by Tolmides the Athenian, just before his defeat and death at Coroneia[1]. During the Sacred or Phocic war it was attempted by Onomarchus the Phocian without success, was taken by Phalæcus his son, who succeeded to the command of the Phocians on the death of Phayllus, and was speedily retaken by the Bœotians[2]. But no particulars are related on these occasions which can be illustrated by a view of the locality. Nor is that celebrated battle, which extended the Macedonian power over all Greece, and influenced the destinies of the civilized world for the ensuing two centuries, described in a manner more satisfactory either by Diodorus or by Plutarch, probably from the want of contemporary accounts of an event which was already ancient in the time of those authors, especially the latter, who might otherwise have had a good opportunity of enlarging on the details of the

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 113. [2] Diodor. l. 16, c. 33. 39. Diodor. l. 12, c. 6.

action, and of illustrating them by his knowledge of the topography of his native place. Of the battle between the Roman forces and the army of Mithradates, which occurred 250 years later, Plutarch had the means of leaving us a much fuller description[1]. Sylla had taken Athens when Taxilles, entering Greece from the northward with a numerous army, and encamping in the plains of Elateia, left his opponent only a choice of difficulties. On the one hand the chariots of the enemy and the superiority of his cavalry, rendered it hazardous to meet him in the plains of Bœotia: on the other, Attica was unable long to afford supplies, especially when Archelaus, occupying Munychia with his fleet, had prevented their arrival by sea. The more powerful motive prevailing, Sylla moved into Bœotia, and encamped at a place in the plain of Chæroneia, called Patronis. Here he was joined by Hortensius, who made his way from Thessaly by a circuitous route through Mount Parnassus to Tithorea, where he came into contact with the enemy's forces, but having resisted their attacks during the day, succeeded in the following night in descending through difficult passes[2] to the place where Sylla was expecting him. I have already shown the probability that the bye road by which Hortensius avoided the Asiatic army in the *Elatic* plains, was that which I followed from Velítza by Bissikéni into the northern valley of Dhavlía, and not far below which, near Khasnési, are the sources of the Mavroneró. Here being copiously supplied

[1] Plutarch. in Syll.

[2] *ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταβάς.*

with water, and defended towards the enemy by the pass of *Parapotamii*, Sylla found a safe and convenient place of encampment, until he was reinforced by Hortensius. He then advanced towards the enemy, and took a position on a fertile woody hill, in the midst of the *Elatic* plains named Philobœotus, at the foot of which there was water [1],—a description which seems to agree with the remarkable insulated conical height between Bissikéni and the *Cephissus*. The Romans probably occupied both that height and the hill of Krevasará, as in that position they were not only masters of any sources of water there may be at the foot of those heights, but were near the Cephissus, their proximity to which is evident from what follows. As the Roman army consisted only of 15000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, while the enemy amounted to six or eight times that number, the former kept close within their intrenchments, when the Asiatics drew out their forces to display their strength; but when they proceeded to straggle over the country, destroying Panopeus, and pillaging Lebadeia and the oracular temple of Trophonius, Sylla became very desirous of engaging. In order to inspire his troops with an inclination to fight, he first imposed some severe labours upon them, such as cutting canals in the plain, and turning the channel of the Cephissus; and when they began to be tired of this employment, pointed out to them a position

[1] *βουνὸν ἐκ μέσων ἑστῶτα τῶν Ἐλατικῶν πεδίων εὔγεων καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ῥίζαν ὕδωρ ἔχοντα.* Sylla highly praised the beauty of this hill in his Memoirs. Plutarch. ibid.

which he wished to occupy. It was a hill on which formerly stood "the Acropolis of the abandoned city of the Parapotamii—a stony height surrounded with a precipice, and separated only from Mount Edylium by the river Assus, which at the foot of the hill fell into the Cephissus, and rendered the position very strong[1]." In this passage there is a difficulty. I have already remarked that the testimony of Theopompus, of Strabo, and of Plutarch himself, shows that Paleókastro is the ancient Parapotamii, and the rocky summit above it Edylium; in which case there is no stream which can correspond with the *Assus* but that named Kinéta, which flows from the marsh of Sfaka, and is joined by the torrent of the vale of Khúbavo. This river, however, does not divide the hill of Paleókastro from Mount *Edylium*, as Plutarch leads us to expect, but leaves it on the left, and joins the *Cephissus* a little below the hill of Paleókastro, which is in fact a low extremity of the mountain itself. The Romans drove away a body of Chalcaspidæ, who were moving to the defence of the hill of Parapotamii, and took possession of it. Archelaus then moved against Chæroneia, but the city was saved by the timely arrival of one of the Roman legions accompanied by the Chæronenses in Sylla's army; and Sylla having crossed the Assus, proceeded

[1] *δείξας αὐτοῖς τὴν πρότερον μὲν γενομένην ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Παραποταμίων, τότε δ' ἀνῃρημένης τῆς πόλεως λόφος ἐλείπετο πετρώδης καὶ περίκρημνος, τοῦ Ἡδυλίου διωρισμένος ὄρους ὅσον ὁ Ἄσσος ἐπέχει ῥέων, εἶτα συμπίπτων ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίζαν αὐτὴν τῷ Κηφισσῷ, καὶ συνεκτραχυνόμενος, ὀχυρὰν ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι τὴν ἄκραν ποιεῖ.*

along the foot of Edylium until he arrived over-against Archelaus, who was encamped behind a strong entrenchment at a place called Assia, between Edylium and Acontium[1]. The place in the time of Plutarch was called from the circumstance Archelaus. It was probably situated in that bay of the plain between Edylium and Acontium, which is watered by a small branch of the *Cephissus*, and where now stands the village of Karamusá. Having remained a day in this position, Sylla left Muræna there in the command of a legion and two cohorts, and having sacrificed at the Cephissus, moved to Chæroneia for the purpose of joining the troops who had occupied that place, as well as to examine the position of a body of the enemy which, after the unsuccessful movement upon Chæroneia, had taken a position on Mount Thurium. This height, in the time of Plutarch, was called Orthopagium, and is described by him as a rugged pine-shaped mountain[2]. Below it were the torrent Morius and the temple of Apollo Thurius, who received that epithet from Thuro, the mother of Chæron, who was the founder of Chæroneia. Two men of Chæroneia having proposed to lead a detachment to the summit of Thurium by a road unknown to the Asiatics, Sylla ordered upon this service a body of Romans under Hirtius, and then drew out his army, placing the cavalry on

[1] Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἄσσον ὁ Σύλλας, παρελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡδύλιον, τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν βεβλημένῳ χάρακα καρτερὸν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀκοντίου καὶ τοῦ Ἡδυλίου, πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀσσίοις.

[2] κορυφὴ τραχεῖα καὶ στροβιλῶδες ὄρος.

either flank, himself on the right, Muræna on the left, and Hortensius, with a reserve of five cohorts, on the hills in the rear, in order to prevent the enemy from circumventing the Romans by means of their numerous cavalry and light troops.

The road indicated to Hirtius by the two Chæronenses led from Mount Petrachus, by a temple of the Muses. As soon as he had obtained possession of the summit of the mountain, the Asiatics were immediately thrown into confusion by the unexpected attack of the Romans from above; 3000 were slain on the hills, others fell into the hands of Muræna, and the remainder arrived in such confusion at their own camp, as to create a general disorder. Sylla, on perceiving it, moved forward his right so promptly, that the chariots of the Asiatics, which required a certain space to be effectual, were unable to act to advantage. The combat now became general: the Romans threw aside their pilæ[1] and fought with swords[2] only, but could not make any impression upon the long pikes[3] and combined shields[4] of the Asiatics, or upon the dense order of 15000 slaves[5], whom the Asiatic commanders had liberated from the Greek cities: these, however, were at length broken by the javelins and sling-shot of the adverse light-armed. As Archelaus was extending his right wing in order to encompass the enemy, Hortensius advanced rapidly to meet him, but was obliged to retreat before the Asiatic cavalry to the hills, where

[1] *ὕσσους.*
[2] *μαχαίραις.*
[3] *σαρίσσας μακράς.*
[4] *συνασπισμῷ.*
[5] *θεράποντας.*

he was in so much danger of being cut off, that Sylla advanced from the right to his succour. Archelaus perceiving Sylla's intention by the dust, quitted Hortensius and turned against the enemy's right, while Taxilles, with the Chalcaspidæ, attacked Muræna, so that a shout arising on both sides, and the hills around repeating it, Sylla was for a moment in suspense which way to move; but having resolved to return to his own post on the right, he took one of the cohorts of Hortensius with him, and sent the other four to the support of Muræna. On his arrival he found the right hard pressed by Archelaus, but his men receiving a new impulse from the presence of their commander, in one great effort routed the enemy, and drove him to the Cephissus and Mount Acontium. Sylla then moved to the assistance of Muræna, but found him already victorious over Taxilles, and joined him in the pursuit. Ten thousand only of the vanquished Asiatics arrived in safety at Chalcis ('Egripo), while Sylla, according to his own assertion in his commentaries, had only twelve men missing. He erected two trophies, one in the plain where the troops of Archelaus first gave way and fled to the river Molus; the other on the top of Mount Thurium. The latter was inscribed with the names of the two Chæronenses, who had led thither the Romans under Hirtius.

The narrative of which the preceding contains the substance, is rendered the more interesting by its being of a different kind from those which are usually given of military occurrences by Plutarch, to whom we generally look in vain for any accurate or topographical details of such events. It is indeed so

well told, that I cannot but consider it as almost a literal extract from the commentaries of Sylla. I was the more anxious, therefore, to compare it with the scene of action. One of the points desirable to be identified is the summit named Thurium. The only remarkable peak in the range of heights which, branching eastward from the foot of Parnassus, border the plain of Chæroneia on the south, is situated about three miles west of Petrachus, or the Acropolis of Chæroneia, and two south-east of Daulis; it rises from the right bank of the river now called Platáni, which I have before described as crossing the plain of *Daulis* to the *Cephissus*. But this point is too distant from Chæroneia, and there can scarcely be a doubt that it was within the Phocic boundary, and in the district of Panopeus, whereas Thurium, as well from the transactions on the day of battle, as from the local tradition concerning Thuro, mother of Chæron, was evidently in the district of Chæroneia, and not very far from Petrachus. I conclude, therefore, that Thurium was the highest point of the hills behind Chæroneia, not far from the right bank of the rivulet, above the left bank of which, lower down, are the ruined walls of Panopeus. The name Mera, attached to a village in the valley, may be a corruption of Morius. The torrent called Molus would seem to be that which joins the left bank of the Cephissus, and which separates Edyliuin from Acontium. Here, therefore, was Assia, and the placed called Archelaus, where the commander of the Asiatics formed his entrenched camp after Sylla had taken Parapotamii. It is to be supposed,

that although this was the position of Archelaus himself, his immense army extended quite across the plain to Chæroneia and Mount Thurium. The hills in the rear, on which Hortensius was posted, and where he was attacked by a movement of the right of the Asiatics round the left of the Romans, seem to have been not far from Daulis. Although these are the conclusions to which I have come upon examining the scene of action, I am aware that the difficulty which I have already mentioned, may seem to throw some doubt upon the whole explanation. Supposing the narrative to have been written originally by Sylla, and that either the Roman general himself, or the copiers of his memoirs, may have been in error as to the course of the Assus near Parapotamii, it still seems unaccountable that the biographer who adopted the account, and who was describing places near his own door, should not have discovered and corrected the mistake. It may be thought, perhaps, that the citadel of the *Parapotamii* may not have been at the Paleó-kastro of Bélissi, but on the hill of Meralí, which being really separated from the adjacent mountain by the stream which joins the *Cephissus* below the Paleó-kastro, so far corresponds with the words of Plutarch. But the consequence would be that the mountain of Khúbavo, and not that of Bélissi, was the ancient Edylium, and that the entrenched camp of Archelaus was not near Karamusá, as I have supposed, but in the valley between Khúbavo and Bélissi, which is quite irreconcileable with the data of Theopompus and Strabo, as to Parapotamii, Edylium, and Acontium. The situation of Para-

potamii, in the pass of five stades between Parnassus and the western end of the line of mountains, which terminated at the other extremity in Orchomenus, as well as the length of that ridge and the distance of Parapotamii from Chæroneia, are all too near the accurate truth when applied to the site near Bélissi, to admit of any doubt of the identity.

Perhaps it may be supposed that the hill which Sylla pointed out to his troops, and which they afterwards took, was the more conspicuous western extremity of the summit of Edylium, upon which are the ruins of a modern castle, that those ruins occupy the site of the citadel of the Parapotamii, that the Hellenic remains at the Paleókastro of Bélissi belonged to the town only, and that the Assus was the small stream near Karamusá, which may seem the more likely, as there is every reason to believe that Assia was in that position. But this would not remove the difficulty, for notwithstanding the identity of name, it is impossible to suppose the river Assus and the village or place Assia to have been very near to each other, the former having flowed below the western extremity of Edylium, and the latter having been situated between Edylium and Acontium [1].

[1] Soon after his victory at Chæroneia, Sylla was called upon to oppose a new army of Asiatics which had landed at Chalcis, and after some skirmishing at Tilphossium, gained, near Orchomenus, a second victory over Archelaus, which was so destructive that two hundred years afterwards, in the time of Plutarch, arms were still found in great quantities in the marshes.

Dec. 14.—Since I have left Ioánnina, the weather, with the exception of two days of southerly wind and rain at Dhomokó and Zitúni has been constantly calm and clear, with a slight north-easter: yesterday it began to threaten, and the change this day declared itself in a tremendous storm of wind, accompanied with intermitting showers. Livadhía, among its other inconveniences of climate, is particularly subject in winter to these sudden and violent gales, which descend from *Helicon* with such fury as often to carry away tiles and chimneys, as occurred to-day in several instances. The gale when of this extreme violence is denominated a mega.

Livadhía being a vakúf is governed by a vóivoda, who farms the revenue from the administration of the royal mosques; or more commonly by a vekíl, or deputy, for whom the farmer is answerable. The Turk now residing at Livadhía is in the latter capacity, but is himself farmer and collector of the customs.

The municipal power is divided among three principal Greek families, of which the first is that of John Khondrodhíma, commonly called the Logothéti, from his office in the church. All the affairs of the town pass through the hands of a grammatikós, appointed by these archons. Neither the Turkish vóivoda nor the kadý interfere, unless when a Turk is concerned, and the former in particular abstains from it, as he dreads the loss of his usual presents from the Greeks, and the effects of their complaints at Constantinople. His chief business is to receive the imperial taxes,

which are let at present to the three persons above-mentioned, for 2500 purses a year. These taxes are the miri, or dhekatía, the avarési, or tax on personal property, and the kharátj, or capitation.

The first is underlet in portions every year. Those who farm it visit the villages at the time of threshing, and receive their share, which in lands belonging to Greeks is about an eighth. The remainder is generally divided in the proportion of two thirds to the proprietor, he owning the stock, and supplying the seed corn. The harvestmen are generally paid in kind, either a stipulated quantity by the day, or a tenth of the crop: the remainder is the metayer's portion, and is shared generally among several persons. In many instances the dhekatía is farmed by the Greek proprietor, in which case his share of the harvest becomes seventeen twenty-fourths nearly. Some of the lands of Livadhía are Spahilíks, and have been held on the feudal tenure of military service ever since the conquest. These pay a much smaller dhekatía to the Spahí, than the Greek lands to the farmer of the vakúf; they are generally hired by Greeks of Livadhía, and are cultivated like the others. Sometimes the Spahilík also is included, and it happens occasionally that the Greek resides in the village as Spahí, but the Spahilík is more commonly in the hands of Albanian soldiers, who find it a good mode of laying out their savings, as the Spahís, besides the tithe, have by custom established a title to a fee of a piastre per annum from every man, and half a piastre from every boy in the village, besides a certain

allowance of provision when he resides, which the Albanian always does, for the sake of this maintenance, and other advantages which his station as a Musulman soldier gives him. It sometimes happens that the resident Spahí has not the tithe—only the fee, and what else he can extort.

The poor Greek peasant, as I before remarked, derives but little advantage from the land being held by his fellow-Christians. Though he can seldom obtain a fair market for his share of the produce, he generally has to furnish from it the exorbitant interest of some money which the Greek landholder or the Spahí has tempted him to borrow, after having forced him to the necessity of it: in short, he finds himself in no better condition than if he were a labourer on a Turkish tjiftlík. To complete his misery, the upper class of Greeks at Livadhía are as insolent and unfeeling to their inferiors, as they are malignantly jealous of one another; though it cannot be denied at the same time, that they have all the hospitality, wit, and sociable disposition of the nation, and, unlike the thesaurizing Jews and Armenians, generally live to the full extent of their means.

Alý Pashá is now more feared than the Porte at Livadhía; and it is found expedient to send every spring a deputation of 'Arkhondes to Ioánnina with a present of about 100 purses. Not along ago he endeavoured to obtain possession of Dhadhí, but by the management of the chiefs of Livadhía, the ruin of that rising community was for the present avoided. His advances, however, threaten to in-

crease in this direction, his son Velý having lately obtained the mukatá of Tálanda.

Dec. 17.—From Livadhía to Mazi. In crossing the opening of the vale of *Coroneia*, the principal summit of *Helicon* presents itself very majestically at the head of the valley. It is a round mountain standing rather separate from the rest of the range of *Helicon*, well clothed with firs, and now capped with snow. The modern name is Paleovúni, or Paleovuná. Half-way thither, hidden from sight in a ravine, is Kúkora, from which village there is a road across the *Heliconian* ridge to Khósia, and Kakósia.

In two hours we arrive at the fountain *Tilphossa*, issuing from the foot of the rocky height now called Petra. The fortress Tilphossæum, which stood on the summit, appears to have been among the most important in Bœotia [1]. Proceeding from thence at 3.5, we cross, in seven minutes, a brook from Rastamýti, a small village half a mile on the right in an angle of the hills, where a ridge connects *Tilphossium* with *Libethrium:* and in ten minutes more cross a stream, the largest we have passed this day except the *Phalarus*. It rises in the eastern part of Mount *Libethrium*, and issues through a precipitous gorge lying between the eastern end of *Tilphossium* and a rocky peak which rises immediately behind the village of Mazi. On the right bank of this river, among a great quantity of loose stones, broken pottery, and other appearances of an ancient site, are several squared blocks, sufficient to indicate

[1] Demosth. de fal. leg. p. 385, 387. Reiske.—Diodor. l. 4, c. 67; l. 19, c. 53.—ὄρος ἐρυμνόν. Strabo, p. 413.

the position of Ocalea, a Homeric city, not mentioned by Pausanias, but well described by Strabo, as situated on the bank of a rivulet of the same name, midway between Alalcomenæ and Haliartus[1]. His distance, however, of thirty stades from each, though it accords with the fifty stades which Pausanias places between Haliartus and Tilphusa, appears to be too great by more than a third.

Leaving now the direct road to Thebes, we ascend obliquely to Mazi, a small village on the foot of a remarkable peaked hill. From Mazi the road continues southward to Mavromáti and Eremókastro. The Maziotes chiefly cultivate kalambókki in the plain, and vineyards on the hills around the village.

Dec. 18.—I revisit this morning the remains of *Haliartus*, which are found on a low hill separated from the extremity of the height of Mazi by a narrow branch of the plain, and about a mile distant from the village. Towards the lake the hill of *Haliartus* terminates in rocky cliffs, but on the other sides has a gradual acclivity. Some remains of the walls of the Acropolis, chiefly of polygonal masonry, are found on the summit of the hill, and there are several sepulchral crypts in the cliffs, below which, to the north, issues a copious source of water, flowing to the marsh, like all the other streams near the site of *Haliartus*. Although the walls of the exterior town are scarcely anywhere traceable, its extent is naturally marked to the east and west by two small rivers, of which that to the

[1] ἡ δ' Ὠκαλέη μέση Ἁλιάρτου καὶ Ἀλαλκομενίου, ἑκατέρου τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἀπέχουσα· παραῤῥεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ποτάμιον ὁμώνυμον.—Strabo, p. 410.

west issues from the foot of the hill of Mazi; the eastern, called the Kefalári, has its origin in Mount *Helicon*. Near the left bank of this stream, at a distance of 500 yards from the Acropolis, are a ruined mosque and two ruined churches, on the site of a village which, though long since abandoned, is shown by these remains to have been once inhabited by both Turks and Greeks. Here are many fragments of architecture and of inscribed stones, collected formerly from the ruins of *Haliartus*. From this spot there is a distance of about three quarters of a mile to a tumulus westward of the Acropolis, where are several sarcophagi and ancient foundations near some sources of water, marking probably the site of the western entrance of the city.

The tumulus covers perhaps the bones of the men who fell with Lysander in the celebrated battle fought here in the year B. C. 395[1]; for the circumstances of the event point exactly to this situation. Lysander had been sent by the Ephori with a small body of Spartans into Phocis, to collect the forces of that nation, together with those of the contiguous people of Œta, Heracleia, Melis, and the Ænianes, and had been directed to march to Haliartus, where Pausanias, with 6000 Peloponnesians, was to meet him. Lysander not only succeeded in his mission, but induced Orchomenus to revolt from Thebes, and took Lebadeia by assault, from whence he wrote to Pausanias, informing him that he should arrive at Haliartus on a

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 3, c. 5. in Lysand. Pausan. Bœot. Diodor. l. 14, c. 81. Plutarch c. 32.

certain morning at break of day. But the Thebans intercepted his letter, and thus obtained the means of anticipating him at Haliartus while Pausanias was left in ignorance of his motions. Leaving Thebes to the care of their Athenian allies, they marched in the night, introduced a part of their forces into the city, and with the remainder placed themselves in ambuscade, ready to fall on the enemy's rear, at the fountain Cissusa [1], near which, adds Plutarch, were monuments of Rhadamanthus and Alcmena, and a place noted for producing the plants from which Cretan javelins were made [2]. Lysander, on his arrival, thought at first of waiting for Pausanias on "the height [3];" but becoming impatient as the day advanced, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and moved forward with the phalanx in column along the road leading to the city [4]. As soon as he arrived near the wall, the Thebans and Haliartii, rushing suddenly from the gate, slew him and his augur [5], with a few others, upon which the phalanx retreated to the hills. One thousand of them were slain in the pursuit; but it was fatal also to more than two hundred Thebans, who had rashly followed them into narrow and difficult places.

The king of Sparta was on his march from Platæa to Thespiæ when the news reached him. The

[1] *τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν ἔξω μεμενηκότες, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν πόλιν λαβόντες, ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὸ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Κίσσουσαν προσαγορευομένην.* — Plutarch in Lysand.

[2] *Οἱ δὲ Κρήσσιοι στόρακες οὐ πρόσω περιπεφύκασιν.*

[3] *ἐπὶ λόφου.*

[4] *ὀρθίᾳ τῇ φάλαγγι παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦγε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.*

[5] *αὐτόν τε μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως κατέβαλον.*

next day he arrived at Haliartus; but finding that the Phocians and other allies had marched off in the night, and Thrasybulus on the following day bringing a body of Athenians to the assistance of the Bœotians, all he could do was to enter into terms for the body of Lysander, which it would have been difficult to have obtained in any other mode, as it lay near the walls. Retreating out of Bœotia, he buried Lysander in the district of the Panopæi, in the road which Plutarch, being himself of Chæroneia, very naturally describes as that leading from Chæroneia to Delphi. It appears from the same author, that the rivulet which flowed along the western wall of Haliartus, where Lysander fell, was named Hoplites; the same probably as the Lophis of Pausanias, to whose fable concerning it the situation of the sources near the tumulus[1] is well adapted. Cissusa was evidently the fountain below the cliffs of the hill of *Haliartus*[2]; for the existence near that fountain, of plants from which javelins were made, indicates the proximity of the marsh, and that position accords with the remark of Plutarch, that the Thebans marched to Cissusa with the city on their left. They would

[1] The Haliartii, suffering from drought, sent to inquire of the Oracle of Delphi how they were to obtain water, when the messenger was directed to kill the first person he should meet on returning. This happened to be a boy named Lophis, and wherever his blood fell the water issued forth.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 33.

[2] Plutarch relates that Bacchus was washed in Cissusa after his birth, and that the water was of the colour of wine. This peculiarity I cannot confirm.

naturally avoid its southern side, lest Lysander should be in possession of the heights, and the northern extremity was well suited to their intention in placing themselves there, if we suppose the entrance of the city where Lysander was slain, to have been near the tumulus.

The rocky gorges to the westward of the hill of Mazi agree exactly with the rugged places [1] where the Thebans suffered, and as Plutarch adds that their loss had been predicted by an oracle which warned them to beware of Orchalides and the hill of foxes[2], which latter was in the district of Haliartus, towards Helicon, and in his time was called Alopecum, we cannot but infer that Alopecum was the peak of Mazi, and Orchalides a village which may have occupied the site of Mazi itself. Although the hill of Haliartus is not fifty feet higher than the lake, its rocky point projecting into the marsh is remarkable from every part of the plain. Possessing a fertile district, and commanding a pass in the center of Bœotia, which is well described by Strabo as a strait between a mountain and the lake Copais [3]: Haliartus was one of the

[1] *στενοχωρία τε καὶ δυσπορία.*—Xenoph.

τραχέα καὶ καρτερά.—Plutarch.

[2] *Ἐσχατίαν πεφύλαξο λύκους καμάκεσσι δοκεύων*
Καὶ λόφον Ὀρχαλίδην, ὃν ἀλώπηξ οὔποτε λείπει.

The first line relates to the battle of Delium.

[3] *Ἔκειτο δὲ ἐν στενῷ χωρίῳ μεταξὺ ὑπερκειμένου ὄρους καὶ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης, πλησίον τοῦ Περμησσοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ὀλμειοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἕλους τοῦ φύοντος τὸν αὐλητικὸν κάλαμον.* — Strabo, p. 411.

most important of the cities of this province, as the circumstances of the Bœotic war [1] just mentioned prove. Having, unhappily, on two great occasions, sided with the weaker of two contending parties, it was twice exposed to the vengeance of power; first in the Persian invasion, when its conduct formed an honourable exception to that of the rest of Bœotia, and again in the last struggle of the Macedonians under Perseus against the Romans; the consequence of which latter imprudence was that Haliartus no longer existed in the time of Strabo. The prætor Lucretius, who took it after a spirited resistance, destroyed the town, sold its inhabitants for slaves, and embarked its pictures, statues, and other valuable property in his ships. The territory was afterwards given to the Athenians [2]. Nor does it appear that Haliartus had recovered, like some other Greek towns, any portion of its former prosperity in the time of Pausanias, for he found here only some temples without roof or statue, which had been destroyed by the Persians, and had been purposely left in that state, like some others at Athens [3]; it was not even known to what deities they had been dedicated. A monument in honour of Lysander still remained, and a heroum of Cecrops, son of Pandion. The Haliartia extended westward to Mount Tilphossium, as appears by the remark of Pausanias, that the Hali-

[1] Ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος ἐκλήθη Βοιωτικός.—Diodor. ubi supra.

[2] Strabo, p. 411. Polyb. l. 30, c. 18. Liv. l. 42, c. 63.

[3] Pausan. Bœot. c. 33. Phocic. c. 35.

artii had an open sanctuary of the goddesses called Praxidicæ, which was very near that mountain [1].

The Kefalári, which is as large as the *Phalarus*, but does not like that river fail in summer, as I remarked on my former journey in this country, originates near Dúsia and Mavromáti, and receives the river of Zagará. At its entrance into the plain of *Haliartus*, the greater part of its water is turned eastward along the foot of the heights to some mills; but its natural course is by the village of Megálo Mulki into the marsh not far to the north-eastward of *Haliartus*. The two branches of the river from Mavromáti and Zagará seems to accord exactly with the *Permessus* and *Olmeius*, which, according to Strabo, flowed from Helicon, and after uniting entered the lake Copais near Haliartus [2]. Zenodotus, whom Strabo quotes in reference to Ascra, and from whom he seems to have derived his information as to the Permessus and Olmeius, stated the former to have had its sources in the Thespiace, and described the latter as a stream towards the summit of Mount Helicon about three hundred stades from Thebes [3]. The sources of the Kefalári being about midway between the sites of *Haliartus* and *Thespiæ*, agrèe

[1] ἔστι πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῷ Τιλφουσίῳ τὸ ἱερόν. — Pausan. Bœot. c. 33.

[2] καὶ ὁ Περμησσὸς καὶ ὁ Ὀλμειὸς ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος συμβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμπίπτουσι λίμνην τὴν Κωπαΐδα τοῦ Ἁλιάρτου πλησίον.—Strabo, p. 407, V. et 411, ubi sup.

[3] Apud Schol. Hesiod. Theog. v. 5.

perfectly with those of the *Permessus*, and the river of Zagará so far accords with the *Olmeius*, that it flows from a valley which separates *Libethrium* from *Helicon*. The distance of three hundred stades from Thebes, however, is too great for any part of the *Heliconian* mountains.

Having crossed the Kefalári at the ruined mosque, and passed Mulki half a mile on the left, we proceed along the foot of the hills, and in fourteen minutes from the Kefalári arrive at a copious fountain at the foot of a low rock similar to the cliffs of *Haliartus*, and about half a mile from the edge of the marsh. Above it stands a square tower half ruined, and of the same construction as those at Xerópyrgo and other places in *Bœotia*. To the north-eastward of this point the slope of the mountain now called Fagá meets the marsh in a projecting point; between which and another extremity towards Kardhítza the marsh forms a bay.

At 10.17 we begin to ascend the low ridge which separates the two great *Bœotian* basins, those of the *Cephissis* and of Thebes, and which connects Mount Fagá with the roots of *Helicon*; at 10.21, on its summit, we arrive at a small piece of Hellenic wall, consisting only of three or four stones in their places, on the right hand side of the road. The direction of this foundation is oblique to the road, running north and south, while the direction of the road in this spot is south-east. On the height on either side are many stones in the ploughed land, not natural to the soil, as well as other usual indications of an ancient site.

Pausanias, moving in the direction of this point from the Neitides gate of Thebes, arrives at about forty stades from thence, at a temple of the Cabeiri, to the right of which was the Teneric plain, and to the left a road branching to Thespiæ, distant fifty stades. On the other side of the Teneric plain rose the mountain where the Sphinx was said to have lain in wait for passengers, putting them to death, if they were unable to interpret her enigma. The ruins of Onchestus, where still remained the temple and statue of Neptune Onchestius, in an ἄλσος, or sacred grove, were fifteen stades distant from the mountain. Pausanias does not mention the distance on the direct road from the Cabeirium to Onchestus, nor does he continue his route from Onchestus to Haliartus; but turning from the Cabeirium to Thespiæ, describes the places in that part of Bœotia before he proceeds to treat of Haliartus, thus leaving no information as to the distance and direction of Onchestus, either from Thebes or from Haliartus [1]. But Strabo has supplied this deficiency; for after censuring Alcæus for placing Onchestus at the foot of Helicon, whereas it was at a considerable distance from that mountain, he states that it was in the Haliartia, on a naked hill near the Teneric plain, and the Copaic Lake. He farther remarks, that Medeon, another Homeric town of the Haliartia, was afterwards called Phœnicis, from its position at the foot of Mount Phœnicium, that Medeon was very near Onchestus, and that Mount Phœnicium was in the

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 25, 26.

district of Thebes[1]. Upon comparing these authorities with the places, it is evident that Fagá was the mountain of the Sphinx, which the Greeks in general called Sphingium, but the Bœotians Φίκιον, or Φίκειον, from Φίξ[2], the Bœotic form of Σφίγξ, and it seems also that the same mountain, or at least a part of it, near the Haliartia, was named Phœnicium. The modern name Φαγάς may be a corruption of Φίκιον, or it may be a vestige of the fable of the *devouring* Sphinx. It further appears from the same authors, that the Teneric plain was the north-western portion of the plain of Thebes, or that part of it which lies at the foot of Mount Fagá to the south-east; and that Onchestus, having been within the Haliartia, fifteen stades distant from the mountain, and near the Copaic lake as well as the Teneric plain, could hardly have occupied any other position than the low ridge which separates the plains, and where the Hellenic vestiges still subsist. Medeon having also been in the Haliartia, would seem to have stood near the lake in the bay on the north-western side of Mount Fagá, between the site of *Haliartus* and Kardhítza.

At 11.10, having halted till that time, I leave the supposed site of *Onchestus* and begin to descend from the pass into the plain, which at first is not so much as a mile in breadth, bordered on the right by gently-rising cultivated heights, and on the left by the rugged sides of Mount Fagá. At 11.24 we

[1] Strabo, p. 410. 412.

[2] Hesiod. Sc. Hercul. v. 33, et Schol.—Id. Theogn. v. 326, et Schol.—Lycophr. v. 1465, et Schol.—Plutarch. in Gryllo sive de Anim. ration.—Stephan. in Φίκειον.

have the foot of this hill near us on the left, and at 11.27 the highest peak. As we proceed, the plain between us and the mountain becomes broader, and is now inundated. In summer it produces kalambókki. Before us, as far as Thebes, the great level, as well as the long slopes of the hills to the right of it, is for the most part a continued corn-field, without a single fence. A part of the arable is lying fallow, and some part of the land is in pasture, but upon the whole it is as well cultivated a district as any in Europe. At 11.46, Váia and Khasnési, two considerable villages, separated only by a small ravine, are two miles on the right. Váia is the lower. At 12.5 we cross the road leading from Váia to Mazeráki, which latter is two or three miles on the left, in the *Teneric* plain near the foot of the lower declivities of Mount Fagá, where are some sources of water, and above them on the heights a monastery. At 12.15 we pass Tzoánno, and a few minutes further Morókamo at the foot of the slopes on the right. These, like Mazeráki and the others, are small villages. At 12.40 the most projecting point of Mount Fagá is on the left, a low stony rise, which we may suppose to have formed the separation between the *Teneric* plain and that of Thebes. From thence the lower ridges of that mountain trend to the northward towards the heights connecting the mountains *Phicium* and *Ptoum*, and below which is an inundated κόλπος, or bay of the *Teneric* plain. At 12.50 we cross the Kanavári, or Kanávri[1], a small stream

[1] Καναβάριον, Κανάβριον.

dry in summer, which rises at Erimókastro, and joins the Lake of Sénzina near its southern extremity—halt five minutes. At about a quarter of an hour from Thebes we begin to ascend obliquely the heights on which that town is situated, and at 1.30 cross a rivulet called Platziótissa, which rises a little above Thebes, and flows in a ravine along the western side of the town. In ascending the bank of this ravine to the town, a fountain occurs named Parapórti.

CHAPTER XIV.

BŒOTIA.

Ypsilí Rakhí—General geography of *Bœotia*—Rivers and fountains of Thebes—*Cadmeia*—Description of the city by Dicæarchus and Pausanias—Dimensions of the city—Seven Gates—Departure for 'Egripo—*Teumessus*—Mount Siamatá, *Hypatus*—*Glisas*—River *Thermodon*—*Harma*—*Mycalessus*—'Egripo, *Chalcis*—*Euripus*—Bridge—Mount Kalogherítza—*Lelantum*—*Aulis*—Cape *Emperesium*—Departure from 'Egripo—Akhália—*Salganeus*—Ancient road—*Anthedon*.

The hills immediately around Thebes are for the most part uncultivated, and, being intersected with large white charadræ or furrows, have rather a dismal appearance. They are capable of producing good wine, but the Thebans seem to think only of the culture of corn. The *πεδίον πυρηφόρον*[1] is still noted for its fertility, and produced last year 148,000 kuvélia of wheat of excellent quality, while in almost every other part of Greece the crop was indifferent: 500 kuvélia of flour are sent

[1] *Ἐς Μυκάλησσον ἰὼν καὶ Τεύμησσον λεχεποίην,*
Θήβης δ' εἰσαφίκανες ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλῃ·
Οὐ γὰρ πώ τις ἔναιε βροτῶν ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
Οὐδ' ἄρα πω τότε ἦσαν ἀτάρποι οὐδὲ κέλευθοι
Θήβης ἂμ πεδίον πυρηφόρον, ἀλλ' ἔχεν ὕλη.
Hymn. in Apoll. v. 228.

weekly to Egripo, there being no mills at the latter place. The greater part of the land in the district of Thebes is owned by three men of 'Egripo, Ahméd Pashá, mousellím of that place; Bekír, now Pashá of Bosnia, and Rashíd Bey: the landlord and the Greek cultivator share the produce of grain equally, the former finding the seed and half the oxen; but there is a tribe of kiayás and grammatikoí who superintend the landlords' concerns on the spot, and contrive to diminish very largely the receipts of both parties.

To the observer from Thebes, Mount Fagá, the ancient Phicium, or Phœnicium, presents a single bare and rugged peak, which to the right is separated from a long even ridge equally bare, and nearly of the same height, by the opening in which stands the village of Kardhítza. The latter mountain is the ancient Ptoum, now known in different parts by the names of Paleá, Strútzina, and Skroponéri, and extending from Kardhítza north-eastward until it is blended with *Messapium*, now called Khtypá. Midway between Thebes and Messapium, and hiding the highest part of the latter is the mountain named Samatá, or Siamatá, vulgarly pronounced Shamatá, from a village of that name behind it. It is bold and rocky, with a flat summit; and being the nearest, is the most conspicuous of all the mountains around Thebes. It seems clearly to be the ancient Hypatus.

Dec. 19.—Pass the forenoon on a height called Psilirakhí, that is to say, ἡ Ὑψηλὴ Ῥαχὴ, or the high ridge, which is distant two miles direct from Thebes to the east-south-east. It is the nearest

point affording a good view of the southern *Bœotian* basin, or that which is bounded on the south by the *Bœoto-Attic* range of *Cithæron* and *Parnes*, to the west by *Helicon*, and to the north by *Phicium*, *Hypatus*, and *Messapium*, and which, as I before observed, is separated only from the great northern valley of *Bœotia* by the ridge of *Onchestus*. On observing how completely distinct the two great valleys are, each of them being surrounded by mountains except at that ridge, one is not surprised that Bœotia should have been for a long time divided into two great political leagues, of which Thebes and Orchomenus were deservedly the chief places, nor that Thebes, surrounded by a larger extent of more uniformly fertile country, and happily situated at a moderate distance from three outlets of maritime commerce, should have acquired a preponderance over its rival, which would have raised Thebes to much higher destinies than it ever attained, had the Bœotians been more favourable to letters and instruction. To this cause alone a historian of the age of Alexander attributes the fact, that their power was never durable, notwithstanding their three seas [1], their ports on the Corinthiac Gulf, communicating with Italy, Sicily, and Libya, and those on the Euboic frith, which conducted on one side of the Euripus to Egypt and Cyprus, and on the other to Macedonia and the Propontis [2].

[1] *μόνη τριθάλαττός ἐστι.*—Ephor. ap. Strabon. p. 400.

[2] Strabo (p. 401) observes, that the remark of Ephorus will apply to Greeks, but not to barbarians, with whom force is better than logic (*βία λόγου κρείττων ἐστι*), and that the Romans, having first prevailed by force over nations more bar-

The Psilirakhí, although not high, is the most central summit in the southern basin, and stands in the middle of a low range of hills, which, branching from the eastern end of Mount *Helicon*, extends to the *Euboic* frith, and divides the basin into two parts, of which the *Parasopia*, or vale of the *Asopus*, is the most remarkable plain in the southern division: and that of Thebes in the northern. The position of Thebes was determined by its being the only spot in the separating ridge where water is plentiful. Towards *Helicon*, in the vicinity of *Thespiæ*, the ridge becomes lower and rounder, and is well cultivated in many parts; to the eastward of Thebes it is not so fertile, and the villages are consequently less numerous than to the westward, but the hills are covered with a fine pasture, and abound in wild thyme, and other odoriferous herbs. Eastward of Psilirakhí the ridge rises to its highest peak, now called Soró, the falls of which approach so near to the foot of Mount *Parnes*, that there is only a narrow rocky ravine between them, through which the *Asopus* finds its way from the *Parasopian* valley into the *Tanagræan* plain, and from thence by another similar ravine into the *Oropia*.

Thebes is now called τὰ Θήβα, or more commonly in Bœotia, τὰ Φήβα, by that easy substitution of the one aspirate for the other, of which there are many examples in the ancient language.

barous than themselves, were sensible of the importance of science when they had to deal with more civilized people, and thus became lords of all (ἐπέθεντο καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγωγῇ καὶ κατέστησαν πάντων κύριοι.)

The Turks say Stifa. The town stands on a hill, separated on every side from the adjacent heights, rising about 150 feet above the plain, and situated two miles to the northward of the highest part of the ridge. It is bounded to the east and west by the ravines of two small rivers, and is surrounded by a ruinous wall, composed of materials and repairs of various ages, among which are seen, in many places, Roman tile-work, and large squared blocks in the Greek style. A low projection at the northern extremity was occupied by a keep or tower, which, as well as another tower at the north-eastern angle, with its adjoining gateway, are of more solid construction than the rest of the work, and are chiefly composed of ancient materials. The circuit is about a mile and a half, and is said to contain 700 families, of which about 250 are Turkish. The streets are narrow, and the houses stand close together, with few gardens. To the southward, between the town and the ridge, the hollow which was anciently occupied by lower Thebes, is now crossed by a ruined aqueduct upon arches, which still conveys water into the town from the western rivulet. The district contains 64 villages, most of which are small.

At Thebes, as in most of the towns of Greece, which continue to occupy their ancient sites, the remains of antiquity chiefly consist of fragments of architecture and sculpture, or of inscribed marbles, dispersed among the houses, mosques, baths, and fountains, in the walls, stairs, streets, and pavements. Not one of the ancient buildings

can be traced; though it is very possible that some remains of them may be mixed with the modern structures, or buried by them, and that on the site of Lower Thebes to the southward of the town, where they are more accessible, many other valuable remains may still subsist below the surface of the soil.

The village of Tabakídhes, on the eastern side of Thebes, mentioned by Spon and Wheler, is no longer in existence, but the church of St. Luke still remains there, and contains the sorus, or great stone coffin, vulgarly called the tomb of St. Luke. The ten hexameters on one side of it, which have been published by those travellers have suffered an injury since their time, so that five or six letters towards the middle of each line are no longer legible. On the opposite side of the monument are two other inscriptions which they did not notice, one in hexameters, the other in trimeter iambics. The three are all of different dates, but relate to the same family. From that which was copied by Wheler and Spon, it appears that the monument was made by order of one Zosimus, to contain the body of his son Nedymus, whose mother was an Italian, named Adae[1]. , The second

[1] *Σκῆνος μὲν γενετῆρες, ἐπεὶ γέρας ἐστὶ θανοῦσι,*
Τειμῶντες κλαίεσκον ἀναισθήτῳ περὶ τύμβῳ·
Ψυχὴ δ' ἐς τὸ δίκαιον ἔβη· ἦν δ' οὔνομα τ' οὐμὸν
Νήδυμος, Ἰταλικῆς Ἀδαῆς παῖς ἵμερος ὄντως.
Οὐκ ἤμην ἔμπροσθε πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτ' ἐγενήθην
Εἷς ὀλίγων ἐτέων ἐναρίθμιος, ἄστατος αἰὼν
Οὐκ ἀνέδραστον ἔχων ἴδιον δρόμον, ἦσδ' ἔλαχέν τις
Μοιρῆς ταύτην ἐκτελέσει, καὶ γὰρ βασιλῆες.

Ταῦτ'

inscription in hexameters was in honour of the same Nedymus, and was placed upon the sorus by his son Zosimus, who reserved a place in the receptacle for himself, and declared that any one who should put any other body into it, should pay to the treasury ten thousand denaria[1]. The third epitaph was not inscribed until the death of the second Zosimus, the body of whose son Nedymus had in the mean time been deposited in it. The great grandfather, Zosimus the first, seems to have had a different sepulchre. In the third inscription the tomb declares itself to be full, and closed, and denounces the usual imprecation upon any one who should open it[2]. The second inscription is

Ταῦτ' ἐπέγραψε πατὴρ ὁ Ζώσιμος, εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο
Ἀείμνηστον ἔχων ψυχῆς πόθον ἀθανάτοιο.

[1] *Μαρμαρέη λίθος εἰμὶ, φέρω δ' ἐν γαστέρι φῶτα*
Νήδυμον ὕπνον ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐν θειοῖσι πάροντα.
Ὃν δῆμος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ . . . . . .
Βουλὴ ταυτὸν ἔπραξε . . . . . .
Κεῖται σῶμα λέοντος . . . . . .
Ζώσιμος υἱὸς ἔγραψε . . . . . .
Ἔμπνουν φθεγγομένην ἀδεῶς . . . . . .
Ὅστις δ' ἂν τολμᾷ θέσθαι νέκυν εἰς ἐμὲ νηδὺν
Χωρὶς τοῦ παιδὸς πατέρος, ὃν ἔχω κατὰ γαστρὸς,
Δώσει τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τῷ ταμείῳ [δηνάρια] μύρια.

[2] *Πλήρης ὁ φόρτος ἐστί μοι, καλῶς ἔχει,*
Κεῖται γὰρ νηδὺν εἰς ἐμὴν ὁ Νήδυμος,
Καὶ τοῦ τε παιδὸς παῖς γεγὼς ὁ Νήδυμος,
Τρίτος δὲ παιδὸς νῦν πατὴρ ὁ Ζώσιμος.
Μύσιν θεῶν τίς μοι δότω καὶ σύμφυσιν,
Ἥνδ' ἀρήγῃ τις εἰς ἄνοιξιν τὴν ἐμὴν,
Μήτ' ἐλπίδων ὄναιτο, μὴ τέκνων σπόρας,
Ἀλλ' ἐγγενῶς ὄλοιτο πληρείζων γένος.

V. Inscription No. 40.

imperfect at the end of several of the lines; the third is nearly complete. The monument is of white marble with a highly ornamented operculum, the surface of which represents a covering of leaves. But neither the letters nor the poetry admit of a date anterior to A.D. 300.

The inscriptions in the town are neither numerous nor well preserved. Two of them relate to Bacchus and his artists, that is to say, to the persons employed in his service in the theatre[1]. A third is the sepulchral monument of a lady named Sacunda, styled a female hero[2]. Below this inscription is another in smaller character, and apparently of a less ancient date. In this a priestess of Isis, named Nicæo, daughter of Ariston, dedicates the Anthedonian coffin, (on which the inscription is engraved,) declares it to be sacred, that it shall not be used by her heirs, and that any one who shall force it open, or pollute it, shall pay 700 denaria to the goddess. It would seem from this document, that Anthedon was noted for producing stone, fitted for ληνοὶ, or stone coffins, more commonly denominated σορυί. Of the other inscriptions which I find here, the most remarkable are a fragment of names in the Bœotic

[1] Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν Θήβαις Διοκλῆν Τιμοστράτου Διονύσῳ. V. Inscription, No. 41.

. . . . . Διονύσῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας.—V. Inscription, No. 42.

[2] Ἐπὶ Σακούνδᾳ ἡρωΐδι. Ἱεραφόρος Νεικαίω Ἀρίστωνος ζῶσα καὶ φρονοῦσα τὴν Ἀνθηδονίαν ληνὸν κληρονόμοις ἐμοῖς μὴ προσήκειν μηδὲ ἄλλῳ μηδένι· ἐὰν δέ τις βιασάμενος ἀνοίξῃ ἢ μιανῇ μου τὰ ἱερά, ἀποτείσει τῇ Εἴσι δηνάρια ἑπτακόσια.—V. Inscription, No. 43.

dialect[1], and the sepulchral monument of one Chareas, qualified as an arch-physician and hero[2].

The only undoubted relic which I can discover of the walls of Hellenic Thebes, now forms the lowest part of the northern tower, just above the plain. About thirty yards of the ancient work are still traceable, and four or five courses are visible, if courses they can be called, the masonry of which, like that of Tiryns, is formed of very roughly hewn masses of stone, originally fitted in the intervals with smaller stones, which have mostly fallen out. This wall is not straight, but forms a curve. Its masonry, its curved form, but above all its thickness, which is more than twenty-eight feet, seem to prove that in antiquity it may vie with Mycenæ, or even with that of the Τιρύνθιον πλίνθευμα[3], which it most resembles. Another monument, apparently of remote times, is found to the eastward of the town, not far to the southward of the church of St. Luke. It is a barrow of a form, which, though rare, is not unexampled in Greece, having a double slope thus.

In the absence of remains of art, it is only by means of the land-marks of nature that we can hope to trace the ancient topography of this city[4]. Besides the hill of the Cadmeia, which is well defined on every side, the only natural features

[1] V. Inscription, No. 45.

[2] Ἐπὶ Χαρέα ἀρχιατρῷ ἥρῳ. —V. Inscription, No. 47.

[3] E quodam poëtâ ap. Hesych. in voce.

[4] See a sketch of Thebes at the end of Vol. IV.

that can be recognized are those celebrated rivers and fountains which first attracted inhabitants to the site, and which contributed with other advantages to make Thebes the chief city of Bœotia. Three torrents traverse the site, and flow northward into the plain of Thebes, one on either side of the *Cadmeian* hill, having their origin in the low ridge, which, two miles to the southward of the town, begins to fall in that direction to the *Asopus*. The third is a beautifully clear and copious pool of water, in an artificial basin, situated at less than a mile to the S.S.E. of the modern town. Its stream flows to the plain through a ravine where derivations are made from it at different levels, to turn mills, and irrigate gardens, so that little water remains in ordinary seasons at its entrance into the plain. The small church of St. John [1], from which the river is named, stands exactly at the fountain-head. The western river, named Platziotissa [2] has a more constant course in the plain, though, being considered the purest of the Theban waters, no small quantity of its water is diverted to supply the fountains of the town. Several sources on, or adjacent to the ancient site, yield their contributions to this stream, some of which, in a country so subject as Greece is to earthquakes, may not now issue from the earth in the same positions as the fountains of ancient Thebes. The two most remarkable are that of Parapórti, which has already been noticed, and another situated five or six hundred yards higher

[1] Ἀϊάννης, *i. e.* Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης.

[2] Πλατζιώτισσα.

up the river, and, like Parapórti, near its right bank. To the eastward of the ravine of the Ai Ianni, distant a third of a mile from the town, is the most copious of the Theban sources, a modern δωδεκάκρουνος, issuing from the side of the hill through twelve spouts. The place is called St. Theodore[1], and was described by Spon, in 1676, as the handsomest of the suburbs of Thebes, but of which three or four cottages only now remain. The superfluous waters of these rivers and sources serve to irrigate gardens, and plantations of cotton, tobacco, and kalambókki, in the plain to the northward, and in summer are entirely consumed in that manner: in winter they render the plain marshy.

Thebes had been thrice subverted when twenty years after its last destruction by Alexander, or in the year 315 B.C. Cassander, assisted by the Athenians and by the people of Messene and Megalopolis, in gratitude to their founder Epaminondas, restored the whole circuit of the walls, and laid out new streets[2]. Dicæarchus, who wrote not long afterwards, thus describes the city. "The site is level, the form circular[3], with a cir-

[1] Αϊθόδωρος, i. e. Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος.

[2] Dicæarch. βίος Ἑλλάδος, p. 14. Strabo, p. 401. Diodor. l. 19, c. 54. Pausan. Messen. c. 27. Bœot. c. 7.

The three subversions of Thebes, alluded to by Dicæarchus, were by the Epigoni or second Peloponnesian alliance under some of the sons of the seven chiefs who had been defeated before the walls of Thebes; secondly, by the Thracians and Pelasgi, during the Trojan war; and thirdly, by Alexander.

[3] στογγύλη τῷ σχήματι.

cumference of seventy stades. It is plentifully provided with water, and abounds in green pastures and fertile hills, and in gardens beyond any city in Greece. Two rivers flow through the town, and irrigate all the subjacent plain; there is also a subterraneous stream issuing from the Cadmeia through conduits which are said to have been constructed by Cadmus [1]. The abundance and coolness of the water, the agreeable breezes, the verdant aspect of the place, its gardens, fruits, and other productions of the season, render Thebes a most agreeable residence in the summer [2]. In the winter, on the contrary, it is very unpleasant, being destitute of fuel, and constantly exposed to floods and winds. It is then often covered with snow, and is very muddy." Although seventy stades is the circuit here ascribed to Thebes by Dicæarchus, he assigns in his verses a much smaller extent, namely, forty-three [3]; and this number being in metre, and consequently more free from suspicion of inaccuracy, was probably the reputed perimeter of the walls, as Pausanias still traced them with their seven gates, near 500 years afterwards. This circuit was very nearly equal to that of the Asty, or

[1] This may perhaps be the fountain of Parapórti. The conduits of Cadmus were probably a fable.

[2] Thebes is still noted in the adjacent country for its gardens; and even supplies Athens with some of their produce, particularly melons.

[3] . . . Κεῖται δ' ἐν μεσογείᾳ πάνυ καλὴ
Πόλις, μεγάλαι Θῆβαι, σταδίων τὸ περίμετρον
Ἔχουσα τετταράκοντα καὶ προσέτι τριῶν.
Dicæarch. v. 93.

upper town of Athens. In the seventy stades, Dicæarchus may have intended perhaps to include the suburbs and the gardens, to which he particularly alludes[1]. After the time of Cassander, Thebes suffered in common with the rest of Greece from the contests of which it became the scene, especially those between Rome and Macedonia; its particular calamities recommenced with the Mithradatic war, when Sylla punished Thebes for taking part against him, by presenting half its territory to the Gods, as an atonement for his having plundered their treasuries at Olympus, Epidaurus and Delphi. Although the Romans afterwards restored their land to the Thebans, the city never recovered from that calamity[2]; but having largely shared, as well as Chalcis, in the chastisement inflicted upon the friends of Achaia by Mummius, after the capture of Corinth[3], it was reduced to such a miserable state in the time of Augustus, that it scarcely deserved, according to Strabo, to be called a town[4]. Near two centuries later, when Greece had a little recovered under the Roman emperors, Pausanias found Thebes occupying, as it now does, the Cadmeia. In the decline of the empire, as the maritime towns of Bæotia became exposed to hostility or piracy, the population of this province was probably in great measure concentrated in the advan-

[1] It may be observed, however, that none of the distances of Dicæarchus, as they stand in the text of his prose work, will bear examination.

[2] *ἐς τὸ ἀσθενόταον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προήχθησαν.* — Pausan. Bœot. c. 7.

[3] Epit. Liv. l. 52.

[4] *οὐδὲ κώμης ἀξιολόγου τύπον σώζουσι.*—Strabo, p. 403.

tageous internal positions of Thebes and Livadhía, and the walls may then have been constructed, which, with a succession of repairs, have subsisted to the present time. In the fourth century Thebes was in so respectable a state of defence, that Alaric, impatient to reach Athens, would not lose the time that a siege of Thebes would have required; and in the 12th century, it was of such magnitude, that, according to Benjamin of Tudela, the Jews alone amounted to 2000, who were "skilful workers in purple and scarlet." Under the Turks, like all their towns, it has gradually declined.

Although inhabited Thebes was confined to the Cadmeia, when Pausanias visited the place, all the principal monuments connected with Theban mythology and history were still in existence, more or less preserved. The following is an abstract of their description by that traveller[1]. The road from Platæa entered at the gates Electræ; the other gates were the Prœtides, the Neitæ or Neitides, the Crenææ, the Hypsistæ, the Ogygiæ, and the Homoloides. Not far from the gates (Electræ)[2] was a Polyandrium of the Thebans, who fell in fighting against Alexander, and a little beyond it the place[3] where Cadmus produced men, by sowing the teeth of the dragon which he slew at the fountain of Mars. To the right of the same gate was the hill sacred to Apollo, who was surnamed Isme-

[1] Pausan. Bœot. 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17.

[2] It seems evident from the narrative, that this and the other objects described were all within the walls of Lower Thebes.

[3] χωρίον.—c. 10.

nius, from the river flowing by it, which was more anciently called Ladon. Before the entrance of the temple was a rock, named the chair [1] of the prophetess Manto, daughter of Tiresias; and to the right of it were statues in stone, supposed to represent Enioche and Pyrrha, daughters of Creon. At the entrance of the temple were statues in marble of Minerva and Mercury, surnamed from their situation Pronai; the former was said to be the work of Scopas, the latter of Phidias. The temple contained a statue of the god by Canachus, exactly resembling that made by the same artist at Branchidæ, except that it was of cedar instead of brass. Among the tripods in the temple was that dedicated by Amphitryon for his son Hercules, when the latter officiated as Daphnephorus: a young man remarkable for beauty and strength was still chosen every year to fill this office. Above (or beyond [2]) the Ismenium was the fountain sacred to Mars, who placed it under the guardianship of the dragon which was slain by Cadmus [3]; near the fountain was the tomb of Caanthus.

[1] *δίφρος*.

[2] *ἀνωτέρω*.

[3] This differs from Euripides, who describes the dragon as the guardian of Dirce, *δράκων ὁ γηγενὴς Δίρκης ναμάτων ἐπίσκοπος*.—Phœniss. v. 938. In the course of six centuries some difference may have arisen on this question among the antiquaries of Thebes; and Pausanias may have adopted the opinion opposed to that received in the time of Euripides. The guides of Thebes found Pausanias a good recipient of their stories. They showed him the cinders of the funeral pile of the children of Amphion, and some stones at the base of his tumulus, which had been charmed

To the left of the gate Electræ were the ruins of the house of Amphitryon, and the temple of Hercules. The house of Amphitryon contained the bed-chamber of Alcmena, said to have been the work of Trophonius and Agamedes. Here, also, was a monument of the children of Hercules by Megara, a stone called Sophronister, said to have been thrown at Hercules by Minerva, to prevent him from slaying Amphitryon, the figures of women named Pharmacidæ in low relief [1], and above the Sophronister an altar of Jupiter Spodius made of the cinders of victims.

The temple of Hercules contained his image in wood, which was supposed to be the work and dedication of Dædalus, with another in white marble, which was surnamed Promachus, and was made by two Theban artists, Xenocrates and Eubius. The aeti of the temple were adorned with figures by Praxiteles, representing all the twelve labours of Hercules, except the destruction of the birds of Stymphalus, and the cleansing of the Eleian land, instead of which there was the wrestling of Hercules with Antæus. Within the building were colossal figures of Minerva and Hercules in relief [2],

into that place by his singing (ᾠδῇ). He resisted, however, the tale of the dragon's teeth converted into men, and boldly declares his disbelief that certain sucking-pigs, which were placed as sacrifices in the Megara at Potniæ, made their appearance the next year at Dodona.—(Bœot. c. 8.). Among other contrivances of the ἐξηγηταὶ of Thebes, we have reason to believe that they altered or forged some of the inscriptions on the monuments.

[1] ἐπὶ τύπου γυναικῶν εἰκόνες. —c. 11.

[2] κολοσσοὺς ἐπὶ τύπου.

made of Pentelic marble by Alcamenes and dedicated by Thrasybulus and his comrades, when, having proceeded from Thebes to Athens, they there put an end to the tyranny of the Thirty. Adjoining to the Heracleium were the gymnasium and the stadium of Hercules. There was an altar at Thebes of Apollo Polius; and an altar in the open air, with a statue of Minerva bearing the Phœnician epithet of Onga, and said to have been dedicated by Cadmus [1]. This statue had formerly stood in a temple, which appears from Æschylus to have been without the city, near one of the gates [2].

As the ancient Acropolis was the only inhabited part of Thebes when it was visited by Pausanias, the Agora of that time contained some of the most ancient monuments of the Cadmeia; a part of it was supposed to occupy the exact site of the habitation of Cadmus [3]. Here were shown

[1] It appears from Sophocles (*πρὸς Παλλάδος διπλοῖς ναοῖς*, Œdip. Tyr. v. 20), that there were two temples of Minerva at Thebes, in one of which, according to the scholiast, she was surnamed Oncæa, in the other Ismenia. See also for the temple of Onca, Schol. in Eurip. Phœn. v. 1069.

[2] *ἄνασσ' Ὄγκα πρὸ πόλεως.*—Æsch. Sept. adv. Th. v. 170. V. Schol. ibid. *γείτονας πύλας ἔχων Ὄγκας Ἀθάνας.*—v. 492. *Ὄγκα Παλλὰς ἥτ' ἀγχίπτολις Πύλαισι γείτων.*—v. 507. Stephan. in Ὀγκαῖαι. Hesych. in Ὄγγα. This name shows, adds Pausanias, that Cadmus was not from Egypt but Phœnicia; a fact still more strongly supported by his introduction of the alphabet.

[3] It was doubtless not here, but in the more ancient Agora in Lower Thebes, that a magnificent stoa was erected after the battle of Delium, as related by Diodorus (l. 2, c. 70.)

ruins of the bedchambers of Harmonia and Semele; the place where the Muses sang at the wedding of Harmonia, and a piece of wood adorned with brass by Polydorus, said to have fallen from heaven when Semele was stricken with lightning, and named Bacchus Cadmeius: also three statues; one of Bacchus in solid brass, by Onassimedes; with an altar wrought by the sons of Praxiteles; the second of Pronomus, a celebrated improver of the flute, and composer of music for that instrument; and the third of Epaminondas. Near the latter was the temple of Ammon, containing a statue by Calamis, dedicated by Pindar; also a triangular pillar, upon which was engraved an ode of Pindar, addressed to the Ammonii, and near it an altar dedicated by Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Near this temple was the place of augury, where Teiresias observed the flight of birds, and a temple of Fortune, whose statue, bearing the child Plutus, was the work of Callistonicus of Thebes, except the face and hands, which were made by Xenophon of Athens. There were also three wooden statues of Venus with the surnames of Urania, Pandemus, and Apostrophia, said to have been formed from the beaks of the ships of Cadmus, and to have been dedicated by Harmonia. There had formerly been a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus, and a house of the descendants of Cadmus, but a bust only of Ceres remained, and some brazen shields said to be those of Lacedæmonian officers who had fallen at Leuctra. Near the gates Præ-

tides was the theatre[1], and adjoining to it a temple of Bacchus Lysius, which contained statues of Bacchus and of Semele. Here were also the ruins of the house of Lycus, monuments of Semele, of the sons of Amphion and of the daughters of Amphion, and a temple of Diana Eucleia, whose statue was by Scopas. Within the sanctuary were interred the two daughters of Antipœnus, who had devoted themselves to death for the public benefit in the war between Thebes and Orchomenus; and before the temple was the figure of a lion, dedicated by Hercules, when he had defeated the Orchomenii under their king Erginus; near it were statues of Apollo Boedromius and of Mercury Agoræus, the latter presented by Pindar. Half a stade distant from the tombs of the children of Amphion was their funeral pile[2]. Near (the heroum) of Amphitryon[3] were two statues in stone of Minerva Zosteria, so called because Amphitryon here armed himself when he was proceeding against Chalcodon and

[1] That the theatre was within the walls, appears from Livy, in his narrative of some transactions which occurred at Thebes in the Macedonian war, B.C. 196: though it is evident at the same time from Pausanias, that according to the usual practice in Greece, it was not far from the gymnasium and stadium, which were just without (*πρὸ*) the gate Prœtis. Plutarch (in Sylla) states that Sylla built a *θυμέλη* near the fountain Œdipodium, for the spectacles which he exhibited; but it was probably only a temporary construction.

[2] *πυρά*.—c. 17.

[3] *πλησίον δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνος δύο*, &c.

the Eubœenses. The monument of Zethus and Amphion was a small barrow [1].

The funeral pile, as well as the objects subsequently mentioned, were, probably, without the walls. The tomb of Amphion certainly was, as appears by a fact related by Pausanias [2], and still more from Æschylus [3]. From a comparison of these authorities it seems to have stood in the plain between the site of the gate Prœtis and the northern extremity of the Cadmeia.

As the torrent, which forms the ditch of modern Thebes to the eastward, and which marks the extent of the *Cadmeia* in that direction, is much the least considerable of the three rivulets of Thebes, there can hardly be a doubt that the two others were the two rivers of the διπόταμος πόλις, named *Dirce* and *Ismenus* [4]. That the Ismenus

[1] γῆς χῶμά τι οὐ μέγα.

[2] The Thebans were in the habit of keeping watch over this monument when the sun was in Taurus, because an oracle of Bacis had declared that the Theban land would lose its fertility if the people of Tithorea should at that season transfer some of the earth from the tomb of Amphion and Zethus to their own monument of Phocus and Antiope.

[3] In the "Seven against Thebes," he describes the fifth chief as stationed before the northern gate, at the tomb of Amphion.

προσταχθέντα βορραίαις πύλαις
Τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν διογενοῦς Ἀμφίονος.—v. 532.

[4] Διπόταμον ἵνα πόλιν μόλω. Supp. v. 621.

Διδύμων ποταμῶν πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον
Δίρκας, χλοερotρόφον ἃ πεδίον
Πρόπαρ Ἰσμηνοῦ καταδεύει. Phœn. v. 832.
V. et Bacchæ, v. 5 Herc. Fur. v. 572.

was the eastern is manifest from Euripides, who represents Theseus as directing his herald in proceeding from Eleusis to Thebes to cross the Asopus and then the Ismenus [1]. But Pausanias is still more conclusive, by describing the Ismenus as situated to the right of the gate Electræ, entering Thebes from Platæa, and the Dirce as crossed in the road which led from the gates Neitides towards the mountain of the Sphinx [2]. The *Ismenus*, therefore, was the river now called Ai Iánni, and the *Dirce* the Platziótissa or western stream. The middle torrent may have been the Cnopus, for this was the name of a river, and of a village, (called also Cnopia,) through which the river flowed, and which was near Thebes on its southern side, exactly in the position of the torrent towards its sources [3].

In approaching Thebes from the south, ancient foundations are first seen at about a mile in direct distance from the modern town. Here I observed

[1] Ἐλθὼν δ' ὑπέρ τ' Ἀσωπὸν Ἰσμηνοῦ θ' ὕδωρ
Σεμνῷ τυράννῳ φράζε Καδμείων τάδε.
Supp. v. 383.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 25, 26.

[3] Compare Strabo, p. 404. Pausan. Bœot. c. 9. Schol. Nicand. Theriac. v. 889. The last author supposes the Ismenus and Cnopus to have been the same river; but in regard to two torrents so near to each other, he may easily have made a slight mistake, as he is guilty in common with his poet of a much greater, in supposing the river to flow to the lake Copais. The Ismenus had, indeed, according to Pausanias, another name, but it was Ladon, not Cnopus. See in the Additional Notes at the end of Vol. IV. some remarks on the suburbs of Thebes, in reference to page 323 of this Volume.

some remains of Hellenic walls, and an oblong quadrangular well or pit excavated in the rock. According to the data of Dicæarchus and Pausanias, this was nearly the situation of the Electris or gate entering lower Thebes from the southward, for this point being a mile and a half distant from the northern extremity of the *Cadmeia*, and the city having been nearly circular, the circumference would thus have been 4·7 miles, which, measured along the ramparts, would be not very different from the 43 stades of Dicæarchus[1]. As the source of the Ismenus was no more than three quarters of a mile from the Cadmeia, and not so much from the river Dirce, it is evident that both that source, and a part of the course of the *Dirce* must have been included within the walls, if we comply with the conditions of Dicæarchus[2], which will require a diameter from east to west of at least a mile and a half; a distance confirmed by the remark of the same author, that two rivers flowed *through* the city[2]. On the other hand, it appears from Æschylus that the Ismenus at its entrance into the plain was without the walls, for he describes Tydeus, when presenting himself opposite the gate Prœtides, which led to Chalcis, as halting on the bank of the Ismenus, and forbearing to cross, because the sacrifices were

[1] It would still be something less at the rate of 8 stades to a mile; but at Athens, in like manner, on examining the site, there is difficulty in conceiving that the aggregate length of the ramparts could have been, at that valuation of the stade, so great as Thucydides asserts.

[2] *ποταμοὶ ῥέουσι δι' αὐτῆς δύο.*—p. 15.

unpropitious[1]. The same may be inferred from Euripides, who, in describing the military position of Theseus, when after the return of his messenger he marched in person at the head of the Athenians to recover from Creon the unburied bodies of the Argives, represents the infantry as drawn up on the heights along the Ismenus, the cavalry as occupying the extremity of the line near the fountain of Mars, (meaning one of the fountains of *Dirce*,) and the chariots on the right near the tomb of Amphion[1]. Thus the army invested Thebes on every side, except to the northwest. The infantry was well protected in front by the ravine of the Ismenus, and the chariots were very properly stationed in the plain, where alone they could act. Even the messenger who describes the battle seems to have been well placed on a tower near the gate Electræ, which was toward the centre of the line and on ground commanding a view of the greater part of the site of Thebes.

The seven gates of Thebes are alluded to by

[1] Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προιτίσι
Βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ περᾶν
Ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίνεται καλά.
* * * *
Βοᾷ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις μάχης ἐρῶν.
Sept. adv. Th. v. 383.

[1] Ὁρῶ δὲ φῦλα τρία τριῶν στρατευμάτων,
Τευχεσφόρον μὲν λαὸν ἐκτείνοντ' ἄνω
Ἰσμήνιον παρ' ὄχθον, . .
* * * *
Κρήνην παρ' αὐτὴν Ἄρεος ἱππότην ὄχλον
Πρὸς κρασπέδοισι στρατοπέδου τεταγμένον
Ἴσους ἀριθμὸν, ἁρμάτων δ' ὀχήματα
Ἔνερθε σεμνῶν μνημάτων Ἀμφίονος.—Supp. v. 653.

Homer and Hesiod[1], and frequently by Pindar and the Athenian poets: six of them are named by Æschylus and Euripides[2], and all the seven by Apollodorus and Statius[3], as well as by Pausanias. But none of these five authors are in exact agreement as to the names, or have observed any regular order in naming them: of three gates, however, we have nearly the situation by knowing the places to which they conducted. These are, the Electris, Prœtis, and Neitis; of which the first led to Platæa, the second to Chalcis, the third to Onchestus. The Neitis seems to have been not far to the westward of the northern extremity of the

[1] Homer. Od. Λ. v. 262. Hesiod. Op. v. 161.

[2] Æschyl. Sept. adv. Th. v. 381, et seq. Eurip. Phœn. v. 1111, et seq. The six gates of Æschylus are as follow, and in that order: Prœtides, Electræ, Neitides, Oncaides, Βορρεῖαι πύλαι, Homoloides. Those of Euripides are Neitides, Prœtides, Ogygiæ, Homoloides, Crenææ, Electræ. Both poets allude to the remaining gate as the ἕβδομαι πύλαι, without naming it; but if Hesychius (in Ὄγκας Ἀθηνᾶς) is right in identifying the Oncais with the Ogygia, it would seem that the Crenæa was the seventh gate of Æschylus, and the *northern* the seventh gate of Euripides. In this case, too, Hippomedon and Polynices attack the same gates in both tragedies; though it must be confessed that not much stress can be laid on this coincidence, as, with the exception of Capaneus at the Electris, the two poets differ as to the other chiefs. And thus also the gates of the two Athenians will agree with those of the traveller and αὐτόπτης, (these being the three authorities most worthy of attention on this question); provided we suppose the Hypsistæ of Pausanias to be identified with the Borreiæ, or northern gate. Indeed, it is highly probable that the temple of Jupiter Hypsistus, which gave name to the gate, was in the Cadmeia, as the northern gate must have been.

[3] Apollod. l. 3, c. 6. Stat. Theb. l. 8, v. 355.

Cadmeia, for Pausanias describes three monuments in succession between it and the crossing of the river Dirce, thereby indicating a considerable interval between the gate and that crossing, which agrees with the actual course of the river at its entrance into the plain, whereas farther up the valley the river flows immediately at the foot of the *Cadmeian* hill.

The *Homolois* may be placed on the same side of Thebes, having been the gate through which the Thebans re-entered the city, when they were recalled by Thersandrus from Homole in Thessaly, whither they had fled after the victory of the Epigoni at Glisas.

Without the gate Prœtis, on the road to Chalcis, were the monuments of Melanippus and Tydeus [1], then the tomb of the sons of Œdipus, and fifteen stades beyond them a cenotaph of Teiresias [2]. Pausanias then observes, that the Thebans possessed a tomb of Hector, at the fountain Œdipodia, which was so called because Œdipus there washed himself after the murder of his father, and that they brought thither from Troy the bones of Hector by command of the Oracle, which directed them also to honour him as a hero. Near the same fountain was the tomb of Asphodicus, who was said by the Thebans to have slain Parthenopæus, one of the seven chiefs. Although the mention of these monuments by Pausanias follows that of the cenotaph of Teiresias, there is great reason to believe that they were much less than 15 stades distant from the city; as well

[1] Τυδέος, δν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.—Il. Ξ. v. 114.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 18.

from the words of the oracle as from the ἐστὶ Θηβαίοις with which Pausanias introduces the mention of the tomb of Hector, and equally so from the story attached both to the tomb and the fountain. On this supposition the fountain of St. Theodore agrees in situation with that of the *Œdipodia*. The source, according to Spon, was supplied from the head of the *Ismenus*[1]; but even this would not be inconsistent with the words of Pausanias, who describes the Œdipodia as a κρήνη, or constructed fountain. I am more disposed, however, to believe that the fountain of St. Theodore is, in part at least, a vein of water separate from the *Ismenus*, and which still flows perhaps in the ancient conduits. That the *Œdipodia* was, like the fountain of St. Theodore, to the *right* of the road to *Chalcis*, is supported by the observation of Pausanias as to the Gymnasium, Stadium, and Hippodrome. "Before the gates Prœtides," he says, "the Thebans have a gymnasium called the Gymnasium of Iolaus, and a stadium which resembles those of Olympia and Epidaurus, being a heap of earth. There also is the heroum of Iolaus. Beyond the stadium to the right is the Hippodrome, which contains the monument of Pindar. From thence there is a road to Acræphium, for the most part plain[2]," &c. The three constructions here mentioned must have occupied a large space of ground, and seem to have filled up all the space between the roads to Chalcis and to Acræphium, the direct route to which latter town, as well as to Hyle and Aspledon, led probably through the northern gate.

[1] Voyage, Vol. II. p. 55.

[2] Bœot. c. 23.

The remaining objects described by Pausanias in the vicinity of Thebes were on the north-western side. Very near the gate Neitides was the tomb of Menœceus, son of Creon, and a little farther a monument of stone representing a shield upon a column, which marked the place where the two sons of Œdipus slew each other, and then the Syrma of Antigone, so called because Antigone being unable to carry, here *dragged*, the dead body of Polynices to the funeral pile of Eteocles. On the opposite side of the river Dirce were ruins of the house of Pindar, and a temple of Dindymene, containing a seated statue of the goddess, of Pentelic marble, dedicated by Pindar, and the joint work of Aristomedes and Socrates, artists of Thebes. In the road which issued at the gate Neitides was a temple of Themis, with a statue in white marble, then temples of the Fates and of Jupiter Agoræus; the former without any statue, the latter containing the deity in stone. A little farther was a Hercules, surnamed Rhinocolustes, because he (here) cut the noses of the heralds of the Orchomenii. Twenty-five stades beyond it was the grove of Ceres Cabeiria and Proserpine, into which the initiated only were allowed to enter, and seven stades farther a temple of the Cabeiri, to the right of which was the Teneric plain, and to the left a road, which, at the end of fifty stades, conducted to Thespiæ[1].

Dec. 21.—From Thebes to 'Egripo.—At 10.27, quitting the eastern extremity of Thebes, I leave, at 10.33, the fountain of St. Theodore on the

[1] Bœot. c. 25, 26.

right, and at 10.50 the road to Bratzi, a branch of which leads to Sykámino. At 11.15 an ancient foundation, called by the modern Thebans "the Gates[1]," crosses the road. A mile before arriving at this place, we begin to descend a low root of the Psilirakhí, advancing into the plain in the direction of the heights of Morítzi, which latter are connected eastward with the mountain of Siamatá. At 11. 21, the nearest point of a low rocky hill, small but conspicuous from its insulated position in the plain, is three or four hundred yards on the left; its termination at the opposite end is more abrupt, and is there separated only by a narrow continuation of the plain of Thebes from the foot of *Hypatus* or the mountain of Siamatá. This low hill seems to correspond exactly to that *Teumessus*, which was on the road from Thebes to *Chalcis*[2], in sight from the walls of the *Cadmeia*[3], and which was

[1] *σταὶς πόρταις.*

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 19.

[3]
Περγάμων τ' ἀπ' ὀρθίων
Λεύκασπιν εἰσορῶμεν Ἀργείων στρατὸν
Τευμησσὸν ἐκλιπόντα· καὶ τάφρου πέλας,
Δρόμῳ ξυνῆψεν ἄστυ Καδμείας χθονός.
Eurip. Phœn. v. 1105.

The scholiast here asserts that Teumessus was more than 100 stades distant from Thebes, and not in sight: and contends, therefore, that Euripides meant not Teumessus itself, but a part of its territory; but the scholiast was probably misinformed. The Greeks of his time were seldom correct in their comparative geography. The name of Teumessus existed only in the ancient authors: and antiquaries had probably applied it to the ruins of some other place, perhaps those at Andrítza, or those on the Platanáki, at the foot of Mount Siamatá, with either of which the distance of 100 stades will nearly agree.

described by the poet Antimachus as an ἠνεμόεις ὀλίγος λόφος, or little windy height [1]; for its situation between the two mountains cannot fail to render it subject to the full force of the gales, both from the east and the west. The rich surrounding plain may also justify the epithet of λεχεποίη, or grassy, which the poet bestows upon Teumessus in the Hymn to Apollo [2]. Nor are the words of Pausanias, which place it exactly upon the route [3], adverse to the same conclusion, for our track is not the most direct way to 'Egripo, but a winter road, following the foot of the heights to the right of the direct route. In the time of Pausanias there remained at Teumessus only a temple of Minerva Telchinia, without any statue.

At 11.30, after crossing a small cultivated bottom surrounded by low shrubby terminations of Mount Soró, the road ascends a low ridge which forms a junction between that mountain and the otherwise insulated hill, the supposed *Teumessus*. At 11.41 we begin to descend, and at 11.44 arrive in the plain which forms a continuation of that of Thebes, by means of the opening already noticed, between the hill of *Teumessus* and Mount *Hypatus*, where the plain is not more than half a mile in breadth. At 11.50 Serghis is a mile and a half on the left, on the slope of the mountain; at 11.58 we are just below the centre of its summit and near its lowest falls. At 12.10 Spakhídhes is half a mile on the right. At 12.35, two

[1] Ap. Strab. p. 409.

[2] Hymn. in Apoll. v. 228, v. supra, p. 218.

[3] ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ λεωφόρῳ χωρίον ἐστὶ Τευμησσός.

or three miles on the right, a ruined tower of modern construction appears on the top of a rocky height, which hides from view the village of Andrítza, where are some Hellenic remains, and a copious source of water. The ridge connecting *Parnes* with *Cithæron* appears between the height of Andrítza and that of Soró.

We now ascend a low root of Mount *Hypatus*, which is steep and rocky, or clothed only with wild shrubs; and after a delay of four minutes cross, at 1.5, some Hellenic foundations. At 1.22 an ancient sorus is in the road, and near it a wall, traversing the road obliquely: between this and a fountain, where we arrive at 1.28, are other Hellenic foundations near the road side, and 200 yards on the left, above the right bank of a torrent which descends from near Platanáki, a monastery on the mountain, a small height retains evident traces of the citadel of an ancient town. The source of water and foundations probably mark the position of the city walls, and the sorus may have been one of the sepulchres outside the walls. The fountain is on the right bank of the torrent, which is now dry, but after rains unites with other torrents, and joins the sea near Dhrámisi. A road along the left bank conducts to Bitzóni.

Having halted at the fountain till 1.57, we begin to mount a ridge of hills connected to the northward with Mount Khtypá, which now appears on the left. The road leads between two peaked heights of the ridge by a natural pass, where to the left are some remains of a wall of loose stones, ascending from the road side to the summit of the peak. The pass and ruined wall are conspicuous

objects in the surrounding country. Although no towers are traceable, nor any squared blocks of stone remain in their places, there can be little doubt that this work is Hellenic, the wall having been of the usual thickness, and consisting of the rough materials of which the ancients usually formed the interior of their masonry. On the right hand, or eastern side of the pass, are vestiges of a similar wall, which extend, as I am informed, as far as the inclosure of an ancient city on the mountain immediately opposite to the town of 'Egripo. It is evident that the road from Thebes to the *Euripus* must in all ages have led through this pass. At 2.26 on the summit of the pass a beautiful view opens of the *Euripus*, of the town of 'Egripo, and of a great part of the island of *Eubœa*. At 2.34 we begin to descend the mountain into the maritime plain, and at 3.7 to cross that plain towards 'Egripo. It consists of open corn land, without any trees, and is intersected with low rocks. The falls of Mount Khtypá, which bound it to the north-west, are also very rocky. The rocks in the plain are of white marble, and are covered with wild thyme. At 3.30 we pass along the shore of the southern bay of 'Egripo, under the hill of Karababá, and at its eastern extremity cross the bridge of the *Euripus* into the kastro, or fortress, of 'Egripo. The current of the *Euripus* is running to the southward very rapidly, with a visible difference of level between the two sides of the bridge. Having passed through the kastro, or fortress, I proceed to the house of the Russian consul, which is situated at the extremity of the glacis.

Beyond Teumessus Pausanias describes the road from Thebes to Chalcis in terms of which the following is the substance[1]. To the left of Teumessus, seven stades farther, were the ruins of Glisas, and near them, on the right of the road, a small heap of earth shaded with wild, as well as planted, trees: it was the burying-place of Promachus, and other Argive chiefs slain in the expedition of the Epigoni[2]. On the direct road[3] from Thebes to Glisas was a place surrounded with chosen stones[4], called the head of the Serpent. Above Glisas rose Mount Hypatus, upon which stood a temple[5] and statue of Jupiter Hypatus. A torrent named Thermodon flowed from the mountain. Turning again towards Teumessus, and into the road to Chalcis, occurred the monument of Chalcodon, who was slain by Amphitryon, and farther on[6] the ruins of Harma and those of Mycalessus. On the sea-shore of the Mycalessia stood a temple of Ceres Mycalessia, containing a statue of the goddess. The temple was to the right of the Euripus, which divides Eubœa from Bœotia; a little farther in the same direction was Aulis. Here stood a temple of Diana, and two statues in white marble, one bearing torches, the other drawing a bow. In the temple was preserved some of the wood of the plane-tree mentioned by Homer. The fountain also was shown where the plane grew,

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 19.

[2] In the battle called that of Glisas, where the Thebans suffered for their imprudence in meeting the superior forces of the Peloponnesians in the field, as the Seven Chiefs had done in the former expedition by attacking a fortified town without any knowledge of the art.

[3] *εὐθεῖα.*

[4] *λίθοις λογάσιν.*

[5] *ναός.*

[6] *ἑξῆς.*

and on a neighbouring hill the brazen foundation [1] of the tent of Agamemnon. Before the temple grew some date trees, the fruit of which ripened better than in Ionia, though it was not so good as the date of Palestine [2]. The few inhabitants who remained in Aulis were potters [3]. Its territory, as well as that of Harma and Mycalessus, was possessed by the Tanagræi.

The principal question which arises from the preceding abstract of the remarks of Pausanias is, whether the ruins on the bank of the torrent of Platanáki are those of *Glisas*, or of *Harma*, *Teumessus* being placed at the insulated height before mentioned, and the *Mycalessia* having been the country adjacent to the *Euripus*. The mountain of Siamatá, which rises immediately above the ruins, and in which the torrent flowing by them has its origin, seems to decide that they were those of *Glisas*, for the former answers exactly to Mount *Hypatus*, and the latter to the *Thermodon*, in regard to which we may remark, that there is no other torrent flowing from the eastern or southern side of this mountain, or that if any other could be found, it would flow into the Theban plain towards the lakes to the north of Thebes, whereas it is evident from Herodotus that the Thermodon had an easterly course, since he describes it as having flowed between Tanagra and Glisas [4].

It may be objected to the positions of *Teumes-*

[1] *οὐδὸς χαλκοῦ.*

[2] This is one among several passages in the works of Pausanias, which show that he had visited both those countries.

[3] *κεραμεῖς.*

[4] *ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης καὶ Γλίσαντος.*—Herodot. l. 9, c. 43.

sus and *Glisas* here supposed, that the distance between them is much greater than the seven stades of Pausanias, consequently that if *Glisas* was on the torrent of Platanáki, *Teumessus* could not have been situated on the insulated height. But it seems very unlikely that there should have been an interval of no more than seven stades between those two *towns*, for such they were in ancient times, though when Pausanias travelled one was a mere ruin, and the other only an insignificant place. I conceive therefore that there is an error in the distance, as stated in the text of Pausanias. If *Glisas* stood on the torrent of Platanáki, *Harma* occupied probably the important pass leading into the maritime plain, where the existence of the ancient wall affords a confirmation of all the three positions in question.

As to Mycalessus, the proofs of its situation are: —First, That Thucydides describes Mycalessus as sixteen stades distant from the Hermæum [1], which was on the sea-shore not far from the Euripus, as will be more clearly shown hereafter. Secondly, that the temple of Ceres Mycalessia was, according to Pausanias, on the shore to the right of the Euripus, by which he certainly meant the south, since he afterwards describes the Anthedonia as being to the left of the Euripus. It seems evident, therefore, that the temple of *Ceres* stood on the

[1] *ἐκ Χαλκίδος τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀφ' ἑσπέρας διέπλευσε τὸν Εὔριπον καὶ ἀποβιβάσας ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μυκαλησσὸν, καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα λαθὼν, πρὸς τῷ Ἑρμαίῳ ηὐλίζετο· ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησσοῦ ἑκκαίδεκα μάλιστα σταδίους.* —Thucyd. l. 7, c. 29.

shore of the southern bay of 'Egripo, and that *Mycalessus* was the ancient city, of which the ruined walls still remain, on the summit of the height immediately above that bay. The connection of its fortifications with those in the pass of *Harma* by means of a long wall, tends to confirm this opinion, for as the plain certainly belonged to Mycalessus, it is not credible that Aulis, the only other ancient place to which the ruins can be ascribed, should have been in possession of the pass which led into the plain. Moreover, Mycalessus is described by Thucydides as a place of importance, and its autonomous coins still exist; whereas Aulis, although a city in the Trojan war, was chiefly known in after times as a harbour.

It is easy to conceive that the Mycalessii may have entered into a compact with the people of Harma for the common defence of their passes, or, perhaps, that as Mycalessus still subsisted in the time of Strabo, while Harma was deserted [1], the Mycalessii may have made the remains of Harma serve for the defence of the pass leading into their territory, and may have connected it for greater security with their own fortifications. In the time of Pausanias, Mycalessus was in ruins as well as Harma [2]. The objection to the position of Mycalessus just indicated is, that Strabo places it on

[1] *καὶ ὁ Μυκαλησσὸς δὲ κώμη τῆς Ταναγρικῆς· κεῖται δὲ παρ' ὁδὸν τὴν Θηβῶν εἰς Χαλκίδα . . . Ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ τὸ Ἅρμα τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κώμη ἔρημος περὶ Μυκαληττόν.*—Strabo, p. 404.

[2] *Ἐξῆς δὲ πόλεων ἐρείπιά ἐστιν Ἅρματος καὶ Μυκαλησσοῦ.* —Pausan. Bœot. c. 19.

the road from Thebes to Chalcis, whereas its supposed ruins are near two miles to the right of that road; but Strabo seems to have been writing loosely of places which he had never seen, and his words παρ' ὁδὸν do not imply that the ruins were exactly on the road, but only near it. Indeed it would not be easy to reconcile any situation on the road with the testimony of Thucydides.

The Sanják of 'Egripo includes the kazás of Thebes, Athens, Livadhía, Sálona, and Tálanda, but the revenues of all those places being administered by vóivodas having annual appointments from the Porte, the power of the Pashá in time of peace hardly extends beyond the island. He is now absent, and the government is in the hands of a Musellím. The revenue of the Pashalík amounts to about 400 purses, and is derived from the sale of the dhekatía of all the lands not feudal, or from the Spahilíks attached to the Pashalík, from the customs and kharátj, from an excise on grain and other objects of consumption, and from bribes to permit the forbidden exportation of corn and butter. The chief produce of the island is wine; from *Cumæ* and Kastrevalá alone, 20,000 barrels of 54 okes are sent to Smyrna and the Black Sea, of which the average price on the spot is five piastres a barrel. Wheat and oil are exported only in the years when the circumstances of production and demand happen to be favorable. Vallonea, cotton, wool, pitch and turpentine, are also exported, but in small quantities. The Russian consul has been obliged by his superiors to exchange the agreeable residence of Athens for this miserable place, not on account

of the commerce, which is very small, but because it is the residence of the governor of this part of Greece, and therefore better adapted to the protection of the numerous Greek ships now sailing under the Russian flag, or of those of the Septinsular Republic. As the best security against insult, the consul has found it necessary to take into his service, as janissary, a certain Hassán, who is surnamed Karabebér, or Black Pepper, from his swarthy complexion, and the fame which he acquired here in his youth, by killing many of his fellow-citizens in those quarrels for which the Turks of 'Egripo are notorious. Hassán has acquired so much influence, that last year he quelled a mutiny of the people.

Both the Island of *Eubœa* and its chief town are called Ἔγριπος, a manifest corruption of Εὔριπος, and which the Turks pronounce Gribós, or Egribós. The greater part of the best lands of the island are owned by about thirty Turkish families, residing principally in the Kastro of 'Egripo, which contains about 1000 others of the lower orders. These, with 200 families in Kárysto, Roviés, Oreós, Kastrevalá and a few smaller places, compose the whole Turkish population of the island. The Christians are about five times as numerous, but in the town of 'Egripo do not form above a third of the inhabitants. Many of the houses in the outer town are ruined and uninhabited, particularly on the southern side: this is in great measure the effect of the plague which lately raged here. The town is supplied with water from wells, the best of which was choked up on the 4th of last September, old style, by the earth brought down by a fall of rain,

which lasted forty-eight hours. The famous Arethusa, which was disturbed in former ages by the effect of earthquakes, has now totally disappeared[1]. The only remains of ancient Chalcis I can find are some fragments of white marble in the walls of the mosques and houses, and the bust of a statue in the wall of a house in the fortress. But it is difficult to explore among these intolerant barbarians.

The lion of St. Mark remains over the gate of the Kastro; many of the better houses are of Venetian construction, and there is a church with a high pointed roof, square tower, and Gothic windows, which was probably built by the same people, as they were in almost constant possession of this place for the three centuries preceding its capture by Mahomet II. in 1470[2]. The most remarkable Turkish monument is an enormous piece of ordnance, like those of the Dardanelles, which defends the approach to the southern side of the Kastro.

This fortress is a construction of different ages; square towers erected before the invention of gunpowder are mixed with Venetian bastions of antique construction, or with Turkish white-washed walls and battlements. There is a dry ditch, intended to be flooded at pleasure, but which is now filled with rubbish. The glacis of the Castle is occupied by

[1] πόλιν . . . . τᾶς κλεινᾶς Ἀρεθούσας.—Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 170. Strabo, p. 58. Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 12.

[2] In the partition of Greece among the conquerors of the eastern empire, Venice obtained Oreós and Kárysto; and a French chieftain, to whom Ἔgripo had been assigned, soon found it prudent to place himself under the protection of the powerful republic by becoming their vassal.

the Turkish burying-ground, beyond which is the Christian town surrounded by walls, in a wretched state of dilapidation, encircling the promontory of the Kastro in a semi-lunar form from bay to bay; beyond these the Turks have lately thrown up a pallisaded rampart of earth across the isthmus.

The bay on the northern side of 'Egripo is called St. Minás [1], that on the southern side Vurko, or Vulko [2], a name having reference to its shallow and muddy nature. This bay communicates by a narrow opening with a long winding strait which extends about four miles to a second narrow opening, where stands a tower upon a low point of the *Eubœan* coast, in the plain of Vasilikó. No vessels except boats can approach 'Egripo on the southern side, nearer than the tower. On the north they have no difficulty in approaching, as there is a depth of four orghiés, or more than 20 feet, near the walls; nor is there said to be any such danger in the anchorage as Livy would lead one to suppose [3], though it cannot be doubted that the entire strait between the island and the main, is subject to violent squalls from the mountains. The *Euripus*, which strictly speaking is no more than the narrowest part of the strait between the foot of Mount Karababá

[1] Ἅγιος Μηνάς.

[2] Βούρκος, Βούλκος.

[3] Ex patenti utrimque coactum in angustias mare, speciem intuenti primo gemini portus in ora duo versi præbuerit: sed haud facile alia infestior classi statio est: nam et venti ab utriusque terræ prælatis montibus subiti ac procellosi se dejiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi non septies die sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocat: sed temere in modum venti, nunc huc nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur: ita nec nocte nec die quies navibus datur.—Liv. l. 28, c. 6.

and the western walls of the kastro is divided as to its breadth into two unequal parts by a small square castle, founded on a rock, and having a solid round tower at the north-western angle. A stone bridge, 60 or 70 feet in length, connects the *Bœotian* shore with this castle, the entrance into which is by a drawbridge near the north-eastern angle. Another wooden bridge about 35 feet long, which may be raised at both ends for the purpose of admitting the passage of vessels, communicates from the small castle to the gate of the kastro, which is in a tower projecting from the walls. The inner channel is said always to afford a depth of eight or nine feet: under the stone bridge the water is much more shallow. 'Egripo having become more barbarous since Spon and Wheler travelled, it may be long before any person has such an opportunity of observing the flux and reflux of the strait as the Jesuit Babin, whose remarks have been published by Coronelli, Spon, and Wheler. He agrees with Livy, so far as to show the error of the common opinion entertained by the ancients, that the change of current occurred seven times a day, but he does not confirm the ancient historian as to its total irregularity, and its entire dependence on the winds; which, however, can hardly fail to affect the reciprocation in some degree, by means of the local and temporary currents which they cause in every part of the Ægæan. Babin seems to have ascertained that the tide was sometimes regular as in the ocean, and at other times irregular; and that both the regular and irregular tides followed the phases of the moon,

though not to such a degree that the tides could be predicted to within a day or two before or after the changes; the regular days were generally 19 in the month, the irregular 11, and the former were in the first and third quarters, the latter in the second and fourth. The Jesuit's facts seem to have been chiefly derived from the millers of the *Euripus*, but unfortunately the mills which are below the arches of the stone bridge are no longer worked.

It is believed by the people of 'Egripo, that the small castle on the rock in the *Euripus* did not exist in the time of the Venetians, but was built by the Turks soon after the conquest. Coronelli, however, whose work was published in 1686, the year before Athens was taken, and Negropont invested by the Venetians, states that the entrance from *Bœotia* first crossed a bridge of stone of five arches, about 30 paces long, that it then passed at the foot of a tower of Venetian structure, over the door of which the lion of St. Mark still remained (though the Turks had then possessed the place 200 years), and entered the town over a wooden drawbridge. These remarks seem sufficiently to explain that the round tower is Venetian, and the remaining part of the work Turkish, of which indeed there is every appearance. The communication from the bridge of stone to that over the inner channel now passes, as I have already stated, through the north-eastern angle of the castle, the round tower remaining to the right, which agrees with Coronelli.

The earliest construction of a bridge over the

Euripus known from history occurred in the 21st year of the Peloponnesian war, when the Eubœans revolted from the Athenians[1], and endeavoured to obstruct the Euripus. On this occasion they readily obtained assistance from the Bœotians, whose general interest it was that "Eubœa should be an island for others, but a part of the continent to them[2]." A great number of hands were employed in narrowing the strait, so as not to leave a passage for a single ship, but only the necessary opening for the current between two towers which were built at the extremity of the διάχωσις, or mole which was thrown up from either shore. As the Athenians tried in vain to interrupt the work, and both Bœotians and Eubœans are stated to have joined earnestly in forwarding it, a part of its effects may possibly remain to the present day. The Bœotian mole probably extended across the shallow channel, and included the rock upon which the small castle stands.

During the expedition of Alexander the Great into Asia, the Chalcidenses not only fortified the bridge with towers, a wall, and gates, but, inclosing a place on the Bœotian side, called Canethus, within the circuit of their city[3], thus obtained a fortified bridge head. *Canethus*, therefore, was probably the hill of Karababá.

[1] Thucyd. l. 8, c. 95.

[2] κἀκείνοις συμφέρειν τὴν Εὔβοιαν εἶναι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις νῆσον, ἑαυτοῖς δ' ἤπειρον.—Diodor. l. 13, c. 47.

[3] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διάβασιν καὶ τὸν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ηὔξησαν ἐντὸς τείχους λαβόντες τόν τε Κάνηθον καὶ τὸν Εὔριπον, ἐπιστήσαντες τῇ γεφύρᾳ πύργους καὶ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας.—Strabo, p. 447.

About 140 years afterwards, in the campaign of the Romans against Antiochus in the year B. C. 192, the bridge seems no longer to have existed, for Livy speaks of the Hermæum before Salganeus as the ordinary place of passage into Bœotia, and in describing the entrance of a body of Achæans into Chalcis, he employs the words, "tuto transgressi Euripum Chalcidem pervenerunt[1]." Such an expression is hardly suited to the passage of a bridge to which there was no impediment. It is probable, therefore, that the bridge had been removed between the reign of Alexander and the Antiochian war. A fortified dependence of Chalcis on the Bœotian shore may have been offensive to the Bœotians, or to the Athenians, and sometimes to both: and if the people of Chalcis were not permitted to keep possession of that post, it may not have suited their interests to maintain the bridge.

Twenty-five years afterwards, however, if we may trust to Livy, a bridge had been thrown over the Euripus; for he states that P. Æmilius Paullus, in his journey through Greece after the conquest of Macedonia, found the Euripus in that state[2]. But there may be some doubt whether the historian's words in this place have been borrowed from the same accurate contemporary of the events described by him, whom he usually followed, or whether they do not rather describe the state of the Euripus in the time of the historian

[1] Liv. l. 35, c. 50.

[2] Chalcidem ad spectaculum Euripi Eubœæque insulæ ponte continenti junctæ, descendit.—Liv. 45, c. 27.

himself; when, as we learn from Strabo, there was a bridge two plethra, or 200 Greek feet in length, with a tower at each end, and a constructed canal through the Euripus [1], whence it would seem also, not only that no castle existed in the strait at that time, but that the strait was broader than it is at present. The σύριγξ, or canal, may perhaps have been confined to the passage between the intermediate rock, which must always have existed, though Strabo has not noticed it, and the entrance of Chalcis, and was probably nothing more than a construction of masonry on either side of that channel.

In the reign of Justinian the bridge had been so much neglected, that there was only an occasional communication by wooden planks [2].

In the plain adjacent to the town of 'Egripo are three ancient excavated cisterns of the usual spheroidal shape, lined with a coat of cement, and having circular openings at the top. Each of these has (what I have not seen elsewhere) an entrance on one side. In one of them which is clear of rubbish, a descent of steps appears, with an arched passage cut through the rock leading into the body of the cistern, which is small and not deep. It is

[1] *τὴν Εὔβοιαν τρόπον τινὰ μέρος αὐτῆς* (Bœotiæ) *πεποίηκεν ὁ Εὔριπος οὕτω στενὸς ὢν καὶ γεφύρᾳ συνεζευγμένος πρὸς αὐτὴν διπλέθρῳ.*—Strabo, p. 400.

Καὶ ὁ Εὔριπος δ' ἐστὶ πλησίον ὁ Χαλκιδικὸς, εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ Σουνίου σταδίοι ἑβδομήκοντα. Ἔστι δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ γέφυρα δίπλεθρος, ὡς εἴρηκα· πύργος δ' ἑκατέρωθεν ἐφέστηκεν, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλκίδος, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας· διῳκοδόμηται δ' εἰς αὐτὸν σύριγξ.—Ibid. p. 403.

[2] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 3.

now converted into a church of St. John Prodromus, and has a skreen and altar of rough stones. The two other cisterns, though now choked with rubbish, seem also to have been churches, as they bear the names of two saints. Farther south, at the distance of a mile from the town, are the ruins of an aqueduct upon arches, which supplied Chalcis in Roman times. Northward of the city the plain, and then a cultivated slope, extend along the foot of the mountains as far as Politiká, a village near the sea, distant four hours; a little beyond which begin those great cliffs which are so conspicuous from many parts of Bœotia, and which border the sea for several miles, admitting of no road along the shore. To the southward of 'Egripo, midway between it and the tower, which I have described as defending the entrance of the narrow winding strait leading from the southward to the bay of Vurko, a round hill named Kalogherítza rises from the shore, and commands a good view of the *Euripus* and of the *Euboic* frith, as far as Lipso northward, and to a cape beyond Kálamo in *Attica* southward. Mount *Messapium*, and the adjacent heights, exclude the view of all the interior of *Bœotia* except the summit of *Cithron*, but to the northward *Cnemis* is seen, and to the southward *Parnes*, with *Pentelicum* appearing over the eastern part of its ridge, and to the left of it Mount *Oche* in *Eubœa*.

Opposite to Kalogherítza, on the *Bœotian* coast, are two bays, separated from each other by a rocky peninsula; the northern is small and winding, the southern spreads at the end of a channel, into a large circular basin. The latter harbour, as well

as a village situated a mile to the southward of it, is called Vathý, a name evidently derived from the *βαθὺς λιμὴν*, or larger port of Aulis, in which Strabo supposes the fleet of Agamemnon to have been anchored, because the small port of Aulis was inadequate to receive more than fifty sail : the rocky peninsula which separates the two harbours corresponds equally well with the *Αὐλὶς πετρήεσσα* of Homer, and its distance from the Euripus agrees with the testimony of Livy as to that of Aulis from thence [1]. Nor, indeed, are there any other harbours on the Bœotian coast to the southward, which can raise a question on the subject. Dicæarchus, who like Strabo proceeds along the coast from south to north, names the places in the following order : Oropus, the temple of Amphiaraus, Aulis, the promontory Emperesium and Euripus [2] ; which not only confirms the other authorities as to Aulis, but suggests also the probability that

[1] *Εἶτα Δήλιον . . Ταναγραίων πολίχνιον, Αὐλίδος διέχον σταδίους τριάκοντα . . . Εἶτα λιμὴν μέγας ὃν καλοῦσι Βαθὺν λιμένα : εἶθ' ἡ Αὐλὶς πετρῶδες χωρίον καὶ κώμη Ταναγραίων· λιμὴν δ' ἐστὶ πεντήκοντα πλοίοις, ὥστ' εἰκὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ὑπάρξαι λιμένι. Καὶ ὁ Εὔριπος δ' ἐστὶ πλησίον ὁ Χαλκιδικὸς, εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ Σουνίου σταδίοι ἑβδομήκοντα.*—Strabo, p. 403.

The last word is an evident error, the distance in question being near 700 stades.

A Chalcide Aulidem trajicit trium millium spatio distantem, portum inclitum statione quondam mille navium Agamemnoniæ classis, Dianæque templum ubi navibus cursum ad Trojam, filia victima aris admota, rex ille regum petiit.—Liv. l. 45, c. 27.

[2] *Αὖλίς τε Βοιωτῶν πόλις, πρὸς ᾗ λιμὴν*
Κ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἅγιον, ὃ λέγεται κτίσαι
Ἀγαμέμνων, εἶτ' Ἐμπερέσιον καλούμενον
Ἀκρότατον, εἶτ' Εὔριπος. Dicæarch. v. 88.

Emperesium was the peninsula which separates port Vurko from the southern part of the Straits. The space between the northern extremity of port Vathý and the bay of Vurko is occupied by the hill of *Mycalessus*. On the summit are the remains of an acropolis flanked with towers, and constructed of masonry of the third species—to which is attached, on the south-eastern side, the inclosure of the town, built of a very rude kind of Hellenic masonry, similar to that of the wall, which extends from the acropolis to the pass of Harma.

On the top of the hill of Kalogherítza are two ruined round towers, formerly, perhaps, windmills,

and near them the foundations of a Hellenic wall, with an ancient column lying on the ground. Inland the height falls to a plain, forming a junction between that which incircles the town of 'Egripo and the larger plain of Vasilikó, which extends southward along the coast, almost to the ruins of *Eretria*. Towards the sea the hill of Kalogherítza is very rugged, and consists entirely of rock, in which many sepulchral crypts have been excavated, some of them having circular roofs: here also are stairs and niches cut out of the rock. A copious stream issues from the foot of the rocks, and flows immediately into the sea: and a paved road here leads along the shore to the village of 'Aio Nikóla in the plain of Vasilikó. Possibly this hill may be the site of a place named Lelantum, for the plain behind it being exactly interposed between those of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*, could hardly have been any other than that plain of Lelantum which was an object of such deadly contention between the two rival states that a pillar still existed in the time of Strabo in the temple of Diana Amarysia, distant seven stades from Eretria, on which there was an inscription declaring that no missiles should be used in the war[1]. The plain of Lelantum is mentioned in the Hymn to Apollo, and was famed for its vineyards[2], and vines are so extensively pro-

[1] *στήλη τις, φράζουσα μὴ χρῆσθαι τηλεβόλοις.*—Strabo, p. 448.

[2] Κηναίου δ' ἐπέβης ναυσικλείτης Εὐβοίης
Στῆς δ' ἐπὶ Ληλάντῳ πεδίῳ.

Hymn. in Apoll. v. 219.

Οἶμοι ἀναλκείης· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος ὄλωλε,
Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον.

Theogn. v. 888.

duced in the plain behind Kalogherítza, that a village in the midst of them is named Ambélia.

It was only in the most populous and opulent times that Eretria could maintain a rivalship with Chalcis, which by its numerous colonies sent to Italy, Sicily, and Thrace, and by its historical importance in every age, from the war of Troy to the Roman conquest, is shown to have been one of the most flourishing cities in Greece [1]. Its silver coins are still found in surprising numbers. Under the successors of Alexander, when Greece became impoverished, and its resources and population inadequate to the maintenance of two large cities at so short a distance from each other, the peculiar advantages of the position of Chalcis gave it that superiority over Eretria which Strabo remarked [2], and an increase of the same causes has ended in making Chalcis the only town of any magnitude in Eubœa. But the consequence of the opposite fate of Chalcis and Eretria has been, that at Chalcis scarcely any vestiges of antiquity are found, while Eretria, by means of its desolation, has preserved remains affording an interesting confirmation of the former importance of the city.

Dec. 24.—Having recrossed the *Euripus* this morning at 9, we follow the same road by which we came, along the shore of the bay of Vurko, with the height of Karababá on the right, for fif-

[1] Dicæarchus describes Chalcis (about the year 300 B. C.) as being seventy stades in circumference, abounding in temples, theatres, stoæ, gymnasia, pictures, and statues, and having an agora surrounded by three porticos adjacent to the harbour. All the country around was planted with olives.

[2] *Νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ Χαλκὶς φέρεται τὰ πρωτεῖα. . . . . δευτερεύει δ' ἡ Ἐρετρία.*—Strabo, p. 448.

teen minutes; then leaving the road to Thebes on the left, cross the plain in a direction parallel to the foot of the mountains with the sea on the right. At 9.30, in a ruined church, is a fragment of a large column, which may formerly have belonged to the Hermæum, or to the temple of Ceres Mycalessia. Here are a series of wells, the direction of which is towards the middle of the bay of Vurko. They are very narrow, lined with stone and well constructed, but do not appear to be of any great antiquity. At 9.35 Akhália is half a mile on the right, not far from the sea; the foot of the lower heights of Mount Khtypá, the ancient Messapium, are at the same distance on the left. The intermediate level is well cultivated with corn, which is just springing up. The plain narrows in approaching Khtypá, and at 10 we reach the foot of the mountain just where it descends in a rapid slope from the summit quite to the shore.

Just in the angle where the plain terminates are the remains of a Hellenic town, on the side of a small port, directly under the highest summit of the mountain. The citadel occupied a height rising from the shore, ninety yards in length and about fifty broad, and having a flat summit sloping from the south-east towards the sea. The sides of the hill, which are about fifty yards on the slope, have been partly shaped by art, and then faced with stone in the manner of some ancient places in Syria, of which the castles of Hama and Aleppo are the most remarkable examples. The facing of stone is visible on every side except the north, where probably it still exists, though now covered by an alluvion of earth. Some remains of walls are

visible on the crest of the summit, and a part of the town walls on the south-eastern side of the height. There can be little doubt that these are remains of Salganeus, which, although unnoticed by Pausanias, appears clearly from Dicæarchus and Strabo to have been a Bœotian fortress, situated between the Euripus and Anthedon [1], at the northern entrance of the narrow part of the Euboic frith. According to Strabo, the name was derived from the Bœotian pilot of Megabazus, who was put to death by the Persian commander, on suspicion that he was purposely leading the fleet of Xerxes to destruction, because no outlet appeared to the channel. Megabazus, afterwards regretting his error, erected a monument to the pilot in the place where his death occurred, and where the town afterwards stood.

I have already alluded to the mention of Salganeus by Livy in his narrative of the military transactions in this quarter, between Antiochus and the Romans [2]. The first measure of Antiochus, on his arrival from Asia at Demetrias, was an attempt to obtain possession of Chalcis in concert with his allies the Ætolians. Having passed from Lamia through Phocis, he met the Ætolians at Chæroneia, and then marched to Salganeus, from whence he crossed by water to the harbour of Chalcis, accompanied by the Ætolian chiefs. Having failed in his endeavour to convince the magistrates of Chalcis that it was for their interest to take part with him against the Romans, he returned to Deme-

[1] Dicæarch. *βίος Ἑλλάδος*, p. 20. Strabo, p. 400, 403.

[2] Liv. l. 35, c. 43, *et seq.*

trias, and in order to prevent succours from arriving at Chalcis, sent thither his fleet, commanded by Polyxenidas, and 3000 land forces under Menippus, who encamped before Salganeus at the Hermæum, which was the ordinary place of transit, into Eubœa [1]. They were too late to prevent a small reinforcement of Achæans and of troops sent by Eumenes from entering Chalcis, but in time to oblige Mictio of Chalcis, and 500 Romans who were approaching with the same design from the southward, to retire to Delium, from whence it was their intention to cross the Euboic frith into the island; but Menippus, having surprized them at Delium, and captured or slain a considerable number, Antiochus, who had followed Menippus into Bœotia, thereupon marched to Aulis, and was admitted into Chalcis. The remaining Romans then took possession of the castle of the Euripus, while Salganeus was occupied by the Achæans and troops of Eumenes, who had retired from Chalcis; but Menippus, proceeding to besiege the latter place, and the king the castle of the Euripus, their opponents gave up the defence, and left Antiochus in possession of all Eubœa.

From these circumstances, compared with the distance of sixteen stades, which Thucydides has assigned as that between the Hermæum and Mycalessus, it may be inferred that the Hermæum, so called we may suppose from a temple of Mercury, stood on the shore between Salganeus and the modern bridge, and that it was probably the ordi-

[1] Ante Salganea ad Hermæum, qua transitus ex Bœotia in Eubœam insulam est. —Liv. l. 35, c. 50.

nary place of passage because it was nearly opposite to the northern or principal harbour of Chalcis. The fortress which Livy describes by the words Euripi castellum, or in Euripo castellum, or simply Euripus, would seem from this designation to have occupied the site of the small castle on the rock in the strait, but as many obvious difficulties would arise from such a supposition, I am inclined to think it was the same place as Canethus, or the hill of Karababá.

Having quitted the ruins of *Salganeus* at 10.30, I begin, in eight minutes, to ascend the cliffs which now border the shore, and soon observe the traces of chariot-wheels in the rock. At 10.42, the road continuing to follow the summit of the cliffs, we arrive opposite to the southern extremity of an island named Gaidharo-nísi, distant half a mile from the coast, and which is a mile in length from north to south. Upon it stands a square tower, visible from Karababá, but not from the town of 'Egripo; ten minutes farther the road descends upon the sea-beach. At 11.4 are the foundations of a thick wall near the beach, parallel to the water's edge. Here is a source of saltish water. At 11.8 is another and more considerable saline source, where are the ruins of some mills. The wall, and the traces of wheels in the rock, are vestiges of that road from Chalcis to Anthedon which Dicæarchus has noticed, though his description is not exactly in accordance with modern appearances, for he represents the road as very smooth; instead of which it is like the shore, extremely rugged where it passes over the rocks,

and where it follows the beach is liable to interruption from the overhanging cliffs, fragments of which often break off in such quantity as to render the road impassable. Though Dicæarchus mentions the sources of water, he does not remark that they are chiefly saline; and his description of the mountain can only be made to answer to Mount Khtypá by the omission of the word οὐχ, for this mountain is lofty as well as steep[1]. At 11.12 the pass terminates, and we enter on a slope covered with lentisk and holly-oak, which is continued quite to the summit of the mountain. At the head of the slope, and just under the steep side of the summit, stands the small village of Lukísi, towards which I proceed after leaving at 11.15 the road to Larmes branching to the right, and passing along the foot of the slope near the sea. At 11.25 an ancient foundation cut out of the rock is seen crossing the road; to the left of which, three hundred yards from the road, is a church surrounded with purnária, in which are several ancient squared stones, and an aghía trápeza formed of an ancient sepulchral stone supported by part of a column. On the stone, which has a simple decoration of sculpture, is the name Καφισόδωρα, in letters of the best times. Leaving this place at 11.40, we continue to ascend, when the remains of another ancient wall occur at 11.48, and at 11.53 we

[1] Ἐξ Ἀνθηδόνος εἰς Χαλκίδα σταδία ο'. Μέχρι τοῦ Σαλγανέως ὁδὸς παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν λεία τε πᾶσα καὶ μαλακή, τῇ μὲν καθήκουσα εἰς θάλασσαν, τῇ δὲ ὄρος οὐχ ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἔχουσα, ἄλσεσι (σύσκιον?) δὲ καὶ ὕδασι πηγαίοις κατάῤῥυτον. — Dicæarch. βίος Ἑλλάδος, p. 19.

arrive at Lukísi. Here the women, (the men being all at work in the fields); having brought me several ancient coins which have been found in ploughing the corn-fields at the παλαιὰ χώρα, or old town, which is distant a mile and a half at the foot of the slope on the sea side, I proceed thither, after dining, and find considerable remains of an ancient city.

Euboic strait

1,1. Are traces of the town wall, built with well squared stones, of the most regular kind of masonry. Its termination to the south-east I could not exactly trace: the entire circuit of the city seems not to have been more than 2000 yards. 2. An acropolis situated on a small height terminating towards the sea in cliffs; on the brow of which are found large pieces of the ancient wall; other remains of the wall are seen also on the land side of the acropolis.

3. Midway between the wall of the town and the crest of the height of the acropolis are some cisterns of the usual form.
4. Part of the platform of a public building, thirty-four yards in length, founded in the sea; and supported on that side by quadrangular projecting buttresses, of which four remain; there was an ascent of a few steps from the sea to the platform. The port, in the midst of which this building stood, was defended from the open sea on the north by 5, a mole, connected with the northern wall of the town, and built upon a projecting ledge of rocks. All the foundations of the mole still remain, and it was probably surmounted with a wall, forming a continuation of the town wall. At 6, are the foundations of a similar work of smaller dimensions, the extremity of which approaches so near to a small sandy island near the extremity of the greater mole, as to suggest the probability that the opening was occasionally closed by a chain, by which the north-eastern part of the bay became a κλειστὸς λιμὴν, or closed port; it appears to have been excluded from the city by a wall branching from the western extremity of the northern mole, passing behind the building No. 4, and terminating, perhaps, at the nearest part of the acropolis. Strangers arriving by sea might thus have access to the building, which was probably a temple, without being admitted into the town, and the town might resist after the port had been occupied by an enemy. The town walls were defended to the

west by the ravine of a torrent flowing from Mount *Messapium*.

There can be no question that these are ruins of Anthedon, of the situation of which we have several descriptions in ancient history. According to a poet quoted by Athenæus, Anthedon stood on the sea coast, opposite to Eubœa, not far from the Euripus[1]. Strabo places it on the shore between Salganeus and Larymna near Mount Messapium[2], Pausanias describes it as a maritime city at the foot of Mount Messapium to the left of the Euripus[3], and Dicæarchus as a small town on the Euboic sea, distant seventy stades from Chalcis and one hundred and sixty from Thebes[4]. The soil on the slope of Mount Khtypá, around Lukísi, and that which surrounds the Paleá-khora, is, as Dicæarchus remarks of the Anthedonia, much better adapted to vines than to corn, though there is very little of either at present. He adds, that the inhabitants were chiefly mariners, shipwrights, and fishermen, that they traded in fish, purple, and sponges, and that they had an agora surrounded with a double stoa, and planted with trees. In the middle of the town, according to Pausanias, was a Sacred Grove of the Cabeiri, surrounding a temple of those deities, near which was another dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine, and containing their statues in white marble. On the outside of the walls, on the land side, was a

[1] *Ἀνθηδὼν νύτις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι θαλάσσης*
Ἀντίον Εὐβοίης σχεδὸν Εὐρίποιο ῥοάων.
Theolytus ap. Athen. l. 7, c. 12.

[2] Strabo, p. 400, 404, 405.

[3] Pausan. Bœot. c. 22.

[4] Dicæarch. *βίος Ἑλλάδος*, p. 17.

temple of Bacchus, containing his statue; and near it tombs of the sons of Aloeus and Iphimedeia, who were slain by Apollo. On the sea side there was a place called "the leap of Glaucus[1]." "It was from the Anthedonii," adds the Greek traveller, "that Pindar and Æschylus derived their fables of Glaucus, who was a fisherman of Anthedon, converted by the Anthedonii into a marine deity, predicting futurity and delivering oracular responses, which seafaring men still believe[2]." It seems not unlikely that the building on the shore of the harbour was a temple of Glaucus.

As to the vestiges of antiquity near Lukísi, it is not impossible that the Nisa, or Isus, of Homer, which latter name was still preserved near Anthedon in the time of Strabo, may have stood at Lukísi, and that the modern name may preserve remains of the ancient in its two last syllables.

Opposite to *Anthedon* on the coast of *Eubœa* is Politiká, from whence the coast to the northward consists for seven miles of lofty cliffs, terminating to the north in the remarkable peak called Kandíli. The distance of this mountain from the site of Anthedon corresponds to the 120 stades which Strabo assigns as the interval between Anthedon and a lofty mountain on which there was a temple of Neptune Ægæus. The city Ægæ no longer existed in his time, but it stood probably towards Limni, as he states it to have been not far from *Orobiæ*[3], now Roviés.

[1] Γλαυκοῦ πήδημα.

[2] There were various other versions of the story of Glaucus.—V. Athen. ubi sup.

[3] Strabo, p. 405.

CHAPTER XV.

BŒOTIA.

From *Anthedon* to the Lake Paralímni—Cross Mount *Ptoum*—Paleá, *Temple of Apollo Ptoius*—Kókkino—Lake *Copais*—Chasms of the *Cephissus*—Line of ancient Shafts above the subterraneous River—Emissory—Valley of Larmes—*Larymna, upper* and *lower*—Return to Kókkino—Kardhítza, *Acræphium*—Inscriptions—*Athamantium*—*Copæ*—Katavóthra of Mount *Phicium*—Ancient Canal between the Lakes *Acræphis* and *Hylice*—*Hyle*—Sénzina—Lake Livádhi, *Hylice*—Return to Thebes—*Schœnus*—*Eleon*.

I HAD intended to have taken the road along the sea-side to Larmes, and thence to Martíno, but the women at Lukísi having reported it impracticable, I proceed by the Lake Paralímni to Kókkino. At 1.32 cross the foundations of the town walls of *Anthedon*, and immediately afterwards the deep dry ravine of a torrent which descends from the part of Mount Khtypá, above Lukísi; on its left bank are some foundations of an ancient wall, the remains perhaps of a bridge. At 1.38, on a height on the side of the same torrent are two ruined churches, and the remains of two sepulchral receptacles cut in the rock. From thence, after a delay of 4 minutes, we continue to mount the slope, and at 1.50 arrive at the summit of a ridge which connects Mount *Ptoum* with the lower heights of *Messapium* about Lukísi. Here are several Hellenic foundations, belonging probably to works for the defence of this pass, which was

on the road from Anthedon to Thebes. The ascent on either side is easy, and the ridge is not high, but it opens an extensive view between the mountains *Ptoum* and *Hypatus*, and looks down immediately upon the lake Paralímni, otherwise called the lake of Morítzi. It is observable from hence, that the length of this lake is in the direction of a peaked hill, over which our road afterwards passes towards Kókkino, that the summit of the mountain of Zagará is in the same line, and that a little to the left of the latter appears that of Fagá. After a loss of 5 minutes in the descent, we arrive, at 2.35, opposite to the north-eastern end of the lake, and then leaving it on the right, follow a rugged path along the last falls of the *Messapian* ridges. From the opposite shore rises the steep naked ridge of Mount *Ptoum*, of which the modern name in this part is Strútzina. To the northward of it is another summit of the same range, called Skroponéri[1], and to the southward of it that named Paleá; the former terminates in a peaked cape two or three miles beyond *Anthedon*.

Continuing our route along the rocky foot of the hills, we arrive at 2.48 at a part of the ancient road, 200 feet long, excavated in the rock in the form of a shallow trench, 5 feet 9 inches in breadth. It winds in descending like a similar road between Sparta and Helos[2]; and though it retains scarcely any of those marks of wheels which are generally seen on the remains of ancient roads in

[1] Such appeared to me to be the vulgar enunciation, though Meletius writes Σκριπονέρι, like Σκριπού. But the name is probably derived from Σκορπίζω, and means Scatterwater.

[2] See Travels in the Morea, vol. i. p. 194.

Greece, there can be no doubt that it is a part of that route for carriages described by Dicæarchus, which led from Anthedon to Thebes, and which was 160 stades in length. Having remained here 5 minutes, we emerge at 3.7 from between the *Messapian* hills and the lake, into a plain separated only by a small rise from the plain of Thebes. Morítzi is here half an hour on our left, hid by the rising ground. At 3.30 other small hills border the lake: at 3.35 there are traces of ancient walls near the road, and at 3.45 we arrive at the end of the lake, where on a low rocky height close on the left of the road, are foundations of buildings formed of very large stones, and having an appearance of remote antiquity. There are traces also of an ancient wall following the foot of the hill towards the lake. It is evidently the site of a Hellenic town.

From the head of the lake a plain begins, which, widening to the westward, is bounded by a mountain branching southward from Mount Paleá, and terminating in the plain of Thebes, at the eastern extremity of the Livádhi, or lake of Sénzina, and thus separating from each other the basins which contain the two lakes with their adjacent plains.

Having left the ancient site by the lake Paralímni at 3.56, we fall into the road from Thebes to Tálanda by Martíno, and at 4.15 begin to ascend the separating ridge above-mentioned, which is very rugged: at 4.40 arrive at the summit, where the steep rocks of Mount Paleá are not far to the right, while on the left we look down on the plain and lake of Sénzina. Before

us are the hills above Kardhítza together with a part of the lake *Cephissis*, and the marshes bordering on it: beyond these appear *Helicon* and *Parnassus*. We quit this spot at 5, and keeping close under the precipices of Mount Paleá, wind round them to the right, until at 5.30 the road passes a modern fountain, constructed chiefly of ancient squared stones, mixed with stelæ and pedestals. Here stood formerly the monastery of Paleá, by which the adjacent summit of Mount *Ptoum* is still known. The name seems to have been derived from some Hellenic ruins once existing here in greater quantity than at present, and which may have given to the monastery the appellation of ἡ Παναγία στὰ Παλαιὰ, or "Our Lady at the Antiquities." The ruins were probably those of the temple of Apollo Ptous, or Ptoius [1], famous for an oracle delivered by a priestess, who when consulted by Mardonius, replied to his messenger, who was a Carian, in his own language [2]. The oracle belonged to the Thebans, and ceased when Thebes was destroyed by Alexander the Great [3].

Kardhítza is now about half an hour below us

[1] The epithet, according to Plutarch (de Orac. defect.) was derived from πτώσσω, because Latona was here frightened by the sudden appearance of a serpent; but Pausanias, who generally inclines to the heroic origin of names, cites the poems of Asius to prove that Ptous was the son of Athamas, by Themisto, in which he is supported by Apollodorus, l. 1, c. 9.

[2] Herodot. l. 8, c. 135. Pausan. Bœot. c. 23.

[3] πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐπιστρατείας καὶ ὀλέθρου τοῦ Θηβαίων μαντεῖον ἦν αὐτόθι ἀψευδές. — Pausan. Bœot. c. 23.

on the left, but having determined before proceeding thither to visit the subterraneous discharge of the *Cephissus*, and to search for *Larymna*, I turn from it to the right, descend by a winding course, in order to avoid the rocky summits overhanging Kókkino, and then leaving to the left the road to Martíno, turn under the northern side of the abovementioned cliffs, and arrive at Kókkino at 6.8. This is a village of thirty houses, which as usual, in this part of Greece, consist only of one apartment, serving both for a stable and a lodging for the whole family. The people are of Albanian origin, and use that language among themselves, so that many of the women are ignorant of the Greek: at Mazi and Lukísi it was the same. The owner of the cottage in which I lodge is said to possess several thousand goats on Mount *Ptoum*, but dares not live better than the other people of the village.

Dec. 25.—After having visited, this morning, three small churches, a quarter of a mile to the N.E. of Kókkino, where the village formerly stood, and where I find only an altar with an ill-executed ornament of metopes connected by festoons, and a few other trifling remains of Hellenic times, I proceed at 8.45 to the Katavóthra of the *Cephissus*, descending the rugged hill till 9, when in a ravine we rejoin the road from Thebes to Martíno, which we quitted yesterday evening. Continue descending, and pass over a small plain at the head of a bay of the lake *Copais*, which is cultivated by the people of Kókkino, but in the upper portion only, on account of the inundations to which the lower part is subject. The lake abounds

in fish, and its surface is now covered with wild fowl, but the peasants reap no advantage either from the one or the other, for want of the means of catching or killing them; the people of Topólia, however, enjoy a profitable fishery in the lake, and sometimes take, especially at the katavóthra, great quantities of those Copaic or Cephissic eels renowned among the ancients[1] for their bulk and fatness, and which Pausanias commends from his own experience[2]. At 9.18 we arrive on the water's edge, and then ascending the rocky foot of Mount Skroponéri arrive in three minutes more at a great cavern, at the foot of a perpendicular rock eighty feet high. It is the entrance of a low, dark, subterraneous passage, one hundred and twelve yards long, through which a part of the river or current of the lake slowly flows, and rejoins the rest of the river very near the entrance of the south-easternmost of the katavóthra[3]. In summer this cavern, or false katavóthra, as it may be called, is dry, and there is a passage through it on foot; but at present it is the resort of a multitude of fishes.

The south-eastern katavóthra resembles the cavern in outward appearance, being an aperture at the foot of a perpendicular rock of equal altitude. But there is much more water here: the stream which enters is about thirty feet broad, and four or

[1] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 880. et in pl. al. Archestrat. ap. Athen. l. 7, c. 13. J. Poll. l. 6, c. 10.

[2] *αἱ δὲ ἐγχέλεις αὐτόθι καὶ μεγέθει μέγισται, καὶ ἐσθίειν εἰσὶν ἡδισται.*—Pausan. Bœot. c. 24.

[3] *τὰ καταβόθρα,* —— *Hellenicè βάραθρα, φάραγγες, ὑπονόμοι, χάσματα.*

five feet deep, and now entirely fills and conceals the opening, which in summer is exposed. Now that the lake extends as far as Topólia and fills all this part of the basin, it is not easy to distinguish the river from the inundation, unless from some favourable position on the surrounding heights, especially as the current flows not more rapidly than a yard in a minute, and there is little difference in the depth or colour of the water in any part of this inner bay, which is divided from the main body of the lake of *Copæ* by a projecting point under Kókkino, concealing Topólia from the katavóthra. I now ride over the rocky foot of the mountain near the lake, and in twelve minutes arrive at a second katavóthra, situated like the first at the end of an inlet of the lake terminating in a perpendicular cliff, but much smaller both in the size of the stream and in the height of the cliff, which is not more than twenty feet. The stream flows rapidly into the cavern, and there is a bank of loose stones across it, intended for catching fish when the water is low. In summer the inlet is quite dry, and often the river itself: all the adjoining part of the lake is then converted into a pasture, with cattle grazing on it. Two minutes beyond the second katavóthra is a third, at the foot of a perpendicular rock of fifty feet; here the course of the river is well marked, having sand-banks on either side, and a broad stream running into the cavern. From hence, after riding for a quarter of an hour along the lake northward, in search of other subterraneous entrances, without finding any, I return to the third katavóthra and proceed from thence to the emissory of the river in the valley of

Larmes. For ten minutes the road mounts a stony hollow between low hills of the same description, after which the same vale is continued with a descending surface. The *Cephissus* pursues its subterraneous course in the same direction, as appears by a line of quadrangular shafts or perpendicular excavations in the rock, evidently made for the purpose of clearing the subterraneous channel when by some accident it had been obstructed, and had thereby submerged, or endangered, a great part of the fertile plain which extends to the sites of *Acræphium*, *Haliartus*, *Tilphossium* and *Orchomenus*. The first shaft is at two minutes' distance from the third katavóthra. It is five feet eight inches square, entirely excavated out of the rock, and is filled with stones and earth to within a few feet of the top. The second shaft, which is three minutes farther, is clear to the depth of forty-five feet. The third shaft is at three minutes' distance from the last, and is filled at the depth of twenty feet. The mouths of many of these shafts are concealed by the bushes of lentisk and purnári which cover the valley, but they are easily traced by means of the mounds of earth and broken stones around them, which were formed probably when the wells were excavated. Their obstruction has obviously been caused by their all lying, more or less, in the course of the waters down the valley. The fourth shaft is one minute beyond the third, and not less than ninety feet in depth, with stones and earth at the bottom, like the others. It diminishes gradually downwards, not in a straight line, but by a succession of ledges. The second is constructed in the same manner, and so are probably several of

those which are filled. All are cut entirely through the rock: some have small steps on either side of one of the angles. The fifth shaft is one minute beyond the fourth, and is entirely filled with the earth and stones washed into it from the hills on either side. Its situation, however, is ascertained by the mounds around the hollow, and we may infer, from the height and extent of the mounds, that this shaft must have been the deepest of all. Here in fact the valley is highest, and from hence the ground descends all the way to the vale of the lower *Cephissus*. The elevation I should conceive to be at the utmost one hundred and eighty feet above the level of the lake. The sixth shaft is at the same distance of about one hundred yards from the fifth, that the fifth is from the fourth: and, like the fifth, it is quite filled. The seventh is in an exact line with those preceding, but as the valley here takes a turn to the left, this shaft is on the rocky foot of the mountain, instead of being in the lowest part of the vale. The engineers who undertook, by means of these shafts, to clear the subterraneous channel of the river, naturally proceeded upon the supposition that the stream would run direct or nearly so, from the entrance towards the issue, and hence without regarding the nature of the ground above, they proceeded to excavate the seventh shaft in the same line with those preceding it. In forming it they probably discovered that the subterraneous channel does not follow the straight line, but conforms to the structure of the ground on the surface, turning in the direction of a ravine to the left; they continued, therefore, their work in that direction to the eighth shaft, which is found in a point

forming an angle to the left of the former line, at the usual distance from the seventh, but just at the entrance of the ravine, which is here closely confined by the adjoining rocky hills, and descends rapidly. The seventh shaft is twenty feet deep, the eighth, much ruined, about forty-five ; between them to the right, in a little level which occupies the corner at the turn of the valley, are foundations of an oblong building, of large rough stones. The ninth shaft, which is seventy or eighty feet deep, occurs at the usual distance ; the tenth at the same distance, has a depth of twenty feet. The eleventh at a like distance, is something less deep than the ninth. The twelfth at a like distance, is about as deep as the ninth. The thirteenth at an equal distance, has the same depth as the last. Here ends the ravine, which now opens upon a rugged slope, descending into the valley of the lower *Cephissus*, which lies to the right, and is hid from view by a rugged point projecting from the ridge of Skroponéri. The line of the shafts here changes its direction towards the right, and three more are found on the slope above mentioned, in a direction bending towards the rocky point. The distances between the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, are about double the former intervals. Their depth is about ten feet. At the fifteenth the valley widens, and the road to Larmes continues to follow the slope leaving the rocky point to the left, and entering the lower valley just at the place where the river issues.

Its position relatively to the sixteenth shaft, indicates the direction of the subterraneous current

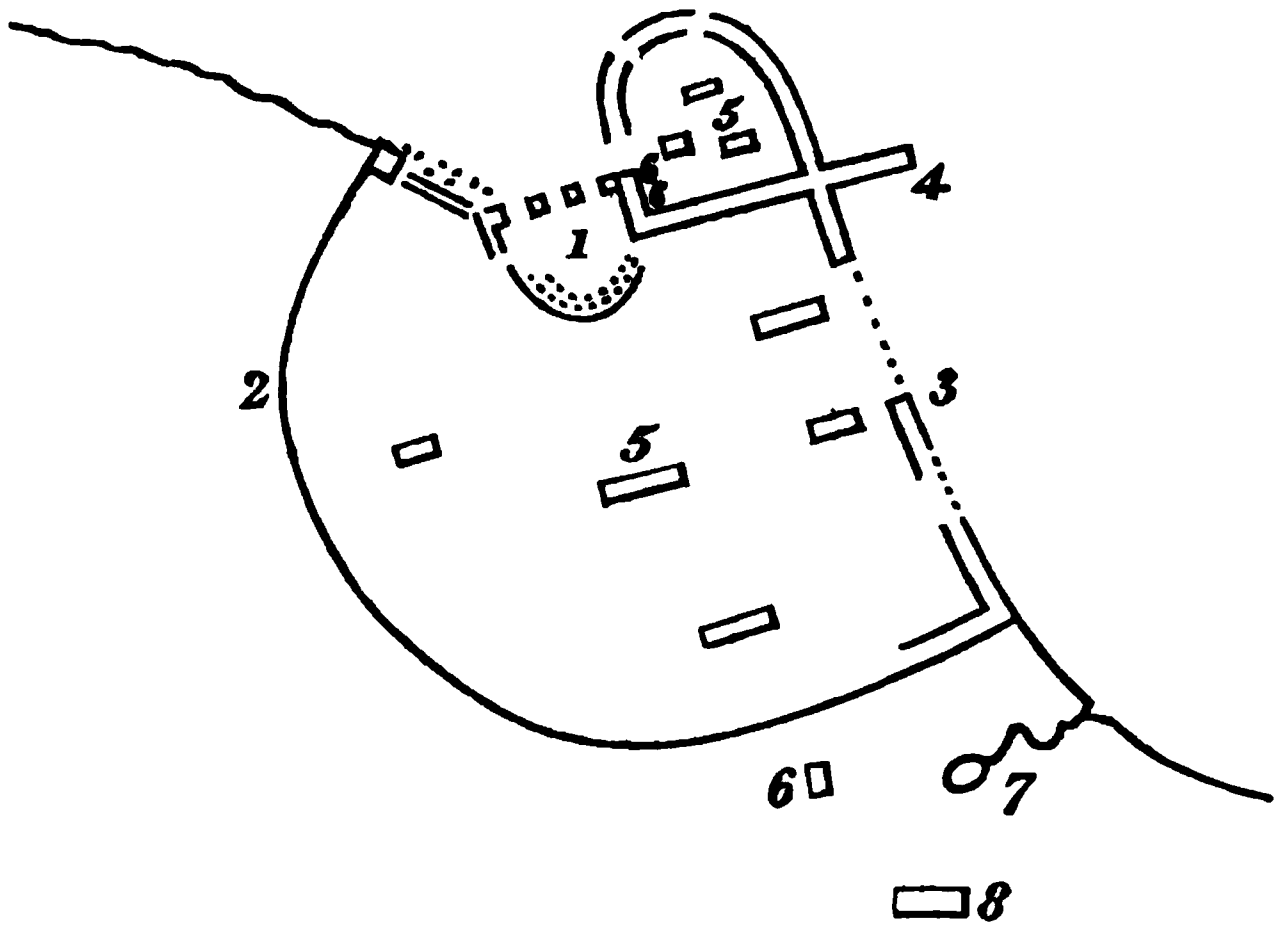
under the rocky hill. The river emerges at the foot of a precipice about thirty feet high, in many small streams, which immediately unite and form a river forty or fifty feet wide, and three or four deep, flowing with great rapidity down the vale. The road follows its right bank for sixteen minutes, then crosses, on the same side, a rocky projection of Mount Skroponéri, which is divided only by the river from an equally abrupt termination of the mountain on the western side of the vale, and in ten minutes descends to a large old church, and the mills of Larmes, which are turned by a canal derived from the river. Where we crossed the height, the river is precipitated over the rocks for a short distance with great rapidity. In very dry summers it entirely fails, when the mills are scantily supplied by a fountain, which issues from a rock on the right side of the rapid. From the mills to the head of the bay, where the river joins the sea, the distance is thirteen minutes, the stream winding with rapidity through a small plain cultivated with cotton. The fall of the river through the subterraneous channel over the cataract, and along the two valleys, can hardly amount to more than a perpendicular of fifty feet.

In the valley above the cataract the river flows through a thick copse of agnus-castus, and produces a great quantity of water-cresses. In the lower valley it is bordered with reeds and myrtles. A steep peaked mountain rises on the left of the river's mouth, behind which are the villages of Martíno and Malesína: the latter towards the sea, Martíno more inland. At about an hour and a

quarter beyond Martíno is Proskyná, upon the small stream which flows into the south-eastern angle of the bay of *Opus*, and which I suppose to be the Platanus, or Platanius, of Pausanias. Between Martíno and Proskyná, not far from the latter, are the remains of an ancient city: probably *Corseia*.

The ruins of *Larymna* are situated on a level covered with bushes, on the shore of the Bay of Larmes, ten minutes to the left of the mouth of the *Cephissus*. The circuit of the walls is less than a mile. The annexed sketch will give an idea of the remains still existing.

LARYMNA.



1. Is a small port, anciently closed in the manner here described. 2. The town wall, traceable all around. 3. Another wall along the sea, likewise traceable. 4. A mole, in the sea. 5. Various ancient foundations in the town and acropolis. 6. A Sorus. 7. Glyfoneró, or Salt Source. 8. An oblong foundation of an ancient building.

The walls, which in one place are extant to near half their height, are of a red soft stone, very much corroded by the sea air, and in some places are constructed of rough masses. The sorus is high, with comparison to its length and breadth, and stands in its original place upon the rocks: there was an inscription upon it, and some ornaments of sculpture, which are now quite defaced. The Glyfoneró is a small deep pool of water, impregnated with salt, and is considered by the peasants an ἁγιονέρι, or sacred water, because it is cathartic. Meletius, who supposed it to be the lake Anchoë mentioned by Strabo, states, that in his time persons resorted to the place in spring and autumn to drink of the water, and to some of those, he adds, who drank too much, it proved fatal. This coast, as well as *Eubœa*, abounds in salt springs, and *Halæ* perhaps derived its name from similar sources near it. Some ruins like those of *Larymna* are said to exist at a church of St. John Theologus, near the cape which projects to the northward, beyond Malesína and Proskyná. They are probably remains of *Halæ*.

Upon the projection of Skroponéri, which separates the upper from the lower valley of Larmes, I observed some foundations of Hellenic walls surrounding a height on the right hand side of the road. These seem to have been merely the remains of a small dependent fortress, commanding the pass which led to the town.

On the rocks above the issue of the *Cephissus*, the road from Kókkino to Larmes is crossed by that from Lukísi to Martíno. The latter, as I am now informed, is by no means so bad as the women

of Lukísi, for some reasons of their own, thought proper to represent it. From Lukísi it crosses the mountain which borders the valley of *Anthedon* to the west, and descends upon a vale at the head of the bay of Skroponéri, where are some copious sources issuing not far from the shore of the bay, and flowing into it. From thence the road crosses Mount Skroponéri to the vale of Larmes. The distance from Lukísi to Larmes is reckoned two hours and a half.

Although the name Larmes, or Larnes, which is applied as well to the ruins just described as to the adjacent bay and valley, leaves little doubt that the ruins are those of *Larymna*, yet, as Strabo mentions two towns of that name, there may be some doubt to which of them these remains are to be attributed. He observes, that the Cephissus broke forth from its subterraneous channel at the Upper Larymna, and joined the sea at the Lower Larymna; that Upper Larymna had belonged to Locris until it was annexed to the Lower or Bœotian Larymna by the Romans; that the place where the river issued at Upper Larymna was called Anchoë, and that there was a lake of the same name[1] which, it is fair to presume from the etymology of the word, was the same as that lake at

[1] Μετὰ δὲ Σαλγανέα Ἀνθηδὼν . . . . . Εἰσὶ μέντοι ἔτι προϊόντι μικρὸν πολίχναι δύο τῶν Βοιωτῶν, Λάρυμνά τε, παρ' ἣν ὁ Κηφισσὸς ἐκδίδωσι καὶ ἔτι ἐπέκεινα Ἅλαι ὁμώνυμοι τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς δήμοις.—Strabo, p. 404, 405.

εἶτα ἐξέρρηξεν (Cephissus) εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κατὰ Λάρυμναν τῆς Λοκρίδος τὴν ἄνω (καὶ γὰρ ἑτέρα ἐστὶν ὡς εἴπομεν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἡ Βοιωτιακὴ ἣ προσέθεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἄνω). Καλεῖται δ' ὁ τόπος Ἀγχόη· ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίμνη

Larymna, which Pausanias describes as a λίμνη ἀγχιβαθὴς, or a lake profound at the very margin[1]. At Larmes, however, there is nothing resembling a lake, except the small pool or source of salt water near the ancient walls, which leads one to suspect that Pausanias could not have alluded to Larmes in describing Larymna, the more so as the words ὑπερβαλόντων τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πτῶον, which he employs in alluding to the road from Acræphium to Larymna, would lead us to suppose that he crossed not merely the low ridge between the Katavóthra and the emissory, but a part of Mount Skroponéri itself, and that he really did so is the more probable from his having made no mention of the lake *Copais* on this occasion, or of the subterraneous channel of the *Cephissus*, although the road from Acræphium to Larymna, supposing his *Larymna* to have been at Larmes, could not but have followed the shore of the lake, and have passed both by the entrance and exit of the subterraneous stream. There is reason to suspect, therefore, that the Larymna of Pausanias was not the town which stood at Larmes, but another in the valley at the head of the bay of Skroponéri; that the *Bœotian*, or *Lower Larymna*, was there situated, and that Larmes was the site of the *Upper*, or *Locrian Larymna*. I cannot affirm, indeed, that there is a lake corresponding to the *Anchoë* in the vale of Skroponéri[2]; nor if

ὁμώνυμος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη ὁ Κηφισσὸς ἐκδίδωσι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν.—Strabo. p. 406, 407.

[1] Ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πτῶον, ἔστιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Βοιωτῶν πόλις Λάρυμνα . . . . . λίμνη δέ σφισιν ἐστὶν ἀγχιβαθής.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 23.

[2] Stuart, in his notes of a journey in this part of Bœotia (printed in the fourth volume of his Antiquities), describes a

that were the site of the *Lower Larymna*, is it easy to explain how either of them could have belonged to *Locris*, all the surrounding districts being *Bœotian*; although it cannot be denied, that the *Larymna* at Larmes was the nearer of the two to the *Locrian* frontier. It seems unaccountable also, that Pausanias should have omitted to notice so curious an object, both natural and artificial, as the Chasms of the Cephissus and its shafts; but it is consistent with the supposition of his not having visited the *Larymna* at Larmes, which may have happened because it had been abandoned, soon after it had been annexed by the Romans to the Lower Larymna. As to Strabo, who seems to have been correct only in saying, that the Cephissus emerged near the Upper Larymna, there is great reason for believing that on this, as on many other occasions, he described places confusedly, which he had never seen, and his text, perhaps, may be partly in fault. To the one or the other of these causes may also be attributed his assertion, that the subterraneous passage of the Cephissus was thirty stades in length; for, with all its windings, it is not half so much.

At the issue of the *Cephissus*, in the upper vale of Larmes, I was struck with the smallness of the quantity of water when compared with the aggregate of that which enters at the three katavóthra,

lake which had a discharge into the sea between the bay of Skroponéri and Lukísi. But he gives us the idea of a large lake, for which there is no space in the vale; and describes it as an hour and a half beyond Skroponéri (apparently a village of that name), so that his lake would rather seem to have been the Paralímni. On the other hand, this lake certainly has no discharge into the *Euboic* frith unless by a katavóthra.

and could not but infer that one of the streams, at least, has a different issue. The two northern katavóthra seem too near to each other, as well as to the commencement of the line of shafts on the surface, not to have both conducted to the subterraneous channel below those shafts. It will probably be found, therefore, that the river which issues in the vale of Larmes, and which is about equal in volume to those two streams, is derived solely from them, and that the southern katavóthra, which is nearly half a mile distant from the nearest of the two northern, has a different discharge, perhaps, at the sources in the bay of Skroponéri. This would partly justify Strabo in saying, that the Cephissus flowed into the sea near the Lower or Bœotian Larymna.

Having taken my Christmas dinner at the Mills of Larmes, I return to Kókkino, following the same road by which I came, with the exception of crossing the rocky height from near the issue of the river directly to the sixteenth shaft, and without finding any other shaft, though the subterraneous stream flows probably in that direction. It takes three quarters of an hour to mount from the nearest katavóthra to Kókkino, where we arrive at sunset.

The only passage in ancient history illustrative of the shafts and subterraneous course of the Cephissus, occurs in the pages of Strabo to which a reference has just been made. After describing the river as entering a chasm near Copæ, the geographer subjoins that one Crates of Chalcis [1]

[1] Casaubon, founding his conjecture as to the defective text of p. 407 on another passage in p. 700, thought that

had been employed by Alexander the Great to remedy the effects of an obstruction of the subterraneous channels which had caused the submersion of several places situated on the margin of the lake: and that he, Strabo, had seen the report made by Crates to Alexander, wherein that engineer stated that he had been successful in drawing off the water from some districts, especially those of Eleusis and Athenæ, Bœotian towns on the river Triton [1], when dissensions among the Bœotians put a stop to the work. Although one of the operations of Crates was to make an embankment [2] near Athenæ, it is evident that his principal means of desiccation were derived from the clearing of the subterraneous channels of the river, and hence we might be justified in the inference that the existing wells were the work of Crates; there are strong reasons, however, for believing that they are more ancient, and that Crates only repaired or cleared them. It is obvious that all valleys so inclosed as to admit of a passage to the running waters only through the surrounding mountains cannot but be liable to occasional inundations from the obstruction of the subterraneous

Gorgus had been the name of the engineer; but it is clearly proved from Stephanus to have been Crates; for in speaking of Athenæ of Bœotia, he says, *ἡ ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἀναφανεῖσα μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ἐπικλυσθῆναι τῆς Κωπαΐδος ὅτε Κράτης αὐτὴν διετάφρευσεν.* Stephan. in *Ἀθῆναι.* The same Crates is noticed by Diogenes Laertius, (l. 4. c. 23.) as a *ταφρωρύχος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνών.*—V. Géographie de Strabon. tome 3. éclairc. 26.

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 24, mentions the destruction of these two places by an inundation.

[2] *διετάφρευσεν.* V. Stephan. ubi sup.

channels. Ancient history records the occurrence of inundations, thus caused, in the valleys of Stymphalus and Pheneus [1], where such is the height of the mountains that the inconvenience can only be remedied by nature herself. But the *chasmata* of the Cephissus are more accessible, and allowed of the excavation of a line of shafts, by means of which the channel of the river might not only be kept clear but even enlarged, with a view to a more extensive drainage of the plain. Strabo remarks, with reference to the ancient riches of the Orchomenii attested by Homer, that, according to a Bœotian tradition, they had been caused by the draining and subsequent cultivation of a large portion of the plain, which in the time of the geographer had again become a part of the lake [2], and is still an impracticable swamp. Now there is certainly no period, in history, to which that great and useful undertaking can be attributed with so much probability as to that, when all Western Bœotia was united under the Minyæ of Orchomenus. To that age, therefore, rather than any other, the original excavations are to be attributed, when they were formed perhaps under the direction of the Orchomenian princes Trophonius and Agamedes, who, by their mechanical skill in an age when it was extremely rare in Greece, attained the honours of divinity.

[1] Vide *Travels in the Morea*, c. 26. I am informed that the obstruction of the Ladon has lately recurred, so that in the spring of 1829 the greater part of the plain of Pheneus was under water.

[2] Strabo, p. 415.

Dec. 26.—This morning a strong north-wester sets in with rain. A ride of three quarters of an hour carries me to Kardhítza, the road passing along the rugged flanks of Mount *Ptoum*. Midway a small plain lies below us to the right, at the foot of the mountain on the border of the lake, and opposite to the plain, not far from the right bank of the Cephissus, an island surrounded by cliffs, the summit of which is incircled by the remains of a Hellenic wall. In the inclosed space, as I am told by some peasants who have been there, are some foundations of buildings, but no columns. It seems to have been some small town to which the little plain just mentioned may have appertained, together with that which is now an inundation surrounding the island, but which in summer may be valuable land either for grain or pasture. At Kardhítza I find ample employment for the rest of the day in examining the adjacent ruins, which are undoubtedly those of Acræphium, and in copying inscriptions, of which there is a large collection in an old church of St. George, standing within the walls of the ancient city.

Dec. 27.—The longest of the inscriptions has required a continued labour of six hours, the letters being small, and in some places much defaced; and the stone which is in the wall of the church on the outside, on a level with the earth, being so placed that the lines are perpendicular to the horizon, whence it is impossible to obtain a distinct view of them without lying on the ground. The monument is in honour of one of the citi-

zens of this place named Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas[1]. After recording some of his former services to his native city, one of which was the reparation, at an expence of 6000 denaria, of a mound twelve stades in length, probably for the purpose of protecting the plain of Acræphium from the inundations to which it is subject from the lake, the inscription proceeds as follows: "A legation having been required to the Young Augustus, in the general assembly of the Achæans and Panhellenes at Argos, and many illustrious and leading men in the Bœotian cities having met together and refused and appealed to him, he extending his magnanimity to the whole nation of Bœotians, and setting aside all consideration of his private interests, most readily accepted the charge from the nation of Bœotians, applying the strength of his mind to this important and unpaid legation. Whence, having become admired and thought worthy of approbation, he was honoured by the Panhellenes, as they testified in the letter sent by them to our city. Having concluded the legation together with the other nations, and brought back the answer from . . . , he was honoured, together with his co-legates; and the general assembly of the Pambœoti, mindful of his spontaneous

[1] As I have already published this inscription in the Museum Criticum, and M. Boeckh has given it a place in his Corpus Inscriptionum, I have thought it sufficient to insert the text in the cursive character at the end of this volume.

liberality and benevolence, decreed to him the honours due, and made a communication of the act to our city. . . . . He excelled in greatness of mind and virtue all . . . . . his love of glory and goodness by successive entertainments, being thus held to be the greatest of patriots and benefactors. And when the games called the Ptoia had been omitted for thirty years, having been named to preside over them, he most readily accepted the office, thinking it an honour to renew those ancient games, the great Ptoia and Cæsareia, and became a second founder of them. Having taken the direction of them, he forthwith performed the sacrifices and prophetic offices of the god, entertaining the archons and assessors five times every year with magnificent suppers, and giving a dinner to the city in the fifth year, without a single omission in the other years either of sacrifice or of expence. And when the games occurred in the sixth year, he made a distribution for the approaching feast to all the citizens as well as to the inhabitants and alien proprietors, giving to each man a Cophinus of wheat and a Hemina of wine, and religiously executed the ceremonies derived from our ancestors, the great processions, and the dance of the Syrta. And sacrificing a bull to the gods and the Augusti, he omitted neither the distribution of meat, nor dinners, nor desserts, nor suppers, entertaining at every dinner the children and young slaves of the cities according to their classes, from the tenth to the thirtieth, while his wife Noticha gave a dinner to the wives of the citizens, their

unmarried daughters, and female slaves. Nor did he neglect those who had charge of the tents or of the decoration of the festival, but he gave them a dinner apart by proclamation, which none of his predecessors had done, being desirous that every one should be a partaker of his generosity. In the scenic spectacles he treated all the spectators and persons assembled from the cities with sweetmeats, and made large and exquisite cakes, so that his munificence became celebrated in all the surrounding cities. At the end of the games, after a supper given to the whole people, recommencing his expences, he made a distribution of eleven denaria to each couch of three persons, and a Ceramæum of old wine and six denaria to defray the remaining expences for meat. After the performance of all these things, as he descended from the temple to the city, all the citizens met him in a body, in order to show him every kind of honour and thankfulness; and he, not unmindful of his magnanimity, sacrificing in the city a bull to Jupiter the Greatest, moved the congregation to gratitude. Since then it is proper to exhibit good and magnanimous and patriotic men adorned with becoming honours and rewards; it has seemed good to the archons, the assessors, and the people, to bestow praises upon the aforesaid Epàminondas, for that he has conducted himself towards his native city with assiduous benevolence, and towards the nation of Bœotians with magnanimity, and has conferred honour upon his native city by his embassy. .. And to honour him with a golden crown, and a good full-length painted portrait-statue,

and that all succeeding Agonothetæ shall in the games to be directed by them invite him with other benefactors to the first seat, in order that, from these results, our city may appear grateful to its benefactors, and that many others may become emulous of good actions thus attested. Also to erect images or statues of him, one in the temple of Apollo Ptoius, the other in the agora of the city, together with gilded portrait-statues of him, bearing the following inscription: The people and the council (have honoured) Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, as an excellent citizen: and to place a copy of the decree in the temple of Apollo Ptoius, and another in the agora of the city."

The mention made of the Cæsarean games, and of their renewal, implying their cessation for a considerable time, shows that the monument was not of an early period of the Roman empire; which is confirmed by the worship of the Augusti in the plural. The earliest emperors who held that rank simultaneously were Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus; but the words Νέος Σεβαστὸς designating the Young Augustus, who presided in the council of the Achæans and Panhellenes in Argos, to which the embassy of the Bœotians and others was sent, seems not to apply so well to Verus as to Commodus, who was in Greece with his father on their return from the East, when Aurelius visited Athens, in the year 176, and was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. It is true that Commodus was not honoured with the title of Augustus until

the following year [1]. But as, according to the tenor of the inscription, the embassy occurred before the Ptoia, and consequently some years prior to the date of the monument, we may easily conceive that after such an interval the people of Acræphium would not studiously refuse to apply the title of Augustus to Commodus, because he had not yet received it at the period referred to, especially as the honour became the greater to Epaminondas, and as Commodus at the time of the inscription was probably sole emperor. The next Young Augustus, to whom the words Νέος Σεβαστὸς may be applied, was Caracalla, who with his father Severus, passed through Mœsia and Pannonia in returning from the East in the year 203 [2]: but there is no evidence of either of them having been in Greece, and the form of the letters in the inscription is more conformable to those in use in the time of the Antonines than to any subsequent period. The Σ and E are still angular. The final iota of the dative cases is constantly omitted, but this omission was already common in the reign of Hadrian. The confusion which occurs in the use of ι and ει is hardly consistent with the form of the letters, and may perhaps be partly an effect of the Bœotic dialect. Thus *τιμὴ, γίνωνται* are written *τειμὴ, γείνωνται*, while *εἰς, πρεσβείαν, ἀξιωθείς, τάξεις, δεῖπνον, μαρτυρεῖσθαι*, are written *ις, πρεσβιαν, αξιωθις, ταξις, διπνον, μαρτυρισθαι*.

[1] Dio. l. 71, c. 31.—I. Capitol. in Antonin. Philos.—Philost. in Adrian. c. 4.

[2] Herodian. l. 3, c. 10.

This monument is a good example of the vanity of a rich Bœotian Archon in those times, or rather of the mean flattery of his fellow-citizens paying homage to his wealth. It is a complete specimen also, of the pompous inanity and wordy feebleness of the language, which it is curious to compare with some Attic inscriptions of about the same period, when Atticus Herodes was the arbiter of taste at Athens, and when amidst an abundance of affectation, there still remained some wit, learning and elegance of composition.

There are two other marbles in the walls of the church, bearing inscriptions not much shorter than the preceding; one of these is in the northern wall, where the effect of its exposure to this aspect has been to cover it with moss. As very little of it could possibly be deciphered, I have not attempted to copy it. The other forms one of the jambs of a side door, and has in one part been worn smooth; in another place the letters have been destroyed by the stone having been cut away to make room for a latch. The parts which have been exposed to the air are much defaced, and the stone is so placed that the letters are reversed, but I can perceive that mention is again made of the embassy of Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, and that the names of the Bœotians, Locrians and Eubœans occur, being probably the nations whose ambassadors, according to the former inscription, accompanied Epaminondas to Argos. The words *ἀνδριάντες*, *μεγαλοψυχία*, and *ταυροθυτήσας* also occur as in the former, but the most important are *Ἀκραιφιέων ἄρχουσι*, which taken together with the mention of the temple of Apollo

Ptoius in the other inscription, and compared with the situation of the town and temple, as described by Herodotus, Strabo and Pausanias, can leave no question that the ruins are those of Acræphium [1].

Of the other inscriptions in the church of St. George, the most curious are three fragments of catalogues of agonistic victors, all which probably belonged to one and the same record of certain triennial games called Soteria, when Theomnestus, son of Paramonus, was priest of Jupiter Soter, and when the Soteria were celebrated for the first time "after the war [2]," by which, as the characters are of considerable antiquity, the Mithradatic war is probably meant, when Bœotia suffered severely. Pausanias makes no mention of the Soteria, or of Jupiter Soter, or of any temple at Acræphium, except that of Bacchus, which contained a statue of the god.

Among other fragments of antiquity in the church of St. George, are a very small fluted Doric column with sixteen flutings, and two of those circular pe-

[1] *ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῶον, ἐστὶ δὲ Θηβαίων, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς οὔρεϊ, ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος.*—Herodot. l. 8. c. 135.

Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τὸ Πτῶον τοῦ Τηνερικοῦ πεδίου καὶ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς Ἀκραιφίῳ· Θηβαίων δ' ἦν τό τε μαντεῖον καὶ τὸ ὄρος· τὸ δὲ Ἀκραίφιον καὶ αὐτὸ κεῖται ἐν ὕψει.—Strabo, p. 413.

Ἀκραίφνιον . . . . . κεῖται τὸ πόλισμα ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πτώῳ.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 23.

[2] *Ἀντίου ἄρχοντος, ἀγωνοθετοῦν(τος) Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου, τοῦ Ποπλίου υἱοῦ . . . . μαίου, τῶν τριητήρων Σωτηρίων πρώ(των) ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἱερατεύοντος δὲ το(ῦ Δι)ὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Θεομνήστου τοῦ Παραμόνου, οἵδε ἐνίκων,* &c. — V. Inscr. No. 50, 51.

destals smaller above than below, which are often found in Greek churches, sometimes with Ionic, but more commonly with Doric capitals, mouldings and flutings. They were probably, as I have before suggested [1], the hypostates of the κρητῆρες [2], or large basins which were used in the temples to contain lustral water, and which having been generally made of metal have disappeared, while their hypostates of stone have remained. Altars formed in the shape of a column surmounted with a square plinth, are not uncommonly found also in the modern churches, where they sometimes serve for the holy table. As the temples were generally converted into churches, on the establishment of Christianity, the hypostates and altars have often remained in their original places, while the temples themselves may have totally altered their appearance, in consequence of successive repairs and the change in their destination.

There is no church in Greece more likely to have been a heathen temple than this of Kardhítza,

[1] Travels in the Morea, vol. 1, p. 498.

[2] Pausanias has described, what I conceive to have been one of these articles of the furniture of ancient temples, in the following words: ὑποστάτης λίθου καὶ λουτήριον ἐπὶ τῷ ὑποστάτῃ χαλκοῦν. (Phocic. c. 26.) The ἐπίστατος or ὑποκρητήριον of the Sigeian inscription, as well as the famous iron ὑποκρητηρίδιον of the vase dedicated by Halyattes at Delphi (Herodot. l. 1. c. 25.—Athen. l. 5, c. 13. Pausan. Phocic. c. 16.—Philost. in vitâ Apoll. Tyan. l. 6, c. 2.) seems not to have been exactly the same kind of thing, but a base of the cup itself, separate from any marble hypobase upon which it may have stood. We find the three parts all mentioned in a Latin inscription of Gruter (p. 48), which records a gift to Hercules of a *cratera Argyro-Corinthia* with a *basis sua*, and a *hypobasis marmorea*.

standing as it does in the middle of the ancient site. It is supported within by columns formed of pieces of ancient shafts, put together without much *harmony*, but crowned with handsome Ionic capitals, which as well as the portions of shafts, belonged probably to the temple of Jupiter or Bacchus. The church has a dome, and the most modern part of the patchwork does not seem to be later than the twelfth century. There are several similar churches in Bœotia, which have outlasted many of later date: particularly those more recent than the Turkish conquest, scarcely any of which are more than half a century old, being like the modern houses, built so as not to be capable of enduring longer.

The name of Acræphium is obviously derived from the conspicuous insulated *ἄκρα* or summit on which the town was built, and which is noticed by Strabo [1]. This height is steep and rocky, but much less so on the northern side towards Kardhítza, than in the opposite direction, where it falls to a plain which

[1] The termination of the word, as well as the form of the gentile, vary in different authors. In the lexicon of Stephanus it is *Ἀκραιφία*, but he remarks that it was also written *Ἀκραίφιον*, by Pausanias *Ἀκραίφνιον*, and by Theopompus *τὰ Ἀκραίφνια*. The gentile was *Ἀκραιφιαῖος*, or *Ἀκραίφιος*, or *Ἀκραίφνιος*, or *Ἀκραιφνιώτης*, or *Ἀκραιφνιεύς*. It is curious that the orthography derived from the inscription differs from them all, being *Ἀκραιφιεύς*. In our copies of Strabo the name is in one place *Ἀκραίφιον*, in another *Ἀκραιφίαι*, in Herodotus it is *Ἀκραιφίη*, in Livy Acræphia. Stephanus mentions an Acræphieus, son of Apollo, who was supposed to have given name to the place. This was probably the doctrine of the people of Acræphium, but Pausanias, though he generally inclines both to local traditions, and to heroic etymologies, makes no mention of any such person. The neighbouring part of the lake was called *Ἀκραίφις λίμνη*. (Stephan. ibid.—Strabo, p. 411.)

borders a bay of the Lake *Copais*, and separates the lower heights of *Ptoum* from those of *Phicium*. Between it and an extremity of Mount Ptoum to the northward, which terminates in bare and rugged rocks washed by the lake, is the opening which I have before noticed as conspicuous from many parts of the surrounding country. The ancient walls are partly of the polygonal, and partly of the third kind of Hellenic masonry. They are best preserved at the summit of the hill, where are some niches in the inside of the wall, six or eight feet asunder, and just wide enough for a man to stand within them. Their purpose was probably the same as that of the niches in the secret gallery of Tiryns, namely to oppose the advance of an adversary who had entered the passage. There are many Hellenic foundations on the slope of the hill towards Kardhítza down to the very bottom of it, but nothing sculptured except at the church. Such an advantageous position as that of Acræphium could scarcely have been unoccupied in early ages; and we cannot doubt, therefore, that it is the site of one of the Homeric towns of Bœotia. Some critics in the time of Strabo supposed it to have been the Arne of the poet [1]; but Arne, there is every reason to believe, was the same place as Chæroneia. Peteon, from the association of names in the catalogue [2], is that which may be attributed to it, with the greatest probability.

[1] Strabo, p. 413.

[2] Οἱ δ' Ἐλεῶν' εἶχον, ἠδ' Ὑλην, καὶ Πετεῶνα,
Ὠκαλέην, Μεδεῶνά τ' ἐϋκτιμένον πτολίεθρον.
Il. β. v. 500.

Four roads lead from Kardhítza through openings in the surrounding mountains: 1, to Topólia; 2, its continuation to Thebes; 3, to Kókkino; and 4, through the chasm already mentioned, into the plain on the southern side of the hill of *Acræphium*. The road to Topólia, now inundated, crosses the river by a bridge, leaving the fortified island a little on the right. The indications of Strabo [1], and the more particular description of Pausanias [2], leave little doubt that Topólia, where some remains of walls and some inscribed marbles have been found [3], was the site of *Copæ*; for *Copæ*, like Topólia, was on the margin of the lake, and its direction from Acræphium is shown by the narrative of Pausanias beyond Copæ, to have been towards Cyrtones, Corseia, and the river Platanius, which is exactly that of Topólia. He remarks, that between Acræphium and the lake Cephissis, otherwise called Copais, there was a plain named Athamantium, from its having been anciently inhabited by Athamas, and that not far from thence, the river Cephis-

[1] Κωπῶν· . . . προσάρκτιος δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ Κωπαΐδι λίμνῃ.—Strabo, p. 410. v. et 406. 411.

[2] Ἐξ Ἀκραιφνίου δὲ ἰόντι εὐθεῖαν ἐπὶ λίμνην τὴν Κηφισσίδα (οἱ δὲ Κωπαΐδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν αὐτὴν) πεδίον καλούμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθαμάντιον· οἰκῆσαι δὲ Ἀθάμαντα ἐν αὐτῷ φασιν· ἐς δὲ τὴν λίμνην ὅ τε ποταμὸς ὁ Κηφισσὸς ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Λιλαίας τῶν Φωκέων, καὶ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς Κώπας· κεῖνται δὲ αἱ Κώπαι πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 24. There seems to be something wanting in the latter part of this passage.

[3] One of these, in the Bœotic dialect, has been published by the Rev. R. Walpole, in his second Collection of Memoirs, &c. p. 566.; where the very incomplete second line may be restored thus: ΤΟΙΔΕ ΕΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΕΝΟΠΛΙΤΑΙΣ, showing the document to be a conscription of hoplitæ.

sus entered the lake, across which there was a navigation to Copæ, a small town containing temples of Ceres, Bacchus and Sarapis. Hence it is evident, that the plain Athamantium was not that to the southward of the height of Kardhítza, but that in the opposite direction, near the fortified island, which latter may have been a town or fortress named Athamantium, though Pausanias, perhaps from its having been a ruin in his time, has alluded to it only as the former residence of Athamas, and has described the plain only. The hill of Topólia resembles this island, as well in its degree of elevation as in its rocky margin, and is itself an island during a great part of the year, but being situated very near the neighbouring heights, it is sometimes a promontory, and generally presents that appearance.

The distance of Paleá from Kardhítza agrees exactly with that which Pausanias states to have been the interval between Acræphium and the temple of Apollo Ptoïus, namely, fifteen stades; and its position to the right of the road leading from Acræphium to Larymna seems equally to accord with his words [1], for the road to both the Larymnæ could not but have followed the modern route as far as Kókkino. The three summits Paleá, Strútzina and Skroponéri, each well defined, and yet forming one range of nearly equal altitude,

[1] *Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε που καὶ δέκα σταδίους, τοῦ Ἀπολλωνός ἐστι τοῦ Πτώου τὸ ἱερὸν . . . . . Ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πτῶον, ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Βοιωτῶν πόλις Λάρυμνα.* — Pausan. Bœot. c. 23.

perfectly illustrate the epithet τρικάρανον, which Alcæus applied to Ptoum [1].

Taking the fourth of the above-mentioned roads, I pass in 13 minutes from the church of St. George through the chasm into the plain on the southern side of the hill of *Acræphium*; in 10 more arrive at the mountains on the southern side of the plain, and then follow the margin of the lake, along the foot of the mountain which overhangs it, and where scarcely any path is traceable, sometimes passing through the water, sometimes over little green levels under the rocks. At the end of 27 minutes from the foot of the chasm of Kardhítza, a projecting point of the mountain affords from its summit a good view of the adjacent part of the lake where I had already noticed a causeway of stone, crossing the mouth of that bay of the *Cephissis*, which is bordered by the valley of Acræphium, and seems to have been sometimes known to the ancients by the name of the lake Acræphis. The causeway connected the foot of Mount *Phicium* to that of Mount *Ptoum*, and although defective in many places, would still with a little repair be carriageable all the way: its length was about two miles. A similar paved road may be traced near the island of *Athamas*, leading from the bridge of the *Cephissus*, towards Topólia, but it is not in such good preservation as the former. The solid construction of these causeways leaves little doubt that they are works of the ancients, and which seem to

[1] Καί ποτε τὸν τρικάρανον Πτώου κευθμῶνα κατέσχεθε.
Ap. Strab. p. 413.

have been kept in repair, even during the Byzantine empire: the first is exactly in the direction of Acræphium, from Haliartus, not far from the former of which it joined the other causeway, which was in the direct road from Thebes to Copæ. It is not impossible that these were the works upon which Epaminondas of Acræphium is recorded in the inscription of Kardhítza to have expended 6000 denaria, in which case it would seem that Pausanias visited Acræphium before the repair, since he speaks only of a navigation from the plain of Athamantium to Copæ. In fact, this will agree perfectly with the date of the travels of Pausanias in Greece, which did not extend in time beyond the earliest years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Continuing to coast the lake for eight minutes, and having passed in one place through deep water at the foot of the rocks, I arrive at a katavóthra, or small cavern, which is lower than the present level of the adjacent waters, and into which a slender stream now flows. A mile farther towards *Haliartus* is the Cape of Mount *Phicium*, at which the causeway leading to the foot of Mount *Ptoum* begins. All this part of the lake produces abundantly a rush, of which mats are made at Kardhítza and other villages near the lake. It has a soft round stem, and is called Papýri, the name by which the same plant is known at Ioánnina, where it is equally used for making mats. Many other kinds of reeds and rushes are observable in the lake, but their tops only are now visible above the water. Neither here nor in any other part of Greece have

I seen the triangular Cyperus Papyrus, of which the paper used by the Egyptians and Greeks was made.

Strabo remarks that the whole lake, called in his time Copais, but which Pindar named Cephissis, had anciently separate denominations, derived from the adjacent cities. The Haliartian marsh is the more distinguishable from those of Orchomenus, Acræphium, and Copæ, because the latter are formed from the superfluous waters of the Melas, Cephissus, Probatia, Phalarus, and Curalius, whereas the marsh of Haliartus is caused by the rivers which descend into the basin near that site, and which appear never to unite with the *Cephissus*, but to have an exit through Mount *Phicium* by katavóthra; possibly that which I visited is not the only one. In summer the course of the streams may be more apparent in every part of the *Cephissic* basin, so that in the space which is now a continued inundation, distinguishable only by a greater depth of water in some places, there may be several separate portions of water divided from each other by firm land, explaining the several denominations of Acræphis, Copais, Haliartia. At present it is not even possible to say decidedly where the stream which flows into the katavóthra of Mount *Phicium* originates, but most probably it is formed from the junction of some, if not all, the rivulets anciently called Permessus, Lophis, Oplites, Ocalea, and perhaps also Tilphossa.

Having returned along the margin of the lake to the plain of *Acræphium*, I follow the southern

side of that plain, not far from the foot of the mountain, where some foundations of masonry are observable lying in the direction of the route, as well as some others at right angles to the former, at a point which is half way between the lake and a small ridge which separates this plain from that which borders the lake of Sénzina. They appear to be the remains of some works intended to defend the upper part of the plain from those encroachments of the lake of *Acræphium* which now prevent all the lower part of it from being cultivated. The foundations have not much appearance of Hellenic work, but there are traces of a canal to the northward of them which seem to be of those times: here also is a line of wells, or shafts, some in the bed, and some in the direction of the canal, similar to those which are above the subterraneous channel of the *Cephissus*. I say the direction, because the hollow and mounds of excavated earth on either side, by which the former existence of a canal may be presumed, have been in some places obliterated by the plough, or have disappeared by the effects of alluvion in the parts where the ground is most marshy. The canal however is easily traced to the ridge at the end of the plain, which it seems to have entered between two ranges of rock, which my guide of Kardhítza calls the Vrakho[1]. The position of some of the shafts is recognised only by small hollows and surrounding mounds, at equal distances; but two or three of them are still open, and, like those of the subterraneous channel of

[1] ὁ βράχος.

the *Cephissus*, are rectangular excavations in the rock,—not square, however, like them, but oblong, and having their long sides half as long again as those of the *Cephissian* wells. I observe that one of them widens below like an ancient cistern. The opening at the Vrakho makes a turn to the left, almost at right angles to the direction of the canal, and then again gradually to the right until it enters the plain of Sénzina, at about a mile from that village. My guide supposed the opening at the Vrakho to be artificial, but though the sides are uniform, and the breadth nearly the same as that of the canal, or 50 feet, there are no marks of art on the rocks, and the great length, as well as the general appearance of it, make me believe it to be natural; though certainly very conveniently contrived by nature to facilitate the formation of a canal. The bed or bottom of the Vrakho is below the present level of the lake *Copais*, and a line of hollows is traceable along it, forming an evident continuation of those in the plain; but the hollows only are apparent, the shafts, if they exist being entirely buried. I was 18 minutes riding, preceded by a man on foot, from the south-western corner of the plain where I entered it from the katavóthra, to the opening of the Vrakho near the centre of the head of the plain. Here leaving the road to Sénzina to the right, I continue to follow the hollow between the rocks for 12 minutes before I enter the plain of Sénzina. Although the hollow is in one place crossed by a ridge, vestiges of the canal are still visible as far as the plain, where it is again

crossed by a ridge, and then ceases to be traceable, the Vrakho at the same place falling off to the right, and subsiding into the plain.

To the left of the apparent extremity of the canal are the foundations of a long quadrangular building of large squared stones, and beyond it, on the opposite side of a small torrent, a height only three minutes distant from the entrance into the plain, and occupying a large space in it. This height is situated midway between the lake and the foot of Mount Paleá, from which it is separated by another torrent. On its summit are the remains of a quadrangular inclosure, consisting of walls flanked by towers and constructed of rough masonry and small stones; but among the foundations of which are some large hewn masses in the Hellenic style, showing that the ruins which are now called the Paleókastro occupy a Hellenic site. It was probably Hyle, for Homer places Hyle near the lake Cephissis[1], and Strabo describes the Hylice as a lake in the Thebæa, which was small compared with the Cephissis, and which was supplied from the latter by a subterraneous communication[2]. In adding that it was situated between Thebes and Anthedon, he was not so

[1] Ὀρέσβιον αἰολομίτρην
Ὃς ῥ' ἐν Ὕλῃ ναίεσκε, μέγα πλούτοιο μεμηλὼς,
Λίμνῃ κεκλιμένος Κηφισσίδι· πὰρ δέ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ναῖον Βοιωτοὶ, μάλα πίονα δῆμον ἔχοντες.
Il. E. v. 707.

[2] Ἡ μὲν (Κηφισσὶς) ἐστι μεγάλη καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι· ἡ δὲ (Ὑλικὴ) μικρὰ, ἐκεῖθεν δι' ὑπονόμων πληρουμένη, κειμένη μεταξὺ Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνος. —Strabo, p. 408.

correct, and seems to have confounded this lake with the Paralímni. Hyle appears from Homer to have been renowned for its manufacture of those Bœotian shields, which became the commonest type of the coins of this province, for the celebrated sevenfold shield of Ajax was made by Tichius of Hyle[1].

Below the hill of *Hyle* the plain suddenly changes its level, all to the northward bordering that side of the lake, being very little above the water, while that at the western end towards Sénzina is much higher. *Hyle* stands in a line between the eastern extremity of Mount Fagá and the pass of Paleá leading to Kókkino, in a line between Kardhítza and Thebes, and in a line also drawn from *Haliartus* through the long diameter of the Paralímni, or lake of Morítzi, and the pass leading to *Anthedon*. I mention these interlineations, because there is no kind of geographical observation so convenient or infallible.

It takes fourteen minutes to ride from the Paleókastro to Sénzina, which is a small village on a rocky hill connected with Mount *Phicium*: some higher ridges of the same mountain overhang the western extremity of the lake, where at less than a mile to the southward of Sénzina is the emissory of the subterraneous stream from the lake *Cephissis*. The

[1] Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἠΰτε πύργον,
Χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, ὅ οἱ Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων,
Σκυτοτόμων ὄχ' ἄριστος, Ὕλῃ ἔνι οἰκία ναίων.
Ὅς οἱ ἐποίησεν σάκος αἰόλον ἑπταβόειον
Ταύρων ζατρεφέων, ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδοον ἦλασε χαλκόν.
Il. H. v. 219.

direct distance from the katavóthra is about two miles, occupied entirely by a rocky ridge, advancing northward from the summit of Mount *Phicium*, and throwing out a branch to the south-east, which for some distance beyond the emissory continues to border the lake, and then becomes a low ridge, separating it from the inundation of Purnarí, in the *Teneric* plain. Further on, towards Thebes, the shore again becomes steep and rocky. The lake is named Livádhi, or lake of Sénzina. It abounds with fish, is now covered with wild ducks, and appears to be deep, as might be presumed from the boldness of the greater part of its shores. Its depth, abruptness of margin, and inferiority to the *Cephissic* basin, indicated by the subterraneous river flowing into it from the *Haliartian* marsh, may serve to explain the intention of the ancient canal in the plain of *Acræphium*. Such a canal might obviously have been useful in draining the marshes near Acræphium and Haliartus, with very little risk of injury to the lands bordering on the *Hylice*, the shore of this lake being exposed to inundation only in the lower part of the plain to the eastward of Sénzina, where it might be protected by means of an embankment of no great extent. Nature, indeed, seems to have shown the expediency of making this deep and rocky basin a recipient of superfluous waters, by directing into it a stream through Mount *Phicium*, and the construction of the ground between the lake Hylice and the shore of the Cephissis near Acræphium, gives great facility to the undertaking. It is to such peculiarities in the geological

construction of this country, that the creation and development of Greek ingenuity may, in great measure, be attributed. As there are few more powerful stimulants to national industry, and to the exertion which leads to wealth and power, than lands subject to inundation, such lands in general being, when relieved from that inconvenience, the most fertile and productive of any, so there is no country more abounding in these motives to dili-gence and invention than Greece. From its intersecting mountains, incased valleys, and marshy levels, from the peculiarities of its maritime formation, and the wonderful extent of its sea-coast, ultimately proceeded all the features of the national character, and the effect of which has been to render the study of their history, arts, and literature, curious and instructive beyond that of all other nations. Even now the same causes seem to operate in rendering the Greeks, degraded as they are, industrious beyond any other people living in the same southern latitude.

If the canal of Acræphium was intended for the purpose of draining the Cephissis into the Hylice, it may have formed a part of the works of Crates, undertaken by order of Alexander the Great; and as there is reason to doubt whether it was ever finished, this would agree with the fact, that Crates was obliged to desist from his operations in consequence of the intestine quarrels of the Bœotians. When the Thebans were restored to their city and recovered their authority, they might not be very willing to promote a work which would benefit the people of Acræphium at the expense of their own

dependent district of Hyle, however slightly it might injure the latter, and notwithstanding that many of the Thebans had been indebted to the hospitality of Acræphium, after the destruction of Thebes by Alexander[1]. Soon afterwards the wars, of which Greece became the field and victim, with the generally increasing poverty of the country, were causes sufficient to prevent the undertaking from ever being renewed.

At 3 P. M. quitting Sénzina for Thebes, we descend into the lower plain on the northern side of the lake, and at 3.11, leaving a tower standing on a rocky promontory in the lake, half a mile on the right, cross the lowest part of the plain, where a winter rema from Mount Paleá inundates all the level ground as it meets the water of the lake, which is now gradually rising : at 3.25, at the end of the plain, we mount a rocky height, and at 3.40 descend into a little hollow on the side of a small bay, where on the opposite shore there is an opening in the rocky encasement of the lake, exactly in a line with Thebes. This opening is called the rema of the Kanávri[2], because through it the small river called Kanávri, or Kanavári, which rises near Erimókastro, and which I crossed in approaching Thebes from Livadhía, here enters the lake. We now pass over another rocky height, the continuation of that which we passed on the road to Kókkino, on the evening of the 24th, and descend upon another bay of the lake, from whence there is a passage of only a quarter of an hour over a ridge on the left,

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 23.

[2] *τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ Καναβριοῦ.*

into the plain at the head of the lake Paralímni. At 3.57, having arrived at the end of the second bay, we find the water at the foot of the rocks so deep, that we are obliged to return: from the head of this bay the ground rises gradually, and I observe ancient walls stretching across the valley, and along the slope of the hill to the right. At 4.4 we ascend from the head of the bay, and at 4.13 descend a little, with the village of Morítzi[1] directly before us. The superiority of the level of the plain of Morítzi above the lake Livádhi, is here very apparent.

We now turn to the right, and at 4.22 arrive upon the extreme bay of the Livádhi, where a small rema, coming from the direction of Morítzi, flows into it. We then ascend ten minutes, and arrive in the plain of Morítzi, which, although it is not separated from that of Thebes by any marked ridge, is distinguishable from it by its superior level, and is intersected with low rocky heights or cultivated inequalities of ground, whereas the plain of Thebes is a dead flat. The soil of both seems equally good. Our road continues along the foot of the stony heights which border the lake Livádhi, passes some Hellenic foundations at 4.48, and at 4.50 enters the plain of Thebes, after a descent of several minutes. The road from Morítzi to Thebes, which we here join, enters the plain by an opening in the same bank, which we descended. This opening has an artificial appearance, and as

[1] Properly perhaps *Μαυρίκιος*, which was a common name among the lower Greeks.

the superfluous waters of the plain of Thebes flow through it occasionally after heavy rains, it would seem to have been a work of the ancient Thebans, to drain their plain into the Livádhi, probably by means of the torrent of Morítzi.

At 5 we arrive in a line with the south-eastern extremity of the hills which border that lake, where they approach nearest to Thebes, and having crossed the plain, pass a little below the town through a few ruinous plantations of mulberries and figs, which are irrigated in summer, as well as some cotton grounds near them, by the superfluous waters of the Theban sources, and at 5.46 we arrive at the eastern tower of the castle. Though there has been no great quantity of rain, the plain of Thebes is already well moistened. The soil is a light rich mould, like that of the Thessalian plains, and it often happens here, as in Thessaly, that the harvest is abundant when there is a dearth from the want of rain in other parts of Greece. The angle of the plain at the foot of Mount *Phicium*, which is separated only by a low rocky ridge from the lake *Hylice*, is now inundated to a great extent, as it usually is in the winter. In summer it produces good crops of kalambókki. Pausanias leaves no doubt of its being the extremity of the Teneric plain, having clearly described that plain as situated near the mountain of the Sphinx, and to the right of the temple of the Cabeiri, which stood at a distance of fifty stades from Thespiæ, and about forty from Thebes[1]. Strabo adds, that the Teneric

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 25, 26.

plain was not far from Onchestus[1]; whence he seems to have included under the denomination of *Teneric*, the plain at the foot of Mount Fagá, on the south, where there is now an inundation as well as on the eastern side of that mountain. But his words are not to be taken rigorously, for his observation that Mount Ptoum rose above the Teneric plain, is obviously that of a person not well acquainted with the places: Phicium, or the mountain of the Sphinx, being totally separated from Mount Ptoum by the plains of Hyle and Acræphium. In the Teneric plain stood a large temple of Hercules, surnamed Hippodetus, because he bound the chariot-horses of the Orchomenii, when they had advanced into this plain in their war with the Thebans[2].

I am not aware that there is any allusion to the lake Paralímni in history. Possibly the name is ancient. It is a shallow *stagnum*, more resembling the inundations of the *Teneric* plain than the deep encased basin of the Livádhi, and in summer it is sometimes reduced to small dimensions. The ancient city, of which there are vestiges at its southern extremity, would seem from Strabo to have been either Schœnus, or Peteon, for he places both these towns near the road from Thebes to Anthedon, which is exactly the situation of those ruins. In regard to Peteon, however, he contradicts himself, by attributing it at the same time to the Haliar-

[1] Strabo, p. 413.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 26.

tia [1]; and it may be observed, in favour of Schœnus, that the ruins in question are very nearly at the distance of fifty stades from Thebes, stated by the geographer. On the other hand, he gives us to understand that there was a river flowing through the district of Schœnus, and that both the river and the district still preserved that name [2]. Nicander also attests the existence of a river Schœnus [3], whereas there is no river near the Paralímni. One cannot but suspect, therefore, that the Kanavári, which is in fact the only running stream in this part of Bœotia, except the two rivulets of Thebes, was the ancient Schœnus, and that the town of that name stood on its bank,—notwithstanding the objections that no part of this river is so far as fifty stades from Thebes, or in the route from Thebes to Anthedon, and that Nicander makes his river Schœnus flow to the lake Copais. The last objection, however, is the less important, as the same poet assigns a similar termination to the Cnopus, which, according to his scholiast, was the same as the Ismenus; so that it is very possible that in both instances he confounded the Copais with one of the other lakes. As to the ruins on the shore of the Paralímni, they are per-

[1] Πετεὼν δ' ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Θηβαΐδος ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνθηδόνα ὁδοῦ . . . . . Πετεὼν δὲ τῆς Ἀλιαρτίας καὶ Μεδεὼν καὶ Ὠκαλέα. —Strabo, p. 410.

[2] Σχοῖνος δ' ἐστὶ χώρα τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀνθηδόνος, διέχουσα Θηβῶν ὅσον πεντήκοντα σταδίους· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς δι' αὐτῆς Σχοινοῦς.—Strabo, p. 408.

[3] Nicand. Theriac. v. 887.

haps those of Eleon, the name being well suited to a position on the borders of such a lake, and the arrangement of the towns in the Catalogue giving some reason for presuming that Eleon was not far from Hyle [1].

[1] Vide suprà, p. 305, note 2.

CHAPTER XVI.

BŒOTIA.

From Thebes to Kokhla—*Potniæ*—River *Asopus*—*Platæa*—Fountain Vergutiáni—Kriakúki—*Hysiæ*—Bubúka—Katzúla, *Erythræ*—*Scolus*—*Eteonus*—Fountain *Gargaphia*—Platáni *Monument of Mardonius*—Ancient roads from *Platæa* to *Athens* and *Megara*—*Fountain of Diana* and rock of *Actæon*—*Sphragidium*—On the Battle of Platæa—*Heroum of Androcrates*—*Argiopius*—*The Island*—Siege of Platæa in the Peloponnesian War—Re-establishment of the walls under Cassander—*Heræum*, old and new—Description of Platæa by Pausanias—*Gate of Eleutheræ*.

DEC. 29.—From Thebes to *Platæa*.—Kokhla, a small village, situated near the ruins of *Platæa*, to the south-west, is about eight miles from Thiva, by the road, but the nearest walls of the two ancient cities were not more than six miles and a half apart, and the direct distance was little more than five geographical miles. At half an hour from Thiva the road to Livadhóstra branches off to the right; a little beyond this place stood *Potniæ*, if we may rely upon the imperfect text of Pausanias, from which it appears that Potniæ occurred on the road from Thebes to Platæa, at a distance of ten stades from the gate Electræ in proceeding towards the

Asopus [1]. He seems to add that it stood upon a river, which there is some difficulty in understanding, as the *Asopus* is the only brook between *Platæa* and Thebes, and could not have been the river intended, as its distance was more than twice ten stades from Thebes. The descent from the *Theban* ridge to the *Asopus* is almost imperceptible, as far as a small branch of that river which flows from the *Thespias* along a valley between the heights of Parapúnghi [2] to the southward, and those of Khalkí and Bálitza [3], which last village we leave a mile on the right. The valley below it, which in summer when I last saw it was a dry and cultivated plain, without even a brook in it, is now an extensive inundation. Having passed between Platáni and Pyrgo, each situated on a height at half a mile from the road, we cross, in twenty-seven minutes from the *Thespian* branch of the *Asopus*, the eastern branch of the *Oëroe;* in three minutes more a smaller branch of the same river, which, like the former, is dry, and in another minute the third or principal branch of the *Oëroe*, which originates in the fountain called Vergutiáni, and now contains water, but without any current: six minutes beyond it, occurs a fourth branch, small and without water, and which, rising between the Vergutiáni and Kókhla, follows a hollow just below the eastern walls of *Platæa*. The part of the

[1] Διαβεβηκότι δὲ ἤδη τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως δέκα μάλιστα ἀφεστηκότι σταδίους, Ποτνιῶν ἐστιν ἐρείπια καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλσος Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν (qu. ἐπὶ) τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ παρὰ (qu. παραῤῥέοντι) τὰς Ποτνιάδας θεὰς ὀνομάζουσιν.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 8.

[2] Παραπούγγι.

[3] Χαλκὶ, Μπάλιτζα, or Πάλτζα.

plain intersected by these water-courses is a fertile level, now for the most part covered with corn just above ground. It is not so marshy as the plain of Thebes.

Six minutes beyond the brook last mentioned, are the north-western walls of *Platæa*. The masonry in general, both of the Acropolis and of the town, has the appearance of not being so old as the time of the battle. The greater part is of the fourth order, but mixed with portions of a less regular kind, and with some pieces of polygonal masonry. The Acropolis, if an interior inclosure can be so called, which is not on the highest part of the site, is constructed in part of stones which have evidently been taken from earlier buildings. The towers of this citadel are so formed as to present flanks to the inner as well as to the outer face of the intermediate walls, whereas the town walls have towers like those of the Turks, open to the interior. Above the southern wall of the city are foundations of a third inclosure, which is evidently more ancient than the rest, and is probably the only part as old as the Persian war, when it may have been the Acropolis of the Platæa of that age. It surrounds a rocky height, and terminates to the south in an acute angle, which is only separated by a level of a few yards from the foot of the great rocky slope of *Cithæron*. This inclosure is in a situation higher than any other part of the ancient site, and higher than the village of Kókhla, from which it is five hundred yards distant to the east. Its walls are traceable on the eastern side along

the torrent which I before called the fourth branch of the *Oëroe*, nearly as far as the south-eastern angle of the main inclosure of the city. In a church within this upper inclosure are some fragments of an inscribed marble.

From the upper angle of the ruins I ride in twenty-three minutes, preceded by a man on foot, over the rocky slope of *Cithæron* to the fountain Vergutiáni, and from thence ascend in five minutes to a projecting rock now serving as a shelter for cattle, in the middle of a natural theatre of rocks at the head of a verdant slope above the fountain. Beyond it the mountain rises steep and rugged to one of the summits. Having descended from the fountain into the road which leads from Kokhla eastward to the villages along the mountain side, I cross the branch of the *Oëroe*, which, coming from Thebes, I called the first, and eight minutes farther a hollow, the waters of which form a branch of the *Asopus*; its upper extremity is very near the sources of the easternmost branch of the *Oëroe*. Here, therefore, is exactly the partition of the waters flowing on one side to the sea of *Eubœa*, on the other to the *Corinthiac Gulf*.

The principal sources of the *Asopus* are at a spot just under the village of Kriakúki, where are two trees, a well, and several springs. Though these sources are plentiful and permanent, there is no water now flowing in the bed of the river below them. Having proceeded from hence eastward, and passed several small torrents flowing to the same branch of the *Asopus*, which may be called

the main stream, I cross, at 4.48, the road from Thebes to Mégara by Petrogheráki. The *Asopus*, which from Kriakúki to this place had a course nearly parallel to my route, now turns towards the plain, still continuing to receive some torrents from the mountain. A little beyond the great road I observe, on the foot of the mountain, a great quantity of loose stones in the fields, together with some traces of ancient walls, and the mouth of a well or cistern, of Hellenic construction, now filled up. The situation agrees exactly with that of *Hysiæ*, where, in the time of Pausanias, there remained an unfinished temple of Apollo and a sacred well [1]. At 5 we pass a fountain at the foot of *Cithæron*, surrounded with large blocks like that of Vergutiáni. At 5.3 cross a hollow descending to the *Asopus*, and at 5.11 arrive at Bubúka [2], situated under the steep slope of the mountain, on the western side of a ravine in which another torrent descends to unite its waters with the rivulet of Kriakúki, just above the union of the latter with the *Asopus*.

Dec. 30.—On the summit above Bubúka are the ruins of a village named Alexópulo, where a small church still remains; after visiting this place I cross the ravine to Katzúla, which, like Bubúka and many other small villages in the *Parasopia*, are Ziaméts or Timárs [3], more commonly in

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 2.

[2] Μπουμπούκα.

[3] The Turks have borrowed this word from the Greek τιμάριον, which was the name of the same kind of feudal tenure under the Byzantine Greeks.

Greece called Spahilíks, belonging to Turks of 'Egripo, and consist, in general, of a few huts which form a quadrangle. They are usually estimated by the number of zevgária of oxen which they employ; four oxen being reckoned to a zevgári. Bubúka and Katzúla have each ten houses, with a pyrgo for the Spahí; few of them are so large, and some of them have only three or four houses.

At Katzúla observing a circular inclosure of loose stones, having two nicely squared ancient blocks within it, one in the centre of the circle, the other near the circumference, and enquiring the use of this structure I find that it is called a church, and that the stone near the circumference is the altar. It is common among the Greeks when they are unable to rebuild or repair their ruined churches, to preserve the vestiges of them as sacred relics, occasionally to perform mass in them, or at least to repeat a prayer and to burn incense on the altar, which is often nothing more than a wrought block of stone from some ancient ruin, but I have never before seen such a mere symbol of a church as this, the diameter of the circle being only eight feet. The part of *Cithæron* above Katzúla on the right is not very high, and there is verdure among the rocks, where goats and sheep are fed. The situation is called Gávnitza, and upon it are the remains of a ruined village named Paleó Ghélissi [1].

[1] Καύνιτζα or Γκαύνιτζα, Γέλισσι.

To the eastward of Katzúla on the foot of the rocks, are some foundations of Hellenic walls, together with a church containing a Doric column and its capital. These remains are sufficient to mark the site of Erythræ, its position as well as that of Hysiæ, having been exactly described by Herodotus, Thucydides, Euripides, Strabo and Pausanias [1]. That the eastern of the two positions was Erythræ and the western Hysiæ, might be presumed from Pausanias, who in entering Bœotia from Attica, states that they were both in the Platæis upon Mount Cithæron, and names Hysiæ the first [2]. But Herodotus leaves no doubt on this question, by first informing us that the camp of Mardonius extended along the Asopus from the Erythræa beyond Hysiæ as far as the land of Platæa, and then that the Greeks who had been encamped at Erythræ opposite to Mardonius, moved by Hysiæ into the Platæis [3]. Erythræ appears to have attained to great population in very early times, for Erythræ in Ionia was said to have been its colony [4]. With the increase of Athens and Thebes, it was probably reduced, like all the surrounding places, to comparative insignificance. Erythræ was noted among the Athenians for its vineyards, to which the

[1] Herodot. l. 5, c. 74.—l. 6, c. 108.—l. 9, c. 15, 25. Thucyd. l. 3, c. 24. Eurip. Bacch. v. 478. Strabo, p. 404. Pausan. Bœot. c. 2.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 2.

[3] Herodot. l. 9, c. 15, 25.

[4] Strabo, p. 404.

have seen, is confirmed by Pausanias, at least with reference to Erythræ. And hence we may infer, the Asopus in the time of the latter author having been the boundary between the Platæis and Thebæa [1], that Eteonus was to the right of that river. As Erythræ and Hysiæ occupied the Parasopia westward of Scolus, Eteonus probably stood between Scolus and the frontier of the *Tanagrice*, which latter district is naturally separated from the *Parasopia* by the approach of the *Cithæronian* range to that of Soró, forming a rocky gorge which begins about two miles beyond Tarimári, and through which the *Asopus* finds its way into the plain of *Tanagra*. The epithet πολύκνημος applied to Eteonus [2] by Homer, would be well adapted to a place situated near such a defile. The *Asopus* in the ravine of *Eteonus* winds to the left, and then to the right, and at the end of two miles emerges in the plain of *Tanagra*, after crossing which it traverses another rocky strait in the branches of Mount *Parnes*, and enters the maritime plain of *Oropus*.

Having returned to Bubúka I proceed to Platáni, passing over ploughed heights intersected by three branches of the *Asopus*, all which are nearly equal in size. The last has its origin in a fountain which I examined on my former visit, and found even in that dry season as well supplied with water as the Vergutiáni. It is incased, like that source,

[1] Ἀποκρίνει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὁ Ἀσωπός. — Pausan. Bœot. ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίων τὴν Πλαταιΐδα c. 4.

[2] Σχοῖνόν τε, Σκῶλόν τε, πολύκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν. Il. β. v. 497.—V. et Eustath. ibid.

in an artificial basin covered with squared stones of ancient fabric. This I take to be the Gargaphia of Herodotus. In the wall of a ruined tower situated below the supposed site of Hysiæ, I remarked several stones which have been employed in ancient buildings, and the fields around are spread with fragments of Hellenic pottery.

Just below Platáni to the south, are the sources of a water-course, which after making a circuit at the foot of the hill of Platáni follows the road from Thebes to Kokhla for some distance, and then joins the *Thespian* branch of the *Asopus*, just above a bridge in the road. From thence I cross the branches of the *Oëroe* to Vergutiáni, and return by a lower route than that of yesterday to the same point at the southern angle of *Platæa* from whence I set out yesterday on this little tour, the object of which has been to visit some parts of the *Platæis*, not properly examined on my former journey, to ascertain the sites of Hysiæ and Erythræ, to trace the courses of the several branches of the Asopus and Oëroe, and to notice the principal springs of the Platæis with a view of identifying the Gargaphia. If this be the fountain just indicated about midway between Kriakúki and Platáni, it is probable that Vergutiáni is the fountain of *Diana*, where Actæon was said to have seen the Goddess bathing, and that the rock which I have described above the fountain, was that on which Actæon was reported to have been in the habit of reposing when fatigued with the chace. Pausanias, after returning from Hysiæ into the road leading from Eleutheræ to Platæa, describes the monument of Mardonius

as being on the right hand side of that road, and immediately afterwards states that there was a road from Megara to Platæa, on the right of which were the fountain of Diana and the rock of Actæon [1]. Thus it is evident that the road from Platæa to Megara was different from that leading from Platæa to Eleutheræ; and we find the same distinction in Xenophon, who states that Cleombrotus, marching from the Peloponnesus into Bœotia, avoided the Pass of Eleutheræ, which was in possession of an Athenian force under Chabrias, and mounted by the road which led to Platæa [2]. If then the road from *Eleutheræ* descended by the modern Dervéni leading from the *Isthmus* to Thebes, and about Kriakúki turned towards *Platæa*, as seems to be its natural course, that from *Megara* probably descended the face of the mountain obliquely at a considerable elevation, where it would pass very near the fountain Vergutiáni.

Immediately opposite to the southern angle of the walls of *Platæa* on the steep rocky rise of the mountain, which is here separated only by a narrow level from the ancient site, is a cavern 30 feet in length, 10 wide, and 4 high. Before it there is a little verdant level, surrounded and overhung by rugged rocks. The beauty of the spot would tempt one to believe it to have been the cavern sacred to the Nymphs of Cithæron, called the Sphragitides, which once contained an

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 2.

[2] Καὶ τὴν μὲν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν.—Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 4.

oracle of the Nymphs, and was noted for Nympholepsy. But the testimony of Plutarch and Pausanias is positive in placing that cavern on the north-western side of one of the summits, and at a distance of only 15 stades below it[1], consequently much higher in the mountain, and having a different aspect. On the same summit there was an altar for the celebration of the lesser Dædala, which was a festival instituted by all the people of Bœotia in commemoration of their reconciliation and alliance with Platæa, after the restoration of Thebes and Platæa, by Cassander. As there are two summits of Cithæron equally conspicuous, a circumstance explaining the words *μίᾳ κορυφῇ*, in Plutarch, it is not easy to determine on which we ought to seek for the altar or the cavern, though probability seems to incline towards that which is nearest to Platæa.

In order to justify the ancient names in the plan of the Platæis, which accompanies the present volume, and the positions which are there assigned to the contending forces in the great military operations which terminated the Persian war, little more will be necessary than to describe succinctly the events immediately preceding the

[1] *τὸ τῶν Σφραγιτίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐν μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνός ἐστιν εἰς δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερινὰς τετραμμένον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν πρότερον, ὥς φασι, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὓς Νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον.* — Plutarch. in Aristid.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς, ἐφ' ᾗ τὸν βωμὸν ποιοῦνται, πέντε που μάλιστα καὶ δέκα ὑποκαταβάντι σταδίους, νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἄντρον Κιθαιρωνίδων Σφραγίδιον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 3.

battle, and the circumstances of the action itself, both extracted almost entirely from the contemporary historian [1].

Xerxes had not been many days in possession of Athens, the chief object of his armament, when he was an eye-witness of the utter defeat and dispersion of his fleet, and found himself under the necessity of returning immediately to Persia. He was advised at the same time to leave three hundred thousand men in Greece; with these Mardonius undertook to complete the conquest of the country; but as the approaching season was unfavourable to military operations, (the battle of Salamis having been fought in October,) it was resolved that Mardonius should pass the winter in Thessaly and Macedonia, which were much more capable of supplying the wants of an army than the provinces within Mount Œta. While Xerxes was in Thessaly on his retreat, Mardonius made choice of the troops who were to remain with him. They consisted of all the immortals, except their commander Hydarnes, who refused to be separated from the king, of the Persian thoracepheri, or cuirassiers, and of all the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians, both horse and foot, with a selection from the other allies. Sixty thousand of these men, under Artabazus, served as a body guard to Xerxes in his march to the Hellespont, where he arrived with scarcely any other forces, so great had been the numbers left sick in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Pæonia, or who had perished on the way from hunger, plague, and

[1] Herodot. l. 8, c. 113. 126, et seq.; l. 9, c. 1, et seq.

dysentery. Artabazus on his return employed the remainder of the winter in reducing the revolted cities of Pallene, and was detained no less than three months in the siege of Potidæa, where he lost a considerable portion of his troops by the effects of a sudden inundation of the sea.

Mardonius did not advance from Thessaly until he had consulted some of the oracles of Greece, and until he had learnt the event of an embassy to Athens, the object of which was to induce the Athenians to make a separate peace. The oracular replies he considered favourable; and those of Thessaly and Bœotia were probably intended to be so by the priests, but Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was charged with his message to the Athenians, could make no impression upon a people whose city and villages were in ruins,—whose families, having taken refuge in the neighbouring Peloponnesian cities, became a surety in their hands for the fidelity of Athens to the general cause, and whose government in Salamis was beyond the reach of the Persians. So powerful were these motives, and so unbroken the public spirit of the Athenians, that when he again took possession of Athens, he found the people as determined as ever to resist his menaces and his offers. Deprived of the Persian fleet, he could not long remain in such an exhausted country; as soon as he was informed therefore by the Argives that the Peloponnesians were moving towards the Isthmus, he completed the destruction of Athens and returned into Bœotia, which afforded greater means of subsistence, a country better suited to the operations of

his cavalry, and where he was surrounded by a friendly or submissive people. The Bœotians had endeavoured to dissuade him from marching to Athens and to assure him, that by bribing some of the leading men in the several cities, he might create a division among the Greeks, and at length overcome all those who should resist him. But Mardonius, according to the historian, was determined to gratify his vanity by a second capture of that city, although now empty and in ruins, and to have the pleasure of communicating the event to Xerxes at Sardes by fire-signals at night on the intermediate islands of the Ægæan [1].

If the Persian war produced some of the finest examples of human virtue which history affords, there is no period in which the Greeks have at the same time more strongly exhibited their characteristic selfishness, jealousy, and the want of general patriotism. It was chiefly the fear of an alliance between the Persians and Athenians, and of an attack upon the Laconic shores by their united fleet, that induced the Lacedæmonians to fight in company with the Athenians at Salamis. The same apprehensions made them diligent in endeavouring to counteract the efforts of Alexander, to produce a separate peace between the Persians and Athenians; but no sooner had their anxiety upon this head been relieved, than, regardless of the entreaties of the Athenians, who

[1] The following stations would be sufficient for this purpose: — Mount *Hymettus*, Zia, Syra, Mýkono, Nikaría, Samo, Mount *Gallesus* and Mount *Tmolus*.

proposed that the Lacedæmonian army should unite with theirs, and fight the enemy in the Thriasian plain, at their entrance into Attica, they delayed until that province was once more overrun and despoiled, and were not at length prevailed upon to march until after some evasions and delays. Herodotus ascribes this conduct to the completion of the wall across the Isthmus, which was begun a little after the battle of Thermopylæ, but was not yet finished when Alexander arrived at Athens on his embassy; nor were the Lacedæmonians, according to the same historian, at last moved to activity, but by the conviction that even the fortified Isthmus would little avail them, if the Athenians should be under the necessity of accepting the Persian proposals.

Mardonius, on his march from Athens towards Bœotia, received intelligence that 1000 Lacedæmonians had arrived in the Megaris, upon which he made a retrograde movement to intercept them, and his cavalry overspread the Megaris[1]; but as soon as he heard that the rest of the Peloponnesian army had arrived at the Isthmus, he continued his route into Bœotia by Deceleia and Sphendaleæ to Tanagra. Here he passed a night: then took the direction of Scolus, entered the Theban territory,

[1] This was the most western point in Europe, says Herodotus, which the Persian army reached (ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἠλίου δύνοντος, l. 9, c. 14.) though they had been as far as Delphi in the preceding year;—an instance of the inaccuracy of the ancient authors, as to *bearings*, and a proof of their defective geography.

and encamped along the left bank of the Asopus, his line extending from over-against Erythræ [1], as far as the Platæis. In the midst of it he caused to be erected a wooden fortification, flanked with towers, and inclosing a square of eight stades; and in providing this place of refuge in case of disaster, was under the necessity of injuring the lands of the Thebans, although they were his friends [2]. The Grecian allies by whom Mardonius was here joined, are vaguely computed by Herodotus at 50,000. In the motives of the alliance of some of them we have again some curious examples of the power of that neighbourly jealousy and hostility which are a part of the Greek character. Platæa and Thespiæ were inimical to Thebes, and therefore allied with Athens; it was chiefly from a hatred to Athens that Thebes became the most zealous supporter of the Persian cause against the common interests of Greece; and the opposition of Sparta to the Persians made Argos favourable to them, though the situation of the latter was such as rendered it incapable of affording the Persians much assistance. Of all the auxiliaries, the Phocians joined Mardonius with the greatest unwillingness; the others had accompanied him to Athens,

[1] *παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς· κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιΐδα γῆν παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον.* —c. 15.

Herodotus does not here say, "over-against," but he afterwards tells us that the Greeks at Erythræ, on the roots of Cithæron, were drawn up opposite to (*ἀντετάσσοντο*) the Persians on the Asopus (*ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*).—c. 19.

[2] *καίπερ μηδιζόντων.*—c. 15.

but it was not until he returned to Thebes that the Phocians joined him. Out of hatred to this people the Thessalians had prevailed upon Xerxes in the preceding year to destroy all the accessible parts of Phocis, and had obliged the Phocians to retire to the heights of Mount Parnassus, from whence they assisted the Greek confederates by excursions against the Persians and their allies; but now their country being at the mercy of the enemy, and surrounded by medizing Greeks, they sent 1000 men to the Persian camp, who, having been accused, as it would appear, by the Thessalians, either of cowardice or treachery, were not received until they had undergone the proof of standing an attack from the Persian cavalry, which seems from Herodotus to have been something more than a mere feint.

The Lacedæmonians were joined at the Isthmus by the other Peloponnesians, and the sacrifices having been found auspicious, the army advanced to Eleusis. Here the appearances of the victims having again been favourable, they moved forward together with the Athenians, under the command of Aristides, who had joined them from Salamis, and proceeded to Erythræ, where the position of the combined forces stretched along the roots of Mount Cithæron, opposite to the camp of the Barbarians, on the Asopus. Mardonius perceiving that the Greeks did not descend into the plain, sent against them all his cavalry under the command of Masistius, who was esteemed the second man in the Persian army. The Megarenses,

who were in the most exposed part of the Greek line, finding themselves unequal to withstand the attack, were obliged to call for succour, when the only volunteers to relieve them were a body of 300 select Athenians, under Olympiodorus, accompanied by a body of archers. The latter, by wounding the horse of Masistius, caused the rider to fall, when he was slain by the Athenians. His followers endeavoured to recover the body, but all the Greek infantry moving to the assistance of Olympiodorus, the enemy retreated. The body of Masistius carried through the camp of the Greeks animated them with the best hopes, while all Bœotia re-echoed to the sound of the enemy's lamentations, who in token of mourning cut off their beards, and the manes of the horses and beasts of burthen. This was the only important occurrence in the first position of the two armies.

The Greeks now came to the determination of descending into the territory of Platæa, as being more convenient for encamping than that of Erythræ, because among other reasons it was better supplied with water[1]. In fact, the Platæis being situated at the foot of a high mountain, and at the sources of many rivulets, can never be totally deficient in water[2]. The Greeks at Erythræ,

[1] *τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος.* —c. 25.

[2] Besides this great convenience, the position of Platæa has other obvious advantages both relative and peculiar, which cannot but often render it a desirable position for an encampment.

therefore, taking up their arms, moved along the roots of Mount Cithæron, and passed by Hysiæ into the Platæis, having entered which they drew up in order according to their respective nations [1], partly upon hills of no great height, and partly upon a level plain [2], near the fountain Gargaphia, and the temenus of one of the archagetæ, or ancient heroes of Platæa, named Androcrates [3]. As the position of this heroum is shown by Thucydides to have been on the right hand of the road from Platæa to Thebes, about a mile distant from the city [4], and as a part of the Greek position was in the plain, it is evident that the *Gargaphia* could not have been either the fountain Vergutiáni, or that at Kriakúki.

By ancient custom and the consent of all Greece, the Lacedæmonians had the post of honour on the right, and their king Pausanias the command (though not, as it appears by the sequel, a very absolute command) of the whole army. After a contest between the Athenians and the Tegeatæ for the left, the Lacedæmonians awarded to the former that second place of honour; the Tegeatæ took post on the left of the Lacedæmonians, and the other nations occupied the centre. The entire force was 110,000, in the proportions and drawn up in the order from right to left stated below [1].

[1] *κατὰ ἔθνεα.*—c. 25.

[2] *διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐχ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.*—c. 26.

[3] V. et Plutarch. in Arist.

[4] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 24.

[5] Hoplitæ of Sparta 5000; Laconia 5000; Tegea 1500; Corinth 5000; Potidæa 300;

Their position is described by the historian as being ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ, (on the Asopus,) and as it appears from the subsequent part of his narrative, that the Persians followed the movement of the Greeks along the river, there could only have been a small space on either bank between the hostile armies. The fountain Gargaphia was in the part of the line occupied by the Lacedæmonians, or towards the right: the other Greeks watered from the Asopus until they were prevented by the Persian cavalry, to whom it appears that the Greeks had no cavalry whatever to oppose, not even an escort for the security of their convoys and reinforcements in crossing Mount Cithæron. Nevertheless, the Persians derived little benefit from this superiority, but showed a supineness and want of enterprize similar to that exhibited by the army of Datis, when it was opposed for ten days to a handful of Athenians at Marathon. It was not until the end of eight days that Mardonius was persuaded by a Theban to send a body of horse to the pass of Mount Cithæron, called

Orchomenus of Arcadia 600; Sicyon 3000; Epidaurus 800; Trœzen 1000; Lepreum 200; Mycenæ and Tiryns 400; Phlius 1000; Hermione 300; Eretria and Styris of Eubœa 600; Chalcis of Eubœa 400; Ambracia 500; Leucas and Anactorium 800; Paleia of Cephallenia 200; Ægina 500; Megara 3000; Platæa 600; Athens 8000. Amount of Hoplitæ 38,700: light-armed Helots, seven to each Spartan 35,000: other light-armed 34,500: Thespienses 1800. Amount of light-armed 71,300. Total of the Greek army 110,000.

by the Athenians the Oak-heads [1], and by the Bœotians the Three-heads [2]. Here they intercepted a convoy of 500 beasts of burthen, entering the plains, and killed the greater part of both men and cattle.

On the eleventh day, Mardonius, finding that the Greeks were daily increasing in number, resolved upon attacking them on the following day, regardless of the advice of Artabazus, supported by that of the Thebans, who recommended him to retire to Thebes, where his provisions, which began to fail, might be supplied; and from whence, protracting the war, he might, by means of the bullion, coin, and plate, which he possessed in great quantity, endeavour to gain over the leading Greeks to his party. The advice appears to have been good; for on the one hand the cavalry of Mardonius gave him the command of supplies, and the power of intercepting those of the Greeks as well as the means of distressing them by continual attacks, while, on the other hand, he had everything to fear from a close contest with an infantry compared with whom his own were but as light-armed [3]. It was probably in conformity with these opinions, that the Greek priests on the side of Mardonius had augured success to him, if he remained on the defensive, while Tisamenus, who accompanied the Spartans, probably from a similar view of the interests of his employers, promised

[1] Δρυοσκεφάλαι.
[2] Τρεῖς Κεφάλαι.
[3] ἥνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες, c. 62. πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, c. 63.

victory to the Greeks, provided they abstained from crossing the Asopus, and awaited the attack. Mardonius, however, declared his determination to disregard every thing but the laws of the Persians, which enjoined them to engage the enemy, and thenceforth no one dared give utterance to an opinion contrary to that of the man to whom Xerxes had delegated his absolute power.

In the intervening night, Alexander, king of Macedonia, secretly visited the camp of the Athenians, and informed the commanders of the intentions of Mardonius, as well as of the approaching failure of his provisions; upon which Pausanias requested the Athenians to change places with the Lacedæmonians, on the plea that the latter were unacquainted with the Persian mode of fighting, whereas the Athenians had successfully opposed that people at Marathon; for Mardonius had placed the Persæ, as being his best troops, opposite to the Lacedæmonians, and had opposed to the Athenians and to the Platæenses and Megarenses, who were next to the Athenians on the left, the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Bœotians. But the Bœotians, having quickly discovered the change, and reported it to Mardonius, he restored the Persæ to their position in the left wing, and sent an insulting message to the Lacedæmonians, who had returned to their original post, with a proposal for a battle between an equal number of Persians and Lacedæmonians. No reply having been given to his challenge, he ordered an attack upon the Gre-

cian line by his cavalry, who not only annoyed extremely the hoplitæ by their javelins and arrows, but succeeded at length in obtaining possession of the fountain Gargaphia, and in rendering it useless; and thus the Greeks, having already been driven by the enemy's cavalry from the Asopus, found themselves distressed for water. They began also to be in want of other provisions, their convoys being blockaded by the enemy in Cithæron, and unable to cross the mountain. The Greek commanders, having been assembled by Pausanias in the right wing, to consult upon these difficulties, it was resolved, that if the Persians should not come to action with their infantry that day, (for as yet the cavalry only had attacked,) the Greeks about midnight should retreat into a plain in front of the city of Platæa called the Island, where two branches of the river Oëroe, after flowing for some distance, with an interval of three stades between them, united, and formed one stream. This place was ten stades distant from Gargaphia, and from the position of the Greeks on the Asopus. The council also determined that half the army should be detached from the Island during the same night to Mount Cithæron, to open the passage for the camp followers[1] who had been sent to the Peloponnesus for provisions. During the remainder of the day, however, the Greeks continued to suffer so much from the enemy's cavalry, that when the movement took place at night, none but the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ on the right, and the Athenians on the left, continued resolute in the

[1] *οἱ ὀπέωνες.*—c. 50, 51.

intention of marching into the island; the Greeks of the center, who perhaps with reason suspected that they should not long be secure from the hostile cavalry in the island, retreating as far as a temple of Juno, which was twenty stades distant from Gargaphia, near the city of Platæa. The Athenians, desirous of ascertaining whether the Lacedæmonians had begun to move, sent a messenger to the right of the camp, who found Pausanias detained by an unexpected difficulty. Amompharetus, the lochagus of the Pitanatæ, refused to disgrace Sparta, as he termed it, by retreating before the enemy; and he persisted so obstinately in his determination, that day-light found the two wings of the Greek army in the position of the preceding day, but separated from each other by the whole interval left by the other Greeks, who were now at a distance of two or three miles in the rear. Pausanias, convinced that the enemy would soon take advantage of this state of things, and judging that Amompharetus would not long remain after his departure, retired with the main body of the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeatæ along the heights and the base of Mount Cithæron[1], thereby avoiding the enemy's cavalry; while the Athenians proceeded through the plain, in the direction of Platæa. At the end of ten stades Pausanias halted on the bank of the Moloeis, at a place called Argiopius, where stood a temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and was joined there by Amompharetus.

[1] *τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.*—c. 56.

The Persian cavalry meantime, on perceiving that the Greeks had abandoned their position, pursued and harassed them on every side, while Mardonius, recollecting the pains which the Lacedæmonians had taken to avoid the troops opposed to them on the preceding day, and supposing that they no longer intended to fight, crossed the Asopus with all his army, who advanced in the most disorderly manner, shouting as if about to gain an easy victory, with which Mardonius himself was the more impressed, as the Tegeatæ and Lacedæmonians only were visible, the Athenians in the plain being concealed by some heights, and the other Greeks being still more distant.

Pausanias having dispatched a horseman to the Athenians to require their aid, or, if they should be too much pressed by the enemy, at least that of their archers; the Athenians began to move to their right, but were so much exposed to the attacks of the auxiliary Greeks on the Persian right, that they were unable to give the Lacedæmonians any assistance whatever. Pausanias was obliged, therefore, to prepare for resisting all the efforts of Mardonius with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ alone, amounting to 53,000, of whom little more than a third were hoplitæ. At first, the appearance of the victims was declared unfavourable, and the Greeks consequently remained inactive, suffering severely from the missiles of the Persians, discharged from behind a breastwork of shields[1]; but

[1] φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα, c. 61. In like manner at Mycale, in the action on shore fought on the same day as that of Platæa, the

at length Pausanias, having turned his eyes towards the temple of Juno, and invoked the assistance of the goddess, which was immediately followed by a favourable report of the victims, the Lacedæmonians advanced to the attack, though not until the Tegeatæ, who had not waited for similar auspices, had already set the example. The action now became close and general, first at the breastwork of shields, and afterwards at the Eleusinium in Argiopius. The Persians were not inferior to their adversaries in valour, and such was their strength and resolution, that many seized upon the spears of the Greeks with their hands and broke them in pieces; but not being protected by such defensive armour as that of the hoplitæ, being unused to the Greek mode of fighting, and being inferior in discipline and formation, their valour was of little avail [1]; and as they rushed forward, either singly or in small bodies, they were slain by the Spartans.

Wherever Mardonius appeared, mounted upon a white horse, and surrounded by his select body of cavalry of 1000 Persæ, they sustained the attack of the Lacedæmonians and slew many of them; but when he fell by the hand of the Spartan Aëimnestus, and his body-guard was defeated, the rest gave way before the Spartans and fled, having little chance with their unarmed dresses and irre-

Persians made a rampart of shields: *συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναί σφι.*—Herodot. l. 9, c. 99.

[1] *λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἔσσονες ἔσαν οἱ Πέρσαι· ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἔσαν, καὶ οὐκ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην.*—c. 62.

gular order against men covered with armour, and formed into an inseparable phalanx. "And thus," adds Herodotus, "Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, gained the most splendid victory I have ever heard of." Meantime the Athenians, with their comrades of Platæa and Thespiæ, had defeated the Bœotians, had slain 300 Thebans, and had obliged the remainder to retreat to Thebes.

When the Greeks at the Heræum heard that the battle was gained, they proceeded in a disorderly manner towards Argiopius. The Corinthians marched by the heights directly to the Eleusinium, and reached it in safety, but the Megarenses and Phliasii having followed the better road through the plain, were attacked by the Theban cavalry, lost 600 men, and were pursued to Cithæron.

Artabazus, who had previously given orders to the 40,000 men whom he commanded, waited only to be assured of the result which he expected from the rashness of Mardonius, when he marched off from the field of battle towards Phocis, and continuing his route to the northward with all possible celerity, preceded every where the news of the victory, and thus arrived at Byzantium, though not without having sustained considerable loss from famine, fatigue, and hostile Thracians. When the Persæ began to retreat, great numbers of the army, who usually looked to them for example, fled without ever having been engaged and were slain by the Greeks, who would have effected a much greater slaughter had not the fugitives been protected by the cavalry. Of the Greek auxiliaries on

the side of the Persians, the Bœotians alone fought in earnest, but particularly the Thebans, three hundred of whose best men were slain by the Athenians.

The Persians had only entered the wooden fortress, mounted the towers, and made some preparations for defence, when the Lacedæmonians arrived. But these being unskilled in the attack of fortified places, made little progress until they had the assistance of the Athenians. After a long and obstinate contest, a part of the wall was thrown down, and the Tegeatæ had the honour of being the first to enter. The barbarians then made no further effort, but allowed themselves to be killed without resistance. Out of the original 300,000 there escaped, besides the 40,000 of Artabazus, not more than 3000, who were said to have been slain in their passage through Macedonia, by order of Perdiccas the son of king Alexander[1].

The spoil which fell to the share of the conquerors was immense. Besides the rich tents and their furniture, the clothing and arms of the slain, there was a profusion of utensils of gold and silver, as well as of the precious metals both in coin and bullion: so numerous in particular were the gold Darics, that they became for a long period afterwards one of the current coins of Greece, and are still often found in this country. From the tenth of the spoil, dedicated to the gods, were formed the golden tripod of Delphi, supported by three

[1] Demosth. Orat. *περὶ συντάξεως*, p. 167. In Aristocr. p. 687. Reiske.

twisted serpents of brass [1], a brazen Jupiter fifteen feet in height at Olympia, and a brazen Neptune ten feet high at the Isthmus. Some presents were made, beyond their share, to those who distinguished themselves [2]. The remainder was divided among the conquerors. To Pausanias was assigned a tenth of every thing: women, horses, camels, gold and silver. The Tegeatæ, who were the first to enter the tent of Mardonius, carried off the brazen manger of his horses, and placed it in the temple of Minerva Alea, at Tegea; the Athenians obtained his silver-footed chair, and his scimetar, valued at 300 darics, which they dedicated in the temple of Minerva Polias in the Acropolis [3]. On the side of the Greeks there fell only ninety-one Lacedæmonians, sixteen Tegeatæ, and fifty-two Athenians. As Herodotus particularly specifies, that these Lacedæmonians were Spartans, it appears that the numbers indicate the loss of the hoplitæ only, and that he has omitted to notice, or was not informed, how many of the light-armed fell.

It is scarcely worth while to advert to the particulars in which the other ancient authors, who have related this great event, differ from Herodotus: Diodorus and Plutarch lived so long afterwards that they cannot have much weight against

[1] Supposed with great reason to be that of which a part of the brass support remained, not many years ago, and perhaps still remains in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

[2] Herodotus believed so, but could not learn any particulars of these gifts:—*ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτέων ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδύθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι.*—c. 81.

[3] Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 741. Pausan. Attic. c. 27.

the testimony of the contemporary historian; the former, however, does not deviate from it in any important point, and the contradictions of the latter are undeserving of much respect, as being those of a Bœotian angry with Herodotus for having spoken freely of the disgraceful conduct of his conntrymen, and thinking no mode of exculpation so effectual as that of throwing general discredit upon the historian's accuracy. But impartiality and an anxiety for the truth are conspicuous in the narrative of Herodotus. Although he was by no means an admirer of the Lacedæmonians, and accuses them of habitual deceit and perfidy, both his facts and his sentiments give the chief glory of the day to the 10,000 Lacedæmonians and their comrades the Tegeatæ, nor could the admirable conduct of Pausanias have received so fine a panegyric from the most laboured oratory, as it has from the simple language of the historian.

It has been doubted by some travellers who have visited the Platæis, whether so great a number of men as Herodotus has mentioned, could have manœuvred and fought on so small a field, and hence they have suspected some error or exaggeration on the part of the historian. It certainly appears possible, on considering how reluctantly some of the Greeks advanced into Bœotia, how ill others behaved in the field, and that the reinforcements were continuing to arrive at the Greek camp up to the very eve of the battle, that the amount of the several contingents stated by Herodotus, may rather have been that which each city engaged to send, than those actually present, and that in many in-

stances there may have been deficiencies. As to the light troops, more than half of whom were composed of Helotes, attending upon the Spartans in the proportion of seven to one, we are too little acquainted with the details of Spartan discipline to know whether there was any accurate muster of this force, or whether their attendance depended upon the individual Spartans whom they served, for upon this must have greatly depended their complement in the field: whether complete or not, it appears, at least, that they were in little estimation as light troops [1], the Lacedæmonians having been urgent in requesting the assistance of the Athenian bowmen at Argiopius. Similar suspicions may attach to the numbers of the light-armed of the Greek centre. As to the most efficient part of the army, however, the Lacedæmonian and Athenian hoplitæ, and those who fought with them, they fully amounted, as there is every reason to believe, to the numbers stated by Herodotus, so that it cannot be supposed that fewer than 30,000 hoplitæ were assembled, nor less than double the number of light troops. For such an army the space was amply sufficient in each of the three positions which they occupied. In the first and second the front was about three miles in length, with an indefinite space in the rear. On the day of battle the hoplitæ formed three separate bodies, two of these had each a mile for their front, and there was nearly a square league of ground to contain all the light troops, together

[1] Yet Herodotus says they were trained to war: παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον. πᾶς τις — l. 9, c. 29.

with those hoplitæ who had formed the centre of the Greek line in their second position, and who in the third were in the rear near the Heræum. The right, consisting of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, amounted to 11,500 hoplitæ; such a body drawn up in the space of a mile, which was about the extent of the position, with a breadth of three feet to each man[1], would have had about seven in file, a depth which, although very small compared with that of the phalanx when military science was at its height among the Greeks[2], was perhaps as great as was then customary. The left wing, composed of the Athenians and their comrades, amounted to about 16,000, including light armed, but their duty having been chiefly to resist cavalry, they were probably formed into a close phalanx, and occupied very little ground. As to the enemy's force, the estimate of Herodotus has evidently no pretensions to accuracy, for though he conjectures the Greek auxiliaries to have amounted to 50,000, he admits that their real amount was unknown[3]; and in reckoning the Persians at 300,000[4], he seems to have merely adopted the maximum of the army of Mardonius, as nominated by Xerxes ten months before, having been unwilling perhaps to question the accuracy of the tradition which had

[1] At Marathon about the same number of the hoplitæ of Athens and Platæa occupied, together with their light troops, a front of two miles; but this was from necessity, and we are told that their centre was very weak.

[2] Polyb. l. 18, c. 12.

[3] *τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἵδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν*.—Herodot. l. 9, c. 32.

[4] c. 32, 70.

been sanctioned by the lapse of twenty years, and to which the Greeks, for the sake of their own glory, had readily given credit. The historian has not hinted at any recruiting from Asia for the purpose of supplying either the ordinary waste in the army of Mardonius, or that diminution of 20,000, which he shows to have taken place in the division of Artabazus, in the course of its march to the Hellespont, and in the subsequent operations in Thrace. But with every allowance for such deductions, it is difficult to believe that the Persian army on the Asopus was not two or three times as numerous as that of the Greeks, independently of its followers. Even on the supposition however that they were three to one, there was sufficient space for them in the Platæis, as none but the choicest infantry were immediately opposed to the Greeks, and the cavalry, as well as the light armed, on both sides may have been spread over a space of 12 or 14 square miles. Even in modern warfare, in which the greater range of missiles has created an order of battle much less deep than among the ancients, examples might be found of fields of battle as small, in proportion to the numbers, as that of Platæa [1].

Another point in the narrative of Herodotus which may present at first sight some difficulty to a person who views the scene of action at Platæa, is the word *νῆσος* [2], there being no island, properly

[1] At Borodino 250,000 men fought for fifteen hours within the space of little more than a square league.

[2] *ἔδοξε . . . . . ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι· ἡ δέ ἐστι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ*

so called, in front of Platæa or in any part of the Platæis. The place which Herodotus so accurately indicates as being before the city, at a distance of ten stades from the Asopus as well as from Gargaphia, is nothing more than a level meadow intersected by several brooks uniting into one stream. But this is probably all that the historian meant by an island. His description of it as formed by two streams which were separated from one another in Mount Cithæron, and were afterwards united, is entirely conformable to present appearances. If he had intended a real island, it would not have been necessary for him to make any mention of the two branches in Mount Cithæron, since the separation of the waters of a single stream, and their reunion, would have been sufficient to form the island. It is easy to imagine that the Platæenses may have distinguished this part of their plain by the name of Island, although it was in reality no more than a peninsula. The ambiguity of this passage has not been diminished by the translators of Herodotus [1], who, by referring the word οἱ to νῆσος instead of to

οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσονπερ τρία στάδια καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὠυτό· οὔνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη. θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. Ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ, καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μὴ σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων. μετακινέεσθαί τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ᾖ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεωμένους καὶ σφέας ἑπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμισέας ἀποστέλλειν, &c.—Herodot. l. 9, c. 51.

[1] Littlebury, Larcher and Beloe.

ποταμὸς, have represented Oëroe as the name of the island, whereas the historian in describing the island as the place [1] which Oëroe the daughter of Asopus surrounds [2], clearly shows Oëroe to have been the river. Their mistake may have partly arisen from the belief that the river which formed the island was a branch of the Asopus, a very natural supposition for them to have made in ignorance of the real topography, as Herodotus no where indicates the contrary, and as it is greatly favoured by the local mythus, according to which Oëroe was the daughter of Asopus. We find, however, as I have before stated, that although the sources of the Asopus and Oëroe are very near to one another, they are not only separate rivers, but flow in opposite directions, the former to the Euboic channel, the latter to the Corinthiac Gulf.

Platæa, although enjoying many local advantages, was not happily situated for the repose of its inhabitants, who continually exposed to danger from their more powerful neighbours of Thebes, and obliged to have recourse to the aid of Athens, were thus dependent upon a comparatively distant alliance, while their enemies were only two hours' march from them. Hence the extensive walls, of which we still see the remains, and which served as an occasional shelter to the whole population of the Platæis. The first alliance of Platæa with Athens was in the year B. C. 519 [3]; it was firmly cemented by the two Persian invasions, and by a community of perils and glory at Marathon and

[1] χῶρον.
[2] περισχίζεται.
[3] Herodot. l. 6, c. 108. Thucyd. l. 3, c. 68.

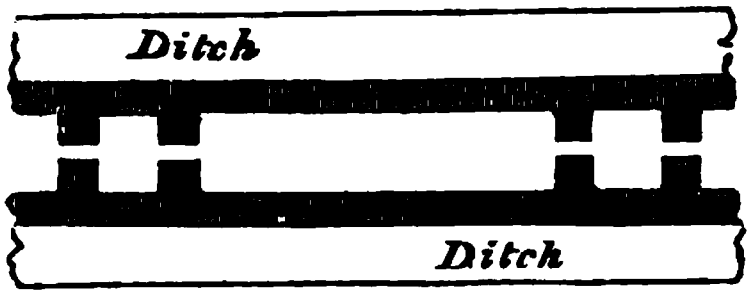
Platæa. These best times of Platæa, ended with the alliance of Thebes and Sparta against Athens. The first act of hostility of the Thebans against Platæa, in the Peloponnesian war, was an attempt to obtain possession of the place by stratagem. Three hundred men were admitted within the walls by some Platæenses of the Theban faction, and the design only failed by the occurrence of a dark and rainy night, which being accompanied by a sudden increase of the Asopus, prevented the Thebans from supporting their comrades in the town, 180 of whom were, in consequence, taken and put to death [1].

In the beginning of the third summer of the same war, B. C. 429, the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians commenced a siege of Platæa, which lasted three years, and which has given occasion to Thucydides to furnish us with some curious particulars of the military customs of the Greeks, and of the state of the art of the attack and defence of fortified places at that remote period [2]. In the first year, the besiegers, after various devices which were frustrated by the garrison, were equally unsuccessful in an attempt to burn the city by throwing sulphur and pitch into it, with faggots of wood, which the adjacent Cithæron supplied in abundance. Thucydides observes, that they were prompted to this mode of offence, by the smallness of the city: a remark by no means in agreement with the existing ruins, which are not less than two miles and a half in circumference, but favourable

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 2, et seq.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 75, et seq.—l. 3, c. 20.

to the conjecture already offered, that Platæa was confined at that time to the southern extremity of the existing remains. In almost every other part, the masonry is of a less ancient kind, and the ruins of former buildings may be detected among the materials, which is no more than consistent with the troubled history of the later Platæa, and the many repairs and renewals which it underwent. All the efforts of the allies during the first summer of the siege having failed, they converted it into a blockade, and raised a circumvallation round the city, consisting of two parallel walls, sixteen feet asunder, with a ditch on either side. Square towers, of the same breadth as the double wall, and covered with roofs, were raised at intervals of about seventy feet [1] along the wall, and afforded a passage through them round the whole circumvallation. Huts were built for the blockading force between the walls, which thus served as an entrenched camp to the investing force, as well against the Platæenses from within, as against the Athenians in the opposite direction. A detachment of Lace-



[1] This distance rests only upon a computation, founded upon there having been ten ἐπάλξεις, or battlements, between the towers, and consequently eleven embrasures. In one part of the walls of Messene, where the battlements are well preserved, they are about three feet and a half broad, and the embrasures between them a little less. Thus:

$$10 \times 3\tfrac{1}{2} + 11 \times 3 = 68.$$

dæmonians was left to garrison one half of the work, and the Bœotians had the charge of the other, while the main body of the respective armies retired to winter quarters. The Platæenses had sent all their women, children, and aged, to Athens, before the siege, and there remained in the city only 400 Platæenses and 80 Athenians, with 110 women to prepare their food. A year afterwards, or in the course of the fourth winter of the war, the besieged being in great distress for provision, formed the design of forcing the enemy's line of blockade, and succeeded in effecting it: a portion of them escaladed the wall in the middle of a tempestuous night, and seized two adjacent towers, from whence, by the assistance of a false attack of the remaining garrison of the town, on an opposite part of the circumvallation, they effected their passage over the wall with the loss of only one man, though not without meeting with a vigorous opposition at the outer ditch. Foreseeing that the Peloponnesians would proceed to search for them on the road to the Dryoscephalæ, they took the road to Thebes, along which they had marched seven or eight stades, when perceiving the torches of the enemy searching for them on the road to Dryoscephalæ, they turned to the right, and made the best of their way to the mountains near Erythræ and Hysiæ. Two hundred and twelve thus escaped in safety to Athens.

In the course of the ensuing summer, the remainder of the garrison of Platæa surrendered to the Lacedæmonians, and after pleading their cause against the Thebans before five judges sent for this

purpose from Sparta, were all put to death, being in number 200 Platæenses and 25 Athenians; the women who had remained in the city were sold for slaves, and the city having been given up to the Thebans, was razed to the ground in the ensuing year. The lands of the Platæis were let for ten years to Thebans; a building of two stories, containing numerous chambers for the reception of travellers, was built out of the ruins of the city near the temple of Juno, and a new temple was constructed in honour of the Goddess.

The Platæenses had remained for forty years in servitude or exile, when they were restored to their country by the effect of the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387, but they were only thirteen years in possession of it when the city was again razed to the ground by the Thebans, and the inhabitants once more obliged to take shelter in Attica [1]. On this occasion, as in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, the Thebans resorted to stratagem. At an hour when the people of Platæa were employed in the fields, and supposed the Thebans to be engaged in the public assembly, the latter marched round by Hysiæ, and finding the city undefended, obliged those remaining within it to evacuate it by capitulation. After the battle of Chæroneia, Philip, among other modes of humiliating the Thebans, restored the Platæenses to their city. And to this date all the existing walls, except those at the southern extremity, may with great probability be attributed.

If the Platæa of the time of the Peloponnesian

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 1.

war, was confined to the southern part of the ancient site, and the city was not then of large dimensions, it will follow that the table height, immediately overlooking the Island, was then excluded from the city, and this supposition seems necessary, to reconcile the words of Herodotus with present appearances. On that table height probably stood the Heræum, or temple of Juno before the city [1], which, in the time of the Antonines, was within the walls. Thus conspicuously situated without the walls, and just in the rear of the position of Argiopius, it was natural for the Greek commander to turn his eyes towards it, and implore the assistance of the Goddess when he was suffering under the attacks of the Persians, without being able to repel them, because the appearance of the victims was pronounced unfavourable. After the erection of the new temple of Juno by the Thebans, it is probable that the old Heræum was no longer repaired, for Pausanias mentions only one temple of Juno, and by remarking that it was of great magnitude, seems to identify it with that built by the Thebans, and described by Thucydides as a *νεὼς ἑκατόμπεδος λίθινος*, which if we are to take the second word literally, would imply a building about the same size as the Parthenon. It contained a colossal upright Juno, surnamed Teleia, and at the entrance a Rhea presenting a stone to Cronus, both of Pentelic marble, and made by Praxiteles: there was also a Juno Nympheuomene by Callimachus. The temple of Minerva, surnamed Areia, was built from a share

[1] *πρὸ τῆς πόλιος.*

of the spoils of Marathon, and contained a statue of the Goddess by Phidias, nearly as large as that which he made from the same spoils for the Athenians; but the latter was of brass, whereas that of Platæa was acrolithic, the face, hands and feet being of Pentelic marble, and the rest of gilded wood [1]. At the feet of the Goddess was the image [2] of Arimnestus who commanded the Platæenses both at Marathon and Platæa [3]. There were two pictures on the walls of the Pronaus, one by Polygnotus, of which the subject was Ulysses slaying the suitors; the other by Onatas, represented the first expedition of the Argives against Thebes. The city contained also a temple of Ceres Eleusinia [4], and a tomb of Leitus, the only one of the Bœotian chiefs who returned from Troy. Within the gate which led to Eleutheræ was the heroum of Platæa, daughter of Asopus, and on the outside of the same

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 2.—Plutarch differs from Pausanias, by asserting that the temple of Minerva Areia was built at the expence of eighty talents, set apart for that purpose from the spoils of Platæa, not of Marathon. That he meant the same temple is clear, from his allusion to the pictures described by Pausanias, and which Plutarch observes, *μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάζουσαι διαμένουσιν*, so that they were in perfect preservation at the end of six centuries.

[2] *εἰκών*. — Pausan. Bœot. c. 4.

[3] See also Herodot. l. 9, c. 72.—Plutarch in Aristide.

[4] This temple was probably erected after the war, and in consequence of the circumstances of the battle. The temple of Ceres Eleusinia at Argiopius, was an old building, the existence of which was so little known, that it had created a misunderstanding as to the meaning of an oracle brought from Delphi by Aristides, which recommended the Greeks to fight in the plain of Ceres Eleusinia and Core, this having been interpreted to mean the plain

gate the temple [1] of Jupiter Eleutherius, which in the time of Pausanias seems to have been reduced to an altar and statue: it was established after the victory by command of the Oracle of Delphi, and by a decree proposed by Aristides it was the scene of a quinquennial festival called the Eleutheria [2]. Here stood also a brazen trophy for the victory over the Persians, tombs of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians who fell on that occasion, inscribed with elegies by Simonides, and a polyandrium of the other Greeks [3]. The position of these monuments is marked, perhaps, by a ruined church

of Eleusis, until some of the elders of Platæa pointed out the ancient temple in the Platæis. (Plutarch. in Aristid.) That Plutarch should have described the old Eleusinium as having been near Hysiæ, as well as near the heroum of Androcrates, is not very surprizing in an author who is so often inaccurate in his topography. It was indeed toward Hysiæ, but it must have been considerably nearer to Platæa, if Thucydides is correct in stating that the Platæenses, when they escaped from their blockaded city, had the heroum of Androcrates on their right, when they had marched less than eight stades on their road to Thebes.

[1] ἱερόν. Strabo, p. 412.

[2] Plutarch. in Aristide.—According to the biographer the personages worshipped by the Platæenses were Jupiter, who after the battle was surnamed Eleutherius, Juno Cithæronia, Ceres Eleusinia and Proserpine, Pan, the Nymphs Sphragitides, and seven ancient archagetæ, or heroes, of whom Androcrates was the chief.

[3] The Lacedæmonians, according to Herodotus (l. 9, c. 85.) had three separate θῆκαι; the Athenians and Tegeatæ each a tomb, and the Megarenses and Phliasii a joint sepulchre, besides which there were seven cenotaphs of people who had not been engaged, and among them one of the Æginetæ, which was not erected until ten years after the battle.

near the right bank of the torrent, on the left bank of which, nearly opposite to the chapel, are the foundations of a gate, already alluded to, in the eastern walls of Platæa, not far from the north-eastern angle. This gate is placed within a quadrangular court or retirement of the walls, and appears to have been the principal gate of the city, as we may easily conceive it to have been, since it was conveniently situated for leading not only to Eleutheræ and Athens, to Megara and the Isthmus, but also to Thebes, Chalcis and Tanagra.

CHAPTER XVII.

BŒOTIA, ATTICA, MEGARIS.

Departure from Thebes—*Therapnæ*—*Scolus*—Plain of Siálissi—*Panactum*—St. Meletius—Derveno-khória—Ghyftó-kastro, *Œnoe*—Myúpoli, *Eleutheræ*—Pass of Sarandáporo—*Cephissus*—Plain of *Eleusis* and *Thria*—*Rheiti*—Temple of *Venus Phila*—Dháfni, *Temple of Apollo* on Mount *Pœcilum*—Arrival at Athens—Geography of the *Megaris*—Route from *Eleusis* to *Megara*—Description of *Megara* by *Pausanias*—*Long Walls*—*Nisæa*—*Minoa*—*Ægosthena*—*Pagæ*—*Erineia*—*Isus*—Mount Kandíli, *Cerata*—Mount Karýdhi—the *Oneia*—*Polichne*—*Tripodiscus*—*Ægeirusa*—*Geraneia*—*Cimolia*—*Sci-rone*, rocks *Scironides*.

JAN. 1, 1806.—From Thebes to St. Meletius on the way to Athens.—Leaving the town by the southern gate, which may stand nearly on the site of that which led from the *Cadmeia* into *Lower Thebes*, the aqueduct is on the right. Like the town walls, it exhibits many remains of antiquity, and stands perhaps on Roman foundations. In one place a sepulchral monument is inserted in the masonry, bearing the common device of a horseman, with one of his horse's feet raised, and resting upon an altar. At 9.56 pass the fountain of the *Ismenus* on the left side of the road. At 10, leave on the right the road to Kriakúki and the pass of Mount *Cithæron*, leading to Corinth, called by the Turks the Kasá-dervéni, and at 10.8 to the left, that which leads to Athens by Siálissi and *Phyle*.

Having descended the long slope of the Psilirakhí, or low central *Theban* ridge to the *Asopus*, we cross that river at 11.1, at the point where it is joined by the Rema, which separates Katzúla from Bubúka. A small tjiftlík belonging to Rashíd Bey, called Samoíli, stands on the bank to our left. The river flows with a brisk but slender stream. *Therapnæ* seems to have stood in this route between Thebes and the Asopus; for Euripides, in describing the death of Pentheus, says that he went from Therapnæ across the Asopus to the place in Cithæron, where he met his fate; and which, as we learn from Strabo, was near Scolus [1]. Ascending the cultivable slope of Cithæron, but which like all this part of the *Parasopia* is little cultivated, we arrive, at 11.33, at the Metókhi, described on the 30th of December as standing below the projecting point of the *Cithæronian* range. The brow of the summit on which the Metókhi stands is surrounded by the foundation of a Hellenic wall, and has evidently been a fortress or citadel; as I before remarked, it was probably Scolus. The walls were of a very antique kind of masonry. A little beyond the Metókhi is a copious source of water, which no doubt determined the site of the ancient town as well as of the modern farm. About a mile farther, in ascending the steep side of Cithæron, we leave Tarimári, a village of thirty houses, below us, close on the left, and soon afterwards enter a ravine between two ridges of the mountain, answering exactly to

[1] Euripid. in Bacch. v. 1029. Strabo, p. 408.

the description given by Euripides[1] of the place where Pentheus was destroyed by the Mænades, except that the pine-forests do not now extend below the higher parts of the mountain. The ravine continues, including a halt of ten minutes, until 12.25, when we ascend the steep side of the ridge on the left, and at 12.28, having arrived upon the crest, look down upon a small stony plain extending towards the summit of *Parnes*. The direct road from Thebes to Athens by *Phyle* crosses this elevated plain, and then enters another in which are the villages of Siálissi, vulgarly Shalish, and Skurta. We proceed at 12.42, and continuing along the same kind of rugged steep road, have, at 1.35, the plain of Siálissi on our left a mile distant; and the village of that name surrounded by vineyards, in the nearest corner of it: two miles farther, is Skurta, on the foot of the great heights of *Parnes*. The *Phyle* road leaves these places to the left. There are three other villages in the valley named Kako Niskívi, Kadhásula, and Kúrora. This plain, which separates the great height of *Cithæron* from those of *Parnes*, is probably that neutral territory of *Panactum*, of which Thucydides speaks. It yields corn and vines, but the soil seems meagre and stony, and better adapted to the latter production. The neighbouring heights of *Parnes* are well clothed with trees of various kinds, and

[1] Ἦν δ' ἄγκος ἀμφίκρημνον ὕδασι διάβροχον
Πεύκαισι συσκιάζον.
Bacch. v. 1049.

the summit consists entirely of a forest of pines. We continue to mount, and at 1.42 arrive at the summit of the ridge of *Cithæron*, from whence there is a fine view of the country on either side. The northern part of the *Megaric* peninsula lying between the western extremity of the *Corinthiac* Gulf and the bay of Eleusis, and bounded by the plain of Megara to the south, consists chiefly of mountains, of which the two principal summits are Karýdhi to the west, and Kandíli, overhanging the bay of *Eleusis*. The latter, as well from the ancient authorities as from its form, is evidently the summit called τὰ Κέρατα, or the horns [1]. The range of Karýdhi has a direction parallel to that of *Cithæron*, and is separated from it by the valleys of Ghermanó, Vília, and Myúpoli, which latter is the largest of the three. Karýdhi and Kandíli have a similar separation by means of the hollows about Kúndura. We look directly down the *Saronic* Gulf, upon the island of St. George, anciently Belbina; to the right of which are *Salamis*, and the mountains of *Argolis* and *Ægina*, and to the left the plain of *Thria*, and the mountains *Hymettus* and *Parnes*. A descent of thirty-five minutes by a winding road, through a forest of pines, brings us to the monastery of St. Meletius, situated on the southern face of the mountain, which falls into the plain of Myúpoli by a succession of cultivated terraces. Assisted with a few of the conveniences and embellishments of art, St. Meletius

[1] The modern name Καντήλι, candle, is often applied to sharp peaks. Karýdhi is from Καρυὰ, walnut-tree.

would be a delightful retreat. The buildings are mantled with ivy, and around them issue plentiful sources of water, which descend, shaded by large bay-trees, to the gardens, and the hanging woods of olives and beeches on the side of the mountain, preserving them in a state of perpetual verdure, which is finely contrasted on every side with the wild rocks and the dark pine-forests of *Cithæron*. The weather is now perfectly clear and serene, and the season more deserves the name of καλοκαίριον than the greater part of that to which the word is usually applied, when the air is inflamed, the ground parched, every stream dried up, and not a green herb to be seen. The monastery is well endowed, and besides corn land possesses 3000 head of sheep and goats on the mountains. The church of St. Meletius, which is of the time of the Byzantine empire, is supported within by two octagonal columns of a veined marble of the colour of porphyry, which, according to the monks, was extracted from the side of the hill, not far above the monastery. As the Greek advent is not yet over, the house contains but scanty fare; but the Igúmeno[1], immediately on my arrival, sends one of his monks to the rocks in front of the convent, who, with a voice that would have done honour to Menelaus, calls out to the shepherds in a distant part of the plain below to send up one of their fattest sheep. According to the abbot, the summits of Cithæron have several modern appellations. Elatiá is the name of the two great peaks above

[1] Ἡγούμενος.

Platæa, so called from the fir-trees which cover all but the highest points. A summit between them and the Kazá dervéni, or road across the mountain from Ghyftókastro to Kriakúki, is named Osná: Kurtezá is that between the latter and the convent, and another towards Tarimári is called Pastrá.

The plain below the monastery is the eastern extremity of a valley extending four or five miles westward towards Vília, which village is situated in another valley separated by rugged heights from Ghermanó, a small port on the *Corinthiac* Gulf, and distant two hours from Vília. At about two miles to the south of the monastery, in the valley, are the ruins named Myúpoli [1], which I formerly visited. The remains are those of a very small town, which had a citadel or interior inclosure at one angle. The masonry is for the most part regular, and is extant in many places two or three courses above the ground.

The ruins at Ghyftókastro, which I also visited at that time, are about an hour to the westward of Myúpoli, at the entrance of the pass leading to Kriakúki and Thebes, on the summit of a steep and lofty rock between two torrents, one of which has a distant origin in Mount *Cithæron*, the other rises at the foot of the hill on the road side, in a copious fountain called Petrogheráki. The entire circuit of the fortress still exists, flanked by square or oblong towers of masonry, and is preserved in some places as high as the battlements. The walls

[1] Μυούπολις.

consist for the most part of polygonal masonry, though some parts, particularly the towers, appear to be more modern. The torrent of Ghyftókastro, increased by the fountain of Petrogheráki, and united to the waters which rise near St. Meletius and Myúpoli, form a branch of the stream now called Saranda-pótamo, and anciently Cephissus, which joins the sea near *Eleusis*. Another branch flows from Vília, and a third from Kúndura.

The road from St. Meletius to Mégara, as well as that from Thebes, by Ghyftókastro to the same place, passes a little to the right of Myúpoli, then crosses a steep root of Mount Karýdhi, and enters the valley of Kúndura, a town of four hundred families, chiefly Albanian, distant four or five miles from St. Meletius, and the same from *Eleusis*. The vale of Kúndura is separated from the plain of Eleusis by the root of Mount *Cithæron*, on which St. Meletius stands, and which follows the western side of the plain and bay of *Eleusis* until it unites with Mount Kandíli. The *Cephissus* passes through this ridge by narrow ravines into the plain. The communication from Kúndura into the plain of Mégara is by a remarkable chasm midway between the two towns, and separating the western termination of Mount Kandíli from the adjacent heights of Karýdhi. This and all the other important defiles of the *Megaris* are under the guardianship of six towns or villages of this district, hence called the Derveno-khória, and which, in consideration of the expences of their charge, are exempted from lodging strangers as well as from all other impositions, except 110 paras a head for kharátj. These places

are Vília, Kúndura, Mégara, Mazi, Bíssia, and Perakhóra[1]. They maintain thirty or forty soldiers at their own expence; but, being all armed, can turn out, to the number of three or four hundred, which they often do when a Turk of high rank passes through the dervéni. The Dervent Agá is a Turk, residing at Corinth, but having a deputy in constant attendance at the dervéni house, near the monastery of Kyparíssi, on the northern side of Mount Makryplái, or *Geraneia*: it is necessary that he should read Turkish, as he has to inspect the Buyurdí of the Pasha, without which no person is allowed to pass out of the Moréa to the northward.

On referring to a verse of Sophocles, cited by Strabo[2]; and to Pausanias, who describes the Eleutheris as situated between Eleusis and Mount Cithæron[3], there can scarcely be any doubt that Myúpoli and Ghyftó-kastro are the ancient Eleutheræ and Œnoe, for the plain which reaches from Ghyftó-kastro to Myúpoli is the only considerable valley between *Platæa* and Mégara, and the two ruins on its borders exactly illustrate the word *σύγχορτα* of the poet. There may be some question, however, which of these ruins was Eleutheræ, and which Œnoe.

In behalf of the opinion that Ghyftó-kastro was *Eleutheræ*, it may be said that this city was form-

[1] Βήλια, Κούντουρα, Μέγαρα, Μάζη, Μπήσσια, Περαχώρα.

[2] ——————— Οἰνόης
Σύγχορτα ναίειν πεδία ταῖς Ἐλευθεραῖς,
Ap. Strabon, p. 375.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 38.

erly an independent member of the Bœotian community, which voluntarily joined the Athenians, but never became an Attic demus, consequently that there is little probability that Œnoe, which was always an Attic demus, should have been situated between Eleutheræ and the Platæis, which would be the case if Myúpoli were *Eleutheræ*. On examining, however, the ruins called Ghyftó-kastro, its position and dimensions evidently show that it was a fortress, not a town, being only seven or eight hundred yards in circumference, and standing upon a strong height at the entrance of the principal pass of Mount *Cithæron*, whereas Myúpoli has every appearance of having been a town with an acropolis placed as usual on the edge of a valley, and commanding only the pass which led from the *Eleutheris* into the plain of *Thria*, or *Eleusis*. The town appears, indeed, to have been of small dimensions, but its state of ruin will hardly admit of our forming a decisive opinion on this subject, while Ghyftó-kastro is so well preserved as to leave no doubt concerning the object for which it was intended.

The importance of Œnoe as a military post, as well as its vicinity to Hysiæ, is shown by Herodotus in describing the unsuccessful invasion of Attica by Cleomenes, in the year B. C. 507, when he marched from the Isthmus to Eleusis, while the Bœotians, in concert with him, took Œnoe and Hysiæ, the frontier demi of Attica, towards Bœotia [1]. And Thucydides twice mentions Œnoe in a manner to support the opinion that it was Ghyftókastro; at the commencement of the Pelo-

[1] Herodot. l. 5, c. 74.

ponnesian war, when its siege delayed the first invasion of Attica by Archidamus[1]; and again, in the twenty-first year of the war, when it was besieged by the Corinthians and Bœotians, and betrayed to them by a stratagem of Aristarchus, one of the oligarchical party at Athens[2]. On both occasions the historian describes Œnoe as a fortress of the Athenians on the confines of Bœotia. It is sufficient to observe the situation of Ghyftó-kastro, to be assured that no other position in this vicinity could be equally important to the Athenians. It secured the dependence or alliance of Eleutheræ and Platæa, formed an outer gate of defence to this entrance into Attica, and if an enemy penetrated into the plain of Eleutheræ from the *Parasopia* by St. Meletius, it placed him between two fortresses; in short, it was the necessary completion of the system of defence of the Attic frontier towards Bœotia, of which Eleusis, Harma, Phyle, Panactum, and Decelia, were the other fortified points. Pausanias, therefore, in describing the Platæis as bordering on the district of Eleutheræ, without noticing Œnoe, though it lay between them, seems, as usual with him, to have had the ancient history and condition of Eleutheræ chiefly in view, and to have neglected the mention of Œnoe, as being merely a fortress, perhaps already in ruins, or as being one of the demi of Attica, of all which he has treated very briefly. When the ridge of Cithæron became the boundary between Attica and Bœotia, Hysiæ, being on the northern side of the moun-

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 18.

[2] Thucyd. l. 8, c. 98. See also Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1, c. 7.

tain, was ascribed to Bœotia, while Œnoe continued to be an Attic demus.

Placed in the line of communication between Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus, so small a state as Eleutheræ was peculiarly exposed to the ruinous effects of such a position, as well in the greater contests in which Greece was engaged, as in every quarrel in which either Attica or the Peloponnesus was opposed to any part of Northern Greece. The Roman wars having left Eleutheræ in a state of desolation, it became the resort of robbers[1], who have often in later times also found this thoroughfare an excellent place for the exercise of their profession. Pausanias, soon after the time of the author who represents Eleutheræ in that condition, could ascertain only the position of the city by the ruins of the fortifications and houses, which he describes as being situated "a little above the plain towards Cithæron." In the plain there still remained a temple of Bacchus, containing a copy of the original statue of the god which had been transferred to Athens. Near it was a cavern, in which Antiope exposed her twin sons, and a fountain of water, in which the infants were washed by a shepherd who found them[2].

[1] . . . . Ἰσμηνόδωρος ἐπεφόνευτο γὰρ ὑπὸ λῃστῶν παρὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα, οἶμαι, βαδίζων· ἔστενέ τε καὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν εἶχε· καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ νεογνὰ ἃ κατελελοίπει ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπεμέμφετο τῆς τόλμης, ὃς Κιθαιρῶνα ὑπερβάλλων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἐλευθερὰς χωρία πανέρημα ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων διοδεύων, δύο μόνους οἰκέτας ἐπήγετο· καὶ ταῦτα φιάλας πέντε χρυσᾶς καὶ κυμβία τέτταρα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων.—Lucian. Dialog. Mort. 27.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 38. Bacchus Eleutherius was held in

Jan. 2.—At 8.5, descending from the monastery by a winding road to the right of the gardens, we leave the Paleó-kastro of Myúpoli a quarter of a mile on the left at 8.40, and follow the main route from Thebes to Mégara by Kúndura for some distance, before we arrive at the turning to Lepsína, or *Eleusis*, which at 8.52 again brings Myúpoli at a quarter of a mile to our left. We now quit the cultivated land and enter upon a rocky level covered with small bushes, where the road is both muddy and rough. At 9.22 enter a forest of pines. The whole of the branch of *Cithæron*, which extends from near St. Meletius to Mount Kandíli, and to the plain of Mégara, and which separates the vales of Myúpoli and Kúndura from the plain of Lepsína, is covered with these trees. After a halt of five minutes, we descend at 9.40 into the bed of a torrent, which has its origin in the mountains around Vília, and which at 9.50 joins the Sarandáporo, otherwise called Sarandáforo, or Saranda-potámi. The latter, which is the main branch of the *Eleusinian Cephissus*, originates

great veneration at Athens: a temple was built to receive the statue in the Lenæum, or sacred inclosure of Bacchus, in Limnis, and there was another small ναὸς in the Academy, for the temporary reception of the statue when it was carried in procession in the Dionysiac festival from Athens to the Academy.—Pausan. Attic. c. 20, 29. Philostr. in Herod.

It appears to have been the opinion of the mythologists, that there were three Dionysi; one of India, the same as the Lenæus; a second the son of Jupiter and Semele, born at Thebes; and a third, son of Jupiter and Ceres, born at Eleutheræ.—Diodor. l. 3, c. 73.

in Mount Karýdhi, and flowing by Kúndura, from thence enters a ravine between two high summits on our right. At the junction of the two rivers we fall into the road from Kúndura to Athens. On the summit of the mountain on the left, one mile distant, may be perceived the lower part of a Hellenic round tower.

The road now leads along the side of the Sarandáforo, through a forest which seems as if it would not long exist, as the greater part of the trees are in a process of destruction for the purpose of collecting their resin to make pitch. All the bark having been stripped off towards the foot of the tree, and a part of the wood cut away, a hollow is made in the ground into which the turpentine flows: the trees which lean a little are preferred, the reservoir and incision being made on the upper side. The process may be repeated for several years before it kills the trees. At 10.42 a chapel and well are on the right-hand side of the road: at 10.51 are marks of chariot wheels in the rocks. At 11 we arrive at the junction of the Sarandáporo with the branch of the *Cephissus* from Ghyftókastro, which receives the collected waters of the valley of Myúpoli a little to the east of the latter ruin.

The bank of this stream above its junction with the Sarandáporo is steep and high, and upon it there are some remains of ancient walls and towers, and on the right side of the road the foundations of another tower. We halt here till 11.30. The wood continues until the ravine gradually opens into the *Thriasian* or *Eleusinian* plain, where

at 11.42 the road to Lepsína branches off to the right, and on each of the summits, bordering the opening of the valley, the ruins of a Hellenic tower may be seen. These numerous remains of ancient works show how anxiously the Athenians fortified this important entrance into their plains, which may be considered as the division between the north-eastern extremity of the *Oneia* and the range of *Cithæron* and *Parnes*. This perhaps was the particular pass of Mount Cithæron, in which, in the year B.C. 200, Philocles, an officer of Philip son of Demetrius, stationed himself on arriving from Eubœa, while his troops plundered the Eleusinian plain, and where he was joined by the king himself, coming from Achaia. They then proceeded to attack Eleusis, the Peiræeus, and Athens, but having been unsuccessful in every attempt, Philip then destroyed every thing in the unprotected demi which had escaped his former invasion, leaving not a temple or building uninjured, and ceasing only from the work of destruction when there remained no longer any materials to gratify his vengeance [1].

The road now enters the northern angle of the plain of *Thria*, and at 11.48 crosses the dry bed of the Sarandáporo, or *Cephissus*, which joins the sea a little on the eastern side of *Eleusis*: all the northern and western part of the plain is stony, barren, and higher than the maritime and cultivated level, which does not extend very far to the northward of Lepsína. As we descend into

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 26.

the lower plain, this village remains a mile and a half on the right at 12.28. Here we cross the foundations of what I take to have been one of the reservoirs of the ancient aqueduct of Eleusis, some ruined arches of which are seen to the right, near the entrance of Lepsína from Athens. Our road crosses the plain of *Thria* diagonally in the direction of the mills at *Rheiti*, leaving Lepsína about 3 miles on the right: at 12.40 we halt at a well near the foundations of a small temple, or other public building. The kalývia of Khassiá is half a mile on the left, 2 miles beyond which a road begins to mount the lowest steep of *Parnes*, towards Khassiá. The greatest length of the *Thriasian* plain, about nine miles, is from the angle of the *Eleusinian* gulf, westward of Lepsína, to a *bay* in the plain to the left of our road, where are the lowest hills which unite the range of *Ægaleos* with that of *Parnes*, and where the Athenians had fortified that pass into the plain of Acharnæ with a rampart or breastwork, which still remains.

The sepulchre of Strato, son of Isidotus, on the northern side of the Sacred Way, is 150 yards on the right of our road, at 13 minutes beyond the well above-mentioned; 5 minutes farther our road unites with that from *Eleusis* to Athens. The monument of Strato seems not to have been a pyramid, but a cubical mass of earth cased with marble, on some of the blocks of which mouldings of architecture are still to be seen. It was probably surmounted by a stele. From hence to *Eleusis* the Sacred Way was a causeway raised above the plain, which is low and marshy in this part. Its

utility on the great road from Athens to the Moréa has caused it to receive frequent repairs, but these, since the decline of Greece, having been of the rudest kind, the causeway now preserves little resemblance to the massy and finished works of the ancients. Many vestiges, however, of the original ἱερὰ ὁδὸς may still be distinguished. In the bay of *Eleusis*, and the marshy part of the plain, immense numbers of wild ducks are now congregated. Quitting the junction of the road at 1.43, I pass at 1.57 the first mill of the Rheiti, and at 2.2 the second. The water which turns these mills is produced from very copious saline springs at the foot of the mountain, which are not suffered to take their natural course into the sea as they did anciently, but are formed into a large pond or mill-head by means of a stone dam which extends from one mill to the other. At this pass the Sacred Way was cut in the rock; it is first visible between the two mills, and is then traced along the foot of the rocks *above* the salt ponds, whereas the modern road follows the sea shore. Having passed the salt ponds, the Sacred Way descends upon a modern paved road, which it follows along the sea-side, as far as the opening of the valley of Dhafni, where that valley ends in the shore of the *Eleusinian* bay, and where both the modern causeway and the traces of the ancient road terminate.

We arrive at the beginning of the paved road at 2.8, and at the end at 2.12. Here on the edge of the beach lies part of the body of a seal, thrown up by the sea. The cultivable ground at this ex-

tremity of the valley of Dhafni is prolonged in a narrow stripe along the shore of the bay, at the foot of Mount *Corydallus*, as far as the Metókhi of Skarmangá. We now ascend the valley of Dhafni, the pass narrowing gradually until it arrives, at 2.27, at some niches in the rocks on the left of the road, below which are the foundations of the peribolus of a temple, which it is evident from ancient testimony was that of Venus on the Sacred Way. Just opposite to the niches are some traces of the road, and the ruins of stone walls which supported both sides of it for a considerable distance. The remains of the peribolus, which are between the road and the niches, are 24 yards long and 12 wide; the foundations of the walls are 5 feet thick, and constructed of great rude masses of stone, exactly answering to the ἀργοὶ λίθοι which Pausanias here describes[1]. To the westward of this spot are the foundations of a square tower of similar construction. Under two of the niches I distinguish the words Φίλῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ, which not only prove this to be the site of the temple of Venus, but also that it was the Philæum mentioned by Plutarch, and by a writer cited by Athenæus[2], though the latter authority has not correctly described it as being at Thria. The temple was probably of ancient date, and was repaired perhaps by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when he here

[1] *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστι καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἄξιον.*—Pausan. Attic. c. 37.

[2] Plutarch. in Demetr.—Dionysius Tryphonis, ap. Athen. l. 6, c. 16.

instituted divine honours to his wife Phile, with the surname of Venus [1].

At 2.3, leaving the temple of *Venus*, I proceed along the left bank of a torrent flowing to the Bay of *Eleusis*, and observe the traces of the *Sacred Way* on the opposite bank, in some places cut in the rocks, but, for the most part, a causeway supported on the side of the rema by a wall of rough stones. At 3.49 arrive at the Monastery of Dhafni: there can be little doubt that this building occupies the site, and consists in great part of the remains of the temple of *Apollo on Mount Pœcilum*, which was probably converted into a church on the establishment of Christianity at Athens. The modern name Δάφνη seems connected with the worship of Apollo, and may have been derived from a grove of sacred bay, which had survived that worship. But at present no bay trees remain here. Although Dhafni is despoiled of the finest of those remains which formerly made it interesting, the outer inclosure of the monastery, and the church itself, are still made up almost entirely of Hellenic materials; and there are several sarcophagi remaining, the most remarkable of which stands with the bottom upwards in the portico before the cells of the monks: it is of white marble, large and massy. These sepulchral monuments were probably collected from the Sacred Way, the sides of which were a continued cemetery from Athens to Eleusis. The dome of the church at Dhafni is now supported by

[1] Doves of white marble and terra cotta have been found under the niches, where they had been placed as dedications to Venus.

two cross beams of wood, and shows several large cracks caused by the operation of taking away three Ionic columns, which, on my first visit to Attica, were in their original places, enveloped in the wall of the monastery. A high square tower with a little dome at the top, like those in Syria, appears to have been erected in the time of the Franks.

One of the greatest objections to the removal of ancient remains from Greece to England, or other countries, is, that in consequence of the negligence of those who remove or collect them, it is not always known from whence they came, so that monuments serving to illustrate ancient history on the spot, often become useless for that purpose. Nor is this remark confined to inscriptions, although it is undoubtedly most applicable to them, since, in a great majority of instances, Grecian works of art, of every kind, had some peculiar reference to local history and mythology. It has often happened moreover, that while by the separation of the monument from the place, both have lost a portion of their interest, the former, either from its want of merit or its state of preservation, has been of little utility to modern art in the place where it has been deposited. The evil is by no means of recent occurrence, for every collection in Europe contains remains of antiquity, which have become inexplicable by our ignorance of their origin.

The monastery stands at the highest and narrowest part of the Pass: beyond it the road is level for a short distance, and then gradually widens until, at the end of 12 minutes from the monastery in pass-

ing between a conical hill on the left, and the slope of Mount *Corydallus* on the right, Athens and its plain opens to view. The prospect from this point, although not so extensive as that from the fortress of Phyle on the road from Thebes, is more interesting from the greater proximity of the city, and of all the more remarkable objects. On former occasions I have seen it only in the midst of summer, but it is more beautiful in the present season, the larger proportion of the trees of Attica being evergreens, such as the pine, the prinus, and the olive, together with a variety of shrubs, and the fields and pastures, which have recovered a portion of their verdure, affording a peculiarly agreeable contrast to the rocky mountains. In summer the scene displays an arid monotony, relieved only by the pale green of the olive; and a vapour rises so rapidly from the earth, that there is a constant haze over the distant objects, which are always more distinctly seen in a fine winter's day. In entering Attica, after a journey in Bœotia, the causes are forcibly apparent of that atmospheric difference between the two provinces, which gave rise to the Athenian sarcasm adopted by the Latins, on the density of Bœotian air and intellect. Three-fourths of the valleys of Bœotia are so entirely encased by mountains, that even the running waters are discharged into the sea by subterraneous channels, whence lakes and marshes abound, and the vapours arising from them, detained by the surrounding mountains, are slowly dissipated; while the Attic peninsula, labouring under a deficiency of water, and ventilated, often to excess, from the

Corinthiac, Saronic and Ægean seas, enjoys with these inconveniences, and in consequence of them, a purer air and serener sky than Bœotia. This physical difference may possibly have had some influence on the moral cause to which the low station of Thebes among the states of Greece was justly attributed by Ephorus[1], and which ought to be a lesson to all governments on the importance of encouraging arts and literature. But the proverbial contempt of Bœotian intellect was carried far beyond the bounds of truth and justice, as a long catalogue of heroes, statesmen, poets, sculptors, philosophers and engineers might be adduced to demonstrate.

Having descended into the plain, we pass at the end of thirty-eight minutes from Dhafni, by the chapel of St. George at the entrance of the olive wood, the road through which is now muddy and cut up by the torrents. At 4.30 pass by the pyrgos and tjiftlík of Hadjí Alý, and enter Athens at the Mora Kápesi, or Πόρτα τῆς Μορέας, at 4.15.

In order to complete that comparative view of the ancient and modern geography of Greece which has been the principal object of the present work, as well as of two others[2], I shall here subjoin some remarks on the topography of the Megaris, which district I visited in a former journey.

Of the great isthmus which extends from the

[1] Ephor. ap. Strabon. p. 401. See p. 220 of this volume.

[2] Namely, *On the Demi of Attica*, published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, and *Travels in the Morea*. The present observations may be considered as a sequel to the 29th chapter of the latter work, which relates to the topography of the Corinthia.

foot of Mount Cithæron to the Acro-Corinthus, and which connects Northern Greece with the Peloponnesus, about one fourth, including the narrowest part or Isthmus properly so called, belonged to the Corinthia, the remainder, which was included within a sea coast of about thirty miles on either gulf, with a breadth varying from twenty miles to thirty, formed the Megaris. Like the Corinthia, it was too small to have had much influence on the general politics of Greece, or even to preserve its own independence; and by its position it was not less exposed than that territory to the effects of the frequent contests between the states of Greece. Being very mountainous, barren, and incapable of supporting a large population, it sent forth in the times of its prosperity colonies to the Euxine, Propontis and Sicily, and from the same cause, under different circumstances, experienced the greatest distress, when the Athenians, justly incensed against the Megarenses for having joined the Corinthians, and massacred the Athenian garrison at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, excluded them from the use of the Attic ports and markets [1]. The redeeming attribute of the *Megaric* territory was its excellent position for the pursuit of commerce both by land and sea; and it was undoubtedly to this advantage that Megara owed an opulence and splendour, which were quite disproportioned to its natural resources. Like Ægina, and many other once-flourishing republics, its decline is to be dated from that increase of power in the leading

[1] Thucyd. l. 1. c. 67, 114, 139.—Aristoph. Acharn. v. 534. 729, &c.

states, which destroyed the independence of those of second rank. Its commercial advantages, however, still maintained it in a respectable condition, as long as Greece was wealthy, and densely inhabited, but when it became poor and depopulated, and still more when the Roman government was no longer able to protect its distant subjects, insecurity was the only effect of the peculiarities of the situation of Megara, and has continued to be its ordinary condition during the long ages of the debasement of Greece. An inscription copied by Chandler at Megara, shows that its towers were repaired in the end of the fifth century, by one Count Diogenes, an officer of the emperor Anastasius[1]. But in later ages, the Byzantine government was incapable of affording any protection to these coasts from the pirates or cruizers of Europe, and the Turkish navy has been so unequal to the task, that the inhabitants of Megara have more than once been obliged to abandon the town, and retire to the villages of the *Oneia*.

In proceeding to trace the ancient geography of the Megaris I shall, as usual, chiefly follow Pausanias[2]. The places mentioned by him between

[1] Chandler, Travels in Greece, c. 43. Insc. Ant. 130. The same Diogenes gained great credit by wresting Claudiopolis from the rebellious Isaurians, and restoring it to the emperor. At Megara he expended, according to the inscription, 100 pieces of gold (χρυσινοὺς) on the towers, and bestowed 150 pieces, with 200 feet of marble, on the construction of a bath.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 39. In the order of his description, Pausanias probably pursued the course of his own travels from Athens into the Peloponnesus. That his work is arranged in conformity with the general direction of his route

Eleusis and Megara are, 1. The well called *ἄνθιον* or *ἄνθινον*, 'the flowery;' this answers to a spring on the road side, in a branch of the *Eleusinian* plain near the head of a small curve of the coast, which forms the north-western angle of the bay of *Eleusis*. 2. A little beyond the well, stood the Temple of Meganeira, and the monuments of the Argives who were slain at Thebes in the war between Creon and Adrastus, and whose bodies were said to have been rescued by Theseus, and here interred by him. 3. The sepulchre of Alope, and not far from it, 4. The palæstra of her father Cercyon, by whom she was killed. No remains of these monuments have yet been discovered. Pausanias has not exactly stated the boundary between the Eleusinia and Megaris; but we can hardly doubt that it was Mount *Cerata*, now Kandíli, which interrupts the

through Greece, is strongly indicated by a remark in his seventh book, or Achaica, where having occasion to notice the Odeium of Herodes at Athens, he states that it was not built when he wrote his first book, or Attica. In some of the details of each province, on the contrary, it is possible that the order of the excursions may have given way to the general plan of the work. But the *περίοδος Παυσανιακὴ*, or Pausaniac tour of Greece, might still be recommended, as forming a very convenient plan of travels through this country: namely, from Athens through the Megaris to Corinth; from thence by Sicyon and Phlius to Argos; round the Argolic peninsula again to Argos; from Argos to Sparta; round the eastern Laconic peninsula again to Sparta; round the western Laconic peninsula into Messenia, from Messenia into the Eleia and Achaia, and lastly the tour of Arcadia, requiring various deviations. After having returned to Athens, the traveller might follow Pausanias to Eleutheræ, to Platæa and Thebes; and from thence make the tours of Bœotia and Phocis.

level coast for a considerable distance, and the projection of which occurs at about a third of the distance from Eleusis to Megara. It would seem from Philochorus, cited by Strabo, that there was a temple of Apollo Pythius on this part of the coast, which Philochorus considered the boundary of the Megaris [1]; it is not noticed by Pausanias.

Megara retains little of antiquity but the name, which is still τὰ Μέγαρα, and seems originally to have been derived from certain μέγαρα, or sanctuaries of Ceres, though the later Megarenses preferred, as usual, a heroic origin, and derived their name from Megareus, son of Neptune, a native of Onchestus. Pausanias remarks, that the vengeance of the Gods for the murder of the Athenian herald Anthemocritus, had never been thoroughly appeased, and that Megara had been an exception to the cities of Greece which had profited by the munificence of Hadrian [2]. Nevertheless, there still existed public edifices, and monuments of art sufficient to prove the former existence of that opulence, which has

[1] τῶν Πανδιονιδῶν τεσσάρων ὄντων, Αἰγέως τε καὶ Λύκου καὶ Πάλλαντος καὶ τετάρτου Νίσου· καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διαιρεθείσης, ὁ Νίσος τὴν Μεγαρίδα λάχοι καὶ κτίσαι τὴν Νίσαιαν. Φιλόχορος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Πυθίου διήκειν αὐτοῦ φησι τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἄνδρων δὲ μέχρι Ἐλευσῖνος καὶ τοῦ Θριασίου πεδίου.—Strabo, p. 392.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 36. An inscription found at Megara shows, however, that here as well as at Athens, a new tribe was called Adrianis, in honour of the emperor. From another inscription, we learn that Sabina was worshipped here under the title of νέα Δημήτηρ. Boeck. Insc. Græc. Vol. I. p. 566. And Pausanias himself describes a temple of Apollo of white marble, built by Hadrian.

been variously attested in ancient history. The town stood on a low hill with a double summit, situated a mile and a half from the shore of the Saronic gulf, near the southern extremity of a plain six or seven miles in length as well as breadth, of no great fertility, and which is bounded on every side, except towards the sea, by the mountains Oneia. The following is a brief abstract of the description of the city by Pausanias, in which I shall exactly follow the order of his narrative, as it is among the clearest and most methodical which he has given of the more celebrated cities of Greece, and may lead to some interesting discoveries, when circumstances shall allow the site to be properly explored [1]. The fountain, which took its name from the Nymphs Sithnides, was adorned by Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, with a building remarkable for its magnitude and numerous columns. Near it stood an ancient temple, containing a brazen statue of Diana Soteira by Strongylion [2], statues of the twelve gods, the reputed works of Praxiteles, and images [3] of the Roman emperors. In the adjoining Olympieium, or inclosure of Jupiter Olympius, stood a magnificent temple, containing a statue of the God, the finishing of which was interrupted by the enmity of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war: hence the face of the God was of ivory and gold, and the remaining parts of clay

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 40, et seq.

[2] Three of the Muses in the Grove of the Muses at Mount Helicon were made by this artist, but he was chiefly celebrated for his horses and oxen. Paus. Bœot. c. 30.

[3] εἰκόνες.

and plaster. It was the joint work of Phidias and of Theocosmus of Megara. On the head of Jupiter were represented the Hours and Fates. In the back part of the temple were some half-wrought pieces of wood, prepared by Theocosmus for the reception of the ivory and gold with which the remaining parts of the statue were to have been adorned [1]. The temple contained also the brazen beak of a galley taken, as the Megarenses asserted, from the Athenians in the contest for the possession of Salamis.

Anciently, each summit of the hill of Megara was occupied by a citadel; one was named Caria, from Car, son of Phoroneus son of Inachus, the other Alcathoe, from Alcathous son of Pelops. Having ascended from the Olympium into Caria, there occurred a temple of Bacchus Nyctelius; this citadel contained also a sanctuary of Venus Apostrophia, an oracle of Night, a roofless temple of Jupiter Conius, statues of Æsculapius and Hygieia by Bryaxis, and the Μέγαρον, or temple of Ceres, said to have been founded by Car during his reign.

Below the citadel Caria to the northward, near the Olympium, was the tomb of Alcmene, from whence Pausanias was conducted by his Megarean guide to Rhus [2], a place so called because the waters

[1] *ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ Διός.*—c. 40.

This remarkable passage throws great light on the mode of constructing the chryselephantine statues of the Greeks. On this subject see the work of M. Quatremère, entitled *Jupiter Olympien.*

[2] *Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν ἐξηγητὴς ἠγεῖτο ἐς χωρίον Ῥοῦν.*—c. 41.

from the neighbouring mountain [1] were collected in this place, until Theagenes having turned off the water, erected an altar here to Achelous. Not far from thence was the monument of Hyllus, son of Hercules, and near the latter a temple of Isis, with another of Apollo Agræus and Diana Agrotera, which is said to have been dedicated by Alcathous when he had slain the Cithæronian lion. On descending from this temple occurred the heroum of Pandion, and near it the tomb of Hippolyte, fashioned like an Amazonian shield, then that of Tereus, who married Procne, daughter of Pandion, and who is asserted by the Megarenses to have ruled over the country about Pagæ.

On the right hand of the ascent to Alcathoe was the sepulchre of Megareus, near which was the hearth of the Prodomeis [2], or place where Alcathous sacrificed to the deities who assisted him in raising the walls of Megara; here was the stone on which Apollo laid his lyre [3] on that occasion, and which thenceforth uttered when struck

[1] It was probably the same water which supplied the fountain of the Sithnides. The nearest heights appear from Nicander to have been called the Pammonides, or Pammonia.

Οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Σκύρωνος ὄρη Παμμώνια τ' αἶπη.
Nicand. Theriac. v. 214.

Τείχεά τε προλιπόντες ὑπὲρ Παμμωνίδας ὄχθας
Ἐσσύμενοι Μεγαρῆες ἐνεννάσσαντο δόμοισι.
Id. in Thebaic. ap. Schol. in Theriac. v. 214.

[2] ἑστία θεῶν Προδομέων.—c. 42. [3] κιθάρα.

a musical sound [1], similar to that which Pausanias heard at Thebes in Egypt from a half statue generally called the statue of Memnon, but which was said by the natives to be that of Phamenoph, though some ascribed it to Sesostris [2]. In Alcathoe was a council-house [3], formerly the sepulchre of Timalcus, and on the summit of the same citadel stood a temple of Minerva,

[1] *Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην*
Ἀλκαθόῳ Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος.
Theogn. v. 771.

Regia turris erat vocalibus addita muris,
In quibus auratam proles Letoia fertur
Deposuisse lyram : saxo sonus ejus inhæsit.
Ovid. Metam. l. 8, v. 14.

[2] Juvenal agrees with Pausanias, both as to the condition of the statue and the person for whom it was intended.

Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi *Memnone* chordæ,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Juvenal. Satyr. 15. v. 5.

Numerous inscriptions, still legible on the leg of the statue itself, attribute it to Memnon, and two of them add that the Egyptians called him Phamenoph, or Amenoph. Since the time of Juvenal and Pausanias, the upper part of the statue which had originally been monolithal, like another near it, has been reconstructed of several pieces of stone, and in this state it still remains. Pausanias asserts that it was overthrown by Cambyses. According to late discoveries, the Memnon in question reigned at Thebes, two centuries before the great conqueror of Asia, known to the Greeks by the name of Sesostris : and nothing can better show the ignorance of the Thebaic Greeks than their having confounded this person with the Memnon of Homer, who was a Persian of Susa, and lived four or five centuries later.

[3] *βουλευτήριον*.

containing a statue of the goddess, entirely gilded except the face, hands, and feet, which were of ivory. Here likewise were sanctuaries of Minerva Νίκη and Minerva Αἰαντὶς, the latter so called, in the opinion of Pausanias, because the statue was dedicated by Ajax, son of Telamon. The temple of Apollo was anciently of brick, but had been rebuilt of white marble by Hadrian. It contained three statues of Apollo made of ebony; those surnamed Pythius and Decatephorus were in the Ægyptian style: the Archagetes was in the Æginetan manner. There was also a sanctuary of Ceres Thesmophorus, in descending from which occurred the sepulchre of Callipolis, son of Alcathous.

On the way to the Prytaneium were the following monuments: the heroum of Ino surrounded with a stone fence, within which was a plantation of olives,—the heroa of Iphigeneia and of Adrastus, both of whom, according to the Megarenses, died at Megara, and a temple of Diana, said to have been founded by Agamemnon. In the Prytaneium were the sepulchres of Menippus, son of Megareus, and of Echepolis, son of Alcathous, and near the same building a stone named Anaclethra, because here Ceres, when searching for her daughter, sat down and called her. The Æsymnium was a council-house, so named from its founder; it contained a monument of the heroes of Megara. There were also sepulchral monuments of the Megarenses who had fallen in fighting against the Medes, and the tombs of Pyrgo, wife of Alcathous, and of his

daughter Iphinoe, which were in the way from the Æsymnium to the heroum of Alcathous: the latter structure served in the time of Pausanias for depositing writings. In the entrance to the Dionysium, or sanctuary of Bacchus, was a tomb of Astycrateia and Manto, daughters of Polyeidus, son of Cœranus, who founded the sanctuary, and placed in it a wooden statue of the god surnamed Patrous, of which the face only was visible. Near it was a Satyr of Parian marble, by Praxiteles, and a Bacchus, surnamed Dasyllius. Near the Dionysium was the temple of Venus. It contained a very ancient statue in ivory of the goddess, surnamed Praxis, and images of Persuasion [1], and of Consolation [2], made by Praxiteles, and of Love [3], of Allurement [4], and of Desire [5], the works of Scopas. Near the temple of Venus was that of Fortune, containing a statue by Praxiteles, and another temple in which were the Muses, and a brazen Jupiter by Lysippus.

In the Agora stood the tomb of Corœbus, which was inscribed with verses relating to the story of Corœbus and Psamathe, and supported [6] statues representing Corœbus killing the monster Pœna: Pausanias thought they were the most ancient specimens of sculpture in stone which he had seen in Greece. Near this sepulchre was that of Orsippus, who gained a victory in running at Olympia, and who, when military commander of the Megarenses, enlarged the boundaries of the Me-

[1] Πειθώ.—c. 43.
[2] Παρήγορος.
[3] Ἔρως.
[4] Ἵμερος.
[5] Πόθος.
[6] ἐπίθημά ἐστι τῷ τάφῳ.

garis. In descending from the agora by the street called Eutheia, the temple of Apollo Prostaterius stood a little on the right; it contained, an Apollo of great merit, a Diana, and a Latona, besides which were Latona and her children, by Praxiteles. In the ancient Gymnasium, near the gates called Nymphades, was a small pyramidal stone, named Apollo Carinus[1], and a temple of Lucina. On the descent to the port of Megara, which in the time of Pausanias still bore the appellation of Nisæa, there was a temple of Diana Malophorus, the roof of which had fallen in. The citadel of Nisæa still remained; on the sea side was the tomb of Lelex, who is said to have been an Egyptian, the son of Neptune and Libya, and to have reigned at Nisæa. Near Nisæa, adds Pausanias, there was a small island [2], where Minos of Crete was said to have sheltered his fleet in his war with Nisus.

There remains nothing of ancient Megara above-ground, save some fragments of the walls of the three citadels, Caria, Alcathoe, and Nisæa, together with some vestiges of the Long Walls, and some fragments of the buildings of the city, but the place has been fertile in inscriptions[3]; and if the situations in which they were found had been exactly noted they might have contributed not a

[1] In the most ancient worship of the Greeks, pillars or square pyramidal stones were worshipped under the name of the gods. In the agora of Pharæ, in Achaia, were 30 quadrangular stones, each of which bore the name of a deity.

[2] *παρήκει νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη.*—c. 44.

[3] All the inscriptions of Megara are collected in the work of Boeckh Corp. Inscr. Gr. Vol. 1, p. 553.

little to a knowledge of the ancient topography. From one which is now at Oxford we learn that it was deposited in the Olympium. Another in honour of some gymnasiarchs was probably in the Gymnasium. The modern town occupies only the hill of the two ancient citadels, and extends not much beyond the western summit: unlike the other towns of the continent of Greece, the houses are built with flat roofs like those of the Grecian islands. Alcathoë having been the more important of the two citadels, was probably the western, or that upon which the modern village is chiefly situated; and in that case, the tower which crowns it occupies the site of the temple of Minerva. The Olympium was on the northern side of Caria: and the Agora seems to have been towards the southern end of the ancient site, as the street Eutheia led from thence through the gate Nymphades into the Longomural street, and to Nisæa. As nature has probably resumed her sway in regard to the course of the waters from the neighbouring mountains, their natural receptacle, called Rhus, from which Theagenes turned away the water in order to form a fountain in a more convenient situation, might be thus identified, and it would serve as an important guide to the ancient topography.

The Long Walls which connected Megara with its maritime fortress Nisæa, in the same manner that the Piræeus was connected with Athens, were constructed by the Athenians in the year B. C. 455, when in consequence of the naval power which the victory of Salamis had given them, and the

disgust conceived by the Megarenses against the Corinthians, the Athenians obtained a paramount influence at Megara, and placed garrisons in Nisæa and Pagæ. These, together with Naupactus, which city at the opening of the Peloponnesian war they occupied with the refugees from Messenia, gave them stations at both the extremities of the Corinthian Sea, and consequently the naval command of it[1]. The Megaric Long Walls are noticed at this time by Aristophanes[2]; they were destroyed by the Megarenses themselves upon recovering them out of the hands of the Athenians, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war[3]. Seventy-four years afterwards they were restored by Phocion[4]. Strabo alludes to them as if they still existed[5], but the silence of Pausanias seems to show that they had fallen to ruin before his time.

The harbour of Nisæa was formed by the island Minoa, which, from the description given by Thucydides of the operations of the Athenians against Megara, in the fifth and eighth years of the Peloponnesian war[6], seems not to have been the nearest island opposite to Mégara, which is too small, and too distant from the shore, but the peninsula, a mile farther to the east, at the entrance of the strait of Sa-

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 103. 107. 111.

[2] *τὰ Μεγαρικὰ σκέλη.* — Lysist. v. 1172.

[3] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 109.

[4] Plutarch. in Phocion.

[5] *Ἡ δὲ Νίσαιά ἐστιν ἐπίνειον τῶν Μεγάρων δέκα ὀκτὼ σταδίους τῆς πόλεως διέχον, σκέλεσιν ἑκατέρωθεν συναπτόμενον πρὸς αὐτήν.*—Strabo, p. 391.

[6] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 51.—l. 4, c. 66.

lamis. Pausanias, in describing Minoa as an island, adverted perhaps to its earlier condition rather than to that which existed in his time; for Strabo, near two centuries before had applied to it the word ἄκρα, or promontory [1]. The examples of the conversion of islands into peninsulæ are so numerous on the coasts of Greece, that the present instance has nothing surprising in it, especially as the strait which separated Minoa from the main appears from Thucydides to have been narrow at the entrance from the sea, and to have terminated in a marsh, over which there was a bridge or causeway. In the fifth year of the war, the Athenians perceiving that Minoa, in which the Megarenses had only a tower, would be a much better station than Budorus and Salamis for observing the Peloponnesian fleet, and for blockading Megara, Nicias seized two of the towers of the walls of Nisæa, which had prevented his ships from passing between them and the island of Minoa, and then built a wall in the island, by which he cut off "the communication between Megara and Minoa by means of the bridge which led into the island across the marsh [2]." He then formed a fortress in the island and left a garrison in it. If such was the situation of Minoa, it will follow that the length of the Long Walls was not 8 stades, as the text of Thucydides gives it [3], but

[1] Μετὰ δὴ τὰς Σκειρωνίδας πέτρας ἄκρα πρόκειται Μινώα ποιοῦσα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νισαίᾳ λιμένα.—Strabo, p. 391.

[2] διὰ τενάγους.—Thucyd. l. 3. c. 51.

[3] μακρὰ τείχη . . . . ἦν δὲ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν Νίσαιαν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν.—Thucyd. l. 4, c. 66.

18, as we find it in that of Strabo; the peninsula being not less than three miles from Megara.

In the eighth year of the war, the Athenians still holding Minoa, but the Peloponnesians having a garrison in Nisæa, the former in conjunction with a body of troops from Platæa, and by the assistance of a party in Megara, obtained possession of the Long Walls, and built a cross wall within them for protection against Megara. They then prolonged the circumvallation of Nisæa to the sea on either side, obtaining plentiful materials from the suburb, and making its houses serve, with the addition of battlements, for a part of the fortification. The Peloponnesians in Nisæa being thus deprived of their daily supplies, were obliged to surrender, when the Athenians took possession of Nisæa, and entirely separated it from Megara, by breaking down a part of the Long Walls. Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at the Isthmus preparing to march into Thrace, on hearing of the first success of the Athenians at the Long Walls, summoned the Bœotians, who were already collected at Platæa for the relief of Megara, to meet him at Tripodiscus, a Megaric town [1] at the foot of Mount Geraneia. The united forces amounted to 6000; and the Athenians, who had received a large reinforcement from Athens, were not much inferior in number. Each party being more anxious to support its adherents in Megara than to come to action, nothing took place but a combat of cavalry in the

[1] κώμη.—Thucyd. l. 4, c. 70.

plain, in which the Athenians had some advantage. At length Brasidas, having succeeded in obtaining admission into Megara, the oligarchy was re-established in the city, the Athenians still retaining possession of Nisæa and Minoa. It was in the ensuing winter that the Megarenses, having been sufficiently strong to recover possession of their Long Walls, entirely destroyed them.

From a part of the narrative of Thucydides, it appears that there was a sanctuary of Mars, called the Enyalium, not far from the gate by which the Athenians first made their irruption into the Long Walls, and which seems to have been a gate opening from the northern Long Wall into the suburb on that side.

We find by the terms of the truce agreed upon between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians in the spring of the ninth year, that towards the sea on the north-eastern side of Nisæa, there was a monument of Nisus, at a gate of Nisæa, and a Posidonium, or sanctuary of Neptune, between it and the bridge leading into Minoa. By the conditions of the treaty, the line of demarcation between the Athenians in Minoa and Nisæa, on one side, and the Megarenses and their allies, on the other, was the road which led from that gate of Nisæa to the Posidonium, and from thence a direct line to the causeway [1].

Having finished the description of the city, Pausanias proceeds to notice the places situated in the ὀρεινὴ, or mountainous part of the Megaris to the northward of the plain, after which he describes

[1] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 118.

the road from Megara into the Corinthia. The only places named by him in the Oreine are Pagæ, Ægosthena, and Erineia.

Although the historians and geographers have left little doubt that *Ægosthena* was at Ghermanó, it is satisfactory to be able to confirm this fact by means of an inscription found on the spot; from a copy of which, although very imperfect, I have been able to decipher enough to show that it was a decree of the people of Ægosthena in favour of Apollodorus, son of Alcimachus of Megara, granting him the ordinary rights of proxenia, with the use of the pastures of the district for his cattle, and the privilege of a front seat at the public ceremonies [1]. The decree is to be recorded in the temple

[1] *Ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολ(λόδω)ρος Ἀλκιμάχου Μεγαρεὺς (εὔνους) ἐὼν διατέλει τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Αἰγοσθενίταν . . . . . τῷ δάμῳ πρόξενον εἶμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ . . . . τᾶς πόλιος Αἰγοσθενίταν καὶ εἶμεν αὐτῷ ἔκτησιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις· ὁμοίως κελεύει εἶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπινομίαν . . . . . ἀναγράψάντω οἱ δ . . . . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Μελάμποδος· δίδοσθαι δὲ καὶ . . . . . τῶν Μελαμποδείων καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς προεδρίαν καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προξένους.*

The Doric dialect is accounted for by Ægosthena having been considered a town of the Megaris. Stephanus remarks the difference of the form of the gentile in the names Megara and Ægosthena, although both are neuters plural; for while the ethnic of Megara is Megareus, that of Ægosthena is *Αἰγοσθενίτης*, in proof of which he quotes a lost passage of Polybius. The inscription shows the correctness of Stephanus. The Ethnic *Αἰγοσθένειος*, therefore, is erroneous in Athenæus, who cites some words of Polybius, showing that Ægosthena produced a sweet wine, *Αἰγοσθενείῳ γλύκει (οἴνῳ)*.—Athen. l. 10, c. 11.

of Melampus, and mention is made of the Melampodeia, which we learn from Pausanias to have been a festival celebrated every year at Ægosthena[1].

The position of *Ægosthena* thus ascertained, illustrates two interesting passages in the Hellenics of Xenophon. Between Ghermanó and the vale of Livadhóstra, which stands on or near the site of the ancient Creusis, a projection of the highest part of *Cithæron* terminates abruptly in the *Corinthiac* or *Alcyonic* Gulf, and forms a natural separation between the *Megaris* and the *Bœotian* district of *Thespiæ*, of which city *Creusis* was the port, leaving no passage along the shore except a path on the mountain's side, which now serves for a road from Livadhóstra and Ai Vasíli to Ghermanó and Vília. Like the *Scironian* rocks, along which there is a similar road from *Megara* to *Crommyon*, this termination of Mount *Cithæron*, as well as all the adjoining part of the *Alcyonic* sea, is subject to sudden gusts of wind, by which the passage of such a cornice is sometimes rendered dangerous.

The Lacedæmonians under Cleombrotus were here overtaken, on their march from Creusis to Ægosthena, when retreating from Bœotia in the winter of B.C. 379-378, by one of these tempests. Such was the force of the wind, that the shields of the soldiers were wrested from their hands, and many of the asses that carried the burthens were

[1] Ἐν Αἰγοσθένοις δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειργασμένος ἐν στήλῃ· καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι.—Pausan. Attic. c. 44.

blown over the precipices into the sea [1]. Seven years afterwards the Lacedæmonians again retreated by the same road after their memorable defeat at Leuctra. Little trusting to the peace which the Thebans had granted them, they avoided crossing Mount Cithæron by the ordinary route in the face of their conquerors, and preferred the risk of marching in the night by the narrow and dangerous path at the back of the mountain. The historian states that the Spartan commanders concealed their intention by moving from the field of battle near Leuctra in the evening, with the avowed purpose of being ready to cross the Cithæron by the usual route in the morning at daybreak; but that, instead of pursuing it, they turned off to Creusis, and proceeded from thence to Ægosthena of the Megarice, where they met the army of Archidamus coming to their support [2].

Not less certain than the position of Ægosthena is that of Pegæ or Pagæ, as it was called in the Megaric dialect. From Thucydides and Plutarch we learn that it was the principal harbour on the western coast of the Megaris; and from Strabo that it formed with Nisæa the narrowest part of the Megaric Isthmus, the breadth of which was 120 stades [3]. These data correspond exactly with the port of Psathó, not far from the shore of which are found the remains of an ancient fortress. Near the road from Megara to Pagæ there was a rock (according to Pausanias) covered with marks

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 4.
[2] Ibid. l. 6. c. 4.
[3] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 103, 107, 111. Plutarch in Pericl. Strabo, p. 334.

which were supposed to have been made by the arrows of an advanced body of Median cavalry, when Mardonius, hearing of the arrival of the Peloponnesians at the Isthmus on their way to Platæa, made a movement from Attica to intercept them [1]. Pausanias relates that they wandered to the rock on the road to Pagæ in the night; that under the impulse of a madness inspired by Diana, they consumed their arrows by discharging them at the rock, mistaking it for the enemy, and that thus disarmed they were attacked in the morning and put to death by the Megarenses. At Pagæ there was a brazen statue of Diana Soteira, erected in memory of this event, and exactly resembling another dedicated to the same deity at Megara. Pagæ contained also the heroic monument of Ægialeus, who fell at Glisas in the second expedition of the Argives against Thebes [2].

The third town of the Oreine, mentioned by Pausanias, was Erineia, in which was a monument of Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus [3]. As Vília and Kúndura are the only inland positions in the northern part of the *Megaric* isthmus having any natural advantages, we may presume *Erineia* to have occupied the one or other of those sites; and as Strabo notices Isus, formerly a town of the Megaris, as having been situated near Cithæron [4], I am disposed to place *Isus* at Vília, and *Erineia* at Kúndura. There can be no doubt, as before

[1] Herodot. l. 9, c. 14.

[2] Pausan. Attic c. 40, 44.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 44.

[4] ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἴσος πόλις ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπῳκισμένη (ex Iso Bœotico sc.) ἔγγυς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. Strabo, p. 405.

remarked, that Kandíli is the mountain which the ancients named Κέρατα, from the sharp rocks which rise from its summit[1]; the ancient name of Karýdhi I am unable to discover, except that it was the highest summit of the Oneia, as Strabo defines those mountains, that is to say, as extending from the rocks Scironides to Cithæron and the confines of Bœotia[2]. Other authors, however, appear to have comprehended in the Oneia, not only all the mountains as far as the Isthmus, but even the ridge to the southward of it, which stretches from *Cenchreiæ* to Corinth, having apparently considered Geraneia only as the highest summit of the Oneia[3].

In a verse preserved by Strabo, which the Athenians were suspected by some of the ancient critics of having ejected from the Iliad, for the sake of interpolating another, which proved that Salamis in the time of the Trojan war was a dependency

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Σαλαμῖνα κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄρη δύο ἃ καλοῦσι Κέρατα. Strabo, p. 395.

Οἱ Μεγαρεῖς . . . παρετάξαντο πρὸς τοῖς λόφοις τοῖς Κέρασι καλουμένοις. Diodor. Sicul. l. 13, c. 65.

. . . . ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων. Plutarch. in Themist.

[2] . . . τὰ καλούμενα Ὄνεια ὄρη, διατείνοντα μέχρι Βοιωτίας καὶ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀπὸ τῶν Σκειρωνίδων πετρῶν, καὶ τῆς παρὰ ταύτας ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν. Strabo, p. 380.

Ἔστι δ' ἡ χώρα τῶν Μεγαρέων παράλυπρος, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτῆς ἐπέχει τὰ καλούμενα Ὄνεια ὄρη, ῥάχις τις μηκυνομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Σκειρωνίδων πετρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, διείργουσα δὲ τὴν κατὰ Νίσαιαν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Κρίσσαν [al. Κρέουσαν] Ἀλκυονίδος προσαγορευομένης. Strabo, p. 393.

[3] See Travels in the Morea, Vol. iii. p. 310.

of Athens, mention is made of Ægeirusa, Nisæa, and Tripodi, in the Megaris, as part of the dominions of Ajax of Salamis[1]. Whether the latter was the genuine version or not, it is at least evident from Strabo, that Ægeirusa and Tripodi, like Nisæa, still existed in his time. Of Polichne, the fourth Megaric town named in the verses, we have no other notice in ancient history.

Tripodiscus[2] is shown by Thucydides, on the occasion already mentioned, to have been at the foot of Mount Geraneia, in a situation convenient for forming a junction of troops who were assembling from Platæa in one direction, and the Isthmus in the other, for the purpose of acting at Megara. And accordingly, at the foot of Mount *Geraneia*, in the road from *Platæa* to the *Isthmus*, four or five miles to the north-west of Megara, I remarked in my former journey, when passing by that route

[1] Strabo, p. 394. The verses as we now have them are—

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας
Στῆσε δ' ἄγων, ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

The Megarenses asserted that Homer wrote as follows:

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας, ἔκ τε Πολίχνης
Ἔκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης, Νισαίης τε, Τριπόδων τε.

Some of the ancient critics gave strong reasons against the authenticity of the Athenian reading; on the other hand, it seems improbable that the number of the ships should have been omitted, as would follow from the admission of the Megaric version.

[2] The termination of the name varies, as in a great number of the names of places in Greece: Thucydides writes Τριποδίσκος; Pausanias, Τριποδίσκοι, Strabo, Τριποδίσκιον, Herodian (ap. Stephan. in Τριποδίσκος) Τριποδίσκη, which seems to have been the form understood by Plutarch, who writes the gentile adjective plural Τριποδισκαῖοι.

from Mégara to Corinth, the evident vestiges of an ancient town. The position is perfectly in agreement with the fable of the foundation of Tripodiscus, related by Pausanias. According to that author, Corœbus the Argive, after having slain the monster Pœna, which had been sent by Apollo to punish the Argives for the death of the child of Apollo by Psamathe, daughter of their king Crotopus, went to Delphi to give himself up to punishment. He was ordered by the oracle to take a tripod out of the temple, to return towards Argos, and wherever the tripod fell to the ground to reside there, and to build a temple to Apollo[1]. The remains are exactly on the shortest route from Delphi to the Isthmus, over Mount Geraneia, leaving Megara a few miles on the left[2].

It is probable that Ægeirusa, like Nisæa and Tripodiscus, was in the western part of the Megaris, for none of the places mentioned in the Megaric reading of the verses in the Iliad are among those which, according to Pausanias, occu-

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 43. According to Conon, (narrat. 19, ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 179,) Crotopus, not Corœbus, was the founder of the Argive colony at Tripodiscus.

[2] Strabo says, *Τριποδίσκιον —καθ' ὃ ἡ νῦν ἀγορὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων κεῖται*, from which it might be supposed, that Tripodiscus was nearer to Megara, but this does not follow. The Megarenses held probably a market near Tripodiscus, on account of its being a more central situation to the Megaris than their own city; such markets in some spot convenient to all the vicinage, and generally named from the nearest town, are still common in every part of the Levant, and appear to have been equally so anciently.

pied the Oreine, or mountain district to the northward and eastward, whence it would seem also that the western part only was claimed by the Salaminii and Megarenses as the ancient dominion of Ajax. Ægeirusa, according to Theopompus, was also called Ægeirus[1]. In Scylax, we find Aris noticed as the last place on the Alcyonic or northern coast of the Megaris[2]. It is not improbable that among the numerous corrections required in the names of Scylax, should be that of Αἴγειρος in place of Ἄρις. In this case it becomes likely that Ægeirus occupied the slope of Mount Geraneia towards the Corinthian Sea, and that its district bordered upon that of Œnoë of the Corinthia, which appears from Strabo to have been situated not far to the eastward of Cape Olmiæ[3]. On some part of Geraneia there was a town or fortress, homonymous with the mountain. This appears as well from Scylax as from Thucydides, who states the Athenians to have maintained a garrison there before the Peloponnesian war, and that by the possession of Geraneia, Pagæ, and Megara, they commanded the communication be-

[1] Ap. Stephan. in Αἰγειροῦσα.

[2] Μετὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὺς Μεγαρεῖς εἰσιν ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις αἵδε. Αἰγοσθέναι, Πηγαὶ, τεῖχος Γεράνεια, Ἄρις. Παράπλους δὲ τῶν Μεγαρέων χώρας στάδια ρ'. —Scylax. Perip. Μεγαρεῖς.

[3] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου καὶ τῶν Παγῶν τὸ τῆς Ἀκραίας μαντεῖον Ἥρας ὑπῆρχε τὸ παλαιόν· καὶ αἱ Ὀλμίαι, τὸ ποιοῦν ἀκρωτήριον τὸν κόλπον, ἐν ᾧ ἥ τε Οἰνόη καὶ Παγαὶ, τὸ μὲν τῶν Μεγαρέων φρούριον, ἡ δὲ Οἰνόη τῶν Κορινθίων.—Strabo, p. 380.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τοῦ κόλπου τούτου (scil. τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ) συμβέβηκε τὰς Παγὰς κεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν Οἰνόην.—Strabo, p. 409.

tween Northern Greece and the Peloponnesus[1]. When Cassander, after having reduced a great part of the Peloponnesus in the year B.C. 316, retired into Macedonia, he left a garrison in Geraneia[2]. The fortress probably stood at the summit of the ridge where the road must in all ages have passed.

Cimolia is known only as having been the scene of action of a victory, obtained by the Megarenses and Athenians over the Corinthians[3] in the year B.C. 458. It appears to have been in the plain of Megara: perhaps at the place where Wheler found the remains of several churches built on the ruins of more ancient buildings, and where he copied a Latin and a Greek inscription: this place, called Paleokhóri, is three or four miles northward of Megara[4].

In the western angle of the Bay of Megara, at the commencement of the rocks Scironides, Chandler observed many Hellenic foundations and other remains. It is not improbable that they may indicate the site of a *come* named Scirone, for as well as can be understood from the imperfect passage in Pausanias, which introduces his mention of the rocks Scironides, and the story of Ino and Melicerte, there was a place named after Sciron, who was polemarch of the Megarenses when Nisus was their king, and who was the first to make a foot-path

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 107.
[2] Diod. l. 19, c. 54.
[3] Diodor. Sic. l. 11, c. 79.
[4] A Journey to Greece, p. 434.

along the rocks[1]. This path may easily be made impracticable, as the Greeks rendered it after the loss of Thermopylæ[2], or it may be made passable by two carriages abreast, as Hadrian rendered it[3]. Wheler passed it in 1676 with horses, but at present it is only practicable by foot-passengers. The length of the Scironian rocks was reckoned six Roman miles[4], and according to Pausanias they were all comprehended within the Megaris. The two most projecting and remarkable rocks[5] were named the Moluris, and the ἐναγεῖς, or execrable. From the rock Moluris it was reported that Ino, or Leucothea, pursued by her husband Athamas, threw herself into the sea with her son Melicertes, otherwise called Palæmon, who was carried by a dolphin to the Isthmus, where the Corinthians worshipped him as a divinity and instituted games in his honour. The "execrable" rock was that from which Sciron the robber threw strangers into the sea[6], and from which he was himself thrown by Theseus. On the summit of the mountain there was a temple of Jupiter, who received the epithet Aphesius for

[1] *τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τόδε Σκίρων* [*al.* *Σκιρώνην*] *ἡνίκα Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπολεμάρχει πρῶτος* (*καὶ*) *ὡς λέγουσιν ἐποίησεν ἄνδρασιν εὐζώνοις ὁδεύειν.*—Pausan. Attic. c. 44.

[2] Herodot. l. 8, c. 71.

[3] *ἅρματα ἐναντία ἐλαύνεσθαι*—Pausan. Attic. c. 44.

[4] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 7.

[5] .... *πέτρας, αἳ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν.*—Pausan. Attic. c. 44.

[6] A sea-tortoise lay under the rocks ready to devour the victims of Sciron. These animals, adds Pausanias, differ only from land-tortoises in their greater size, and in the shape of the foot, which resembles that of the sea-calf (*φώκα*).

having removed the drought, which ceased after Æacus had sacrificed to Jupiter Panhellenius in Ægina. The temple of Aphesius contained statues of Venus, Apollo, and Pan. Beyond the "execrable" rock occurred the sepulchre of Eurystheus, who was slain here by Iolaus, after which there was a descent to the temple of Apollo Latous, near which was the boundary of the Megaris and Corinthia, in a spot where Hyllus, son of Hercules, was said to have fought with Echemus the Arcadian.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ATTICA, BŒOTIA.

Mount *Parnes*—View from the summit—Departure from Athens —Kifisía—Vraná—Plain of *Marathon*—Suli—*Tricorythus*—Temple of *Nemesis*—Evreókastro, *Rhamnus*—Grammatikó—Varnáva—Mount Mavronóro, *Phelleus*—Kálamo, *Psaphis*—Mavrodhílisi, *temple of Amphiaraus*—Apostólus, *Delphinium*—'Oropo, *Oropus*—Sykámino—Dhílissi, *Delium*—Battle of *Delium*—Skimatári—Grimádha, *Tanagra*—Rivers Lari and *Asopus*—Battles of *Tanagra* and *Œnophytæ*—'Inia, *Œnophytæ*—Andrítza, *Pharæ*—Archaic inscriptions—Vlokhó—Mounts Soro, Sullá—Return to Thebes—*Chalia*—*Cynoscephalæ*—*Græas-stethus*.

JAN. 10.—A continuation of the serene weather, which I found on entering Attica, tempts me to make an excursion to the summit of Mount Parnes, notwithstanding the time of year. This point, although not so distinct and unambiguous as the summits of *Pentelicum* and *Cithæron*, or that of Khlomó near Tálanda, is more comprehensive than any near the south-eastern extremity of Greece in the extent of its view over Attica, Bœotia, Eubœa, and the Saronic Gulf. Passing through the Gribós Kápesi, or Πόρτα τοῦ Ἐγρίπου, at 1.41, we very soon afterwards enter the olive woods: at 2 pass many foundations of ancient walls; at 2.27 cross the Ποδονίφτη, or Washfoot, as the *Cephissus* is now called, and in four minutes more a larger branch

of the same river, from which many channels are derived for mills and gardens. At 2.45 Dervish Agú and Turalí, two small villages on the river, are at a small distance on the right. At 3.20 we arrive at Menídhi. Here on some rocky heights a little to the left of the town, are foundations and antique fragments, indicative of the site of a demus; at a small chapel there is a sarcophagus in its place, and lying near it an inscribed marble adorned with a vase in relief; both which were excavated on the spot. On the northern side of the village is an abundant source of water, which does not fail in summer. Menídhi is the largest village in Attica next to Khassiá; it consists mostly of small houses two stories high, and is surrounded by a plantation of olive trees and some gardens.

From hence I proceed to the monastery of Aio Nikóla, at the foot of Mount *Parnes*. A little beyond Menídhi a massy foundation of ancient wall crosses a torrent now dry, which flows from *Parnes* in a wide gravelly bed, and after passing Menídhi joins the *Cephissus*. A Menidhiote peasant, of whom I inquire whether he knows of any other walls of the same kind in the neighbourhood, describes to me the situation of *Phyle* above Khassiá, and when I ask him the name of that castle, answers στὸ Φυλὶ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς; thus showing that Phyle still preserves its ancient appellation, though, like many other Greek names, it is neutralized into Φυλὶ instead of being Φυλή. The λέγομεν ἡμεῖς of the Menidhiote was not without its Attic salt. Knowing that the ruins are of Hellenic construction, he

thought that the place might have had a different name anciently, which name I might know, though he was ignorant of it. He seems pleased to learn that Φυλὴ was the Hellenic name of the castle, and this little lesson in archæology an Attic peasant is not likely to forget.

We are just an hour in riding from Menídhi to St. Nicolas. The road passes along the right side of the torrent before mentioned, and then ascends by a gentle slope to the monastery, which stands immediately below woods of pine which cover the steep acclivity of the mountain, and commands a beautiful view of the plain of Athens, including the city, and the Saronic Gulf. St. Nicolas is a small metókhi dependent on the monastery of Ἁγία Τρίας, vulgarly Aía Triádha, or the Holy Trinity, situated midway between the metókhi and the summit of the mountain, in a valley abounding in sources of water, and shaded with walnut and chestnut trees. The ἑορτὴ, or feast of the saint, is in May, and is much resorted to from the city. I am lodged at St. Nicolas in a cell of one of the monks, small, but having a ceiling, floor, and fire-place; luxuries to which I have been little accustomed in Thessaly and Bœotia. Indeed, in every part of Greece it must be the lot of the exploring traveller to partake of those miseries of Greek poverty of which Aristophanes drew a picture in the Plutus so true and lively, that the traveller, who has once read the verses, will not fail to be continually reminded of them[1]. The snug

[1] *Σὺ γὰρ ἂν πορίσαι τί δύναι' ἀγαθὸν πλὴν φώδων ἐκ βαλανείου,*
Καὶ παιδαρίων ὑποπεινώντων καὶ γραϊδίων κολοσυρτὸν,

cell at St. Nicolas is peculiarly opportune, as a violent southerly wind, accompanied with rain, detains me all the 11th of January, and an ascent of the mountain in such weather is out of the question. I have not observed in Attica any of the birds called Tóïa, a species of bustard which I saw in immense numbers in the plains of Bœotia, and which I suppose to be the ὠτίδες observed in the same plains by Pausanias. A nobler bird of the same genus, the wild turkey, exactly resembling the domestic, makes its appearance in the spring, and I was informed by Mr. Consul S. at Patrá, that they are sometimes sold there in the market. The bird and its name were probably introduced into England from this country.

Jan. 12.—The Igúmenos of Aía Triádha, who came to St. Nicolas yesterday on hearing of my arrival, accompanies me to the summit of the mountain. The shortness of the days, and the uncertainty of the weather, making the most direct road preferable, we do not pass by Aía Triádha, but ascend the south-eastern slope of the mountain, in face of Kifissiá and Mount Mendéli, cross-

Φθειρῶν τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ κωνώπων καὶ ψυλλῶν (οὐδὲ λέγω σοι
Ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους) αἳ βομβοῦσαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνιῶσιν,
Ἐπεγείρουσαι καὶ φράζουσαι, πεινήσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπανίστω.
Πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις, ἀνθ' ἱματίου μὲν ἔχειν ῥάκος, ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης
Στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει.
Καὶ φόρμον ἔχειν ἀντὶ τάπητος σαπρὸν, ἀντὶ δὲ προσκεφαλαίου
Λίθον εὐμεγέθη πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ· σιτεῖσθαι δ' ἀντὶ μὲν ἄρτων
Μαλάκης πτόρθους· ἀντὶ δὲ μάζης φυλλεῖ, ἰσχνῶν ῥαφανίδων,
Ἀντὶ δὲ θράνους στάμνου κεφαλὴν κατεαγότος, ἀντὶ δὲ μάκτρας
Πιθάκνης πλευρὰν, ἐρρωγυῖαν καὶ ταύτην.

Aristoph. Plut. v. 535.

ing two or three rémata which flow to the *Cephissus*. The lower part of the mountain is covered with pines; these, as we proceed, are mixed with holly-oaks and firs, and at length, towards the summit, the wood consists entirely of the last. Three years ago an accidental fire caught the fir-wood, and consumed three quarters of it; such at least is the calculation of my companion the abbot; but one quarter perhaps would be nearer the truth. He says that the fire burnt four days, but that the greater part of the mischief was done in a few hours. Not much of the timber has been destroyed, but the dead and leafless trunks give a desolate appearance to the scenery, which before this accident must have been beautiful even in the present season: frequent rivulets and green ravines occur amidst the firs, and here and there a small space is cultivated with corn. With these exceptions the mountain is entirely covered with forests, and contains an inexhaustible supply of timber for the Athenians. It is to the manufacture of plank that I am indebted for the means of ascending the mountain on horseback by a tolerable road.

Parnes still continues to supply Athens with charcoal, but the demand not being such as to cause any great consumption of wood in the manufacture of it, the people of Menídhi and Khassiá, who have succeeded the ἀνθρακεῖς of *Acharnæ* in its manufacture, have no necessity at present to ascend very high in the mountain for their materials. The wild thyme, lentisk, myrtle, and other shrubs, produced in abundance upon *Hymettus* and the uncultivated parts of the Πέδιον,

supply a sufficiency of wood for heating the ovens of Athens, and the *mangol* is not much used during the brief Athenian winter, when it is more the custom among the upper classes, all whose apartments have chimneys, to burn on their hearths some old olive or ilex, which has been overthrown by Boreas or Sciron. Both those trees make excellent firewood, but particularly the olive.

Mount *Parnes* still contains wild boars, as in the time of Pausanias, but bears are very rarely if ever seen [1]. It abounds also in wolves, hares and partridges, and is covered with a good soil, better indeed than that of the now totally uncultivated plain which lies between it and Mount *Pentelicum*. Towards the top of the mountain, the rock makes its appearance on the most exposed ridges, but in general the firs reach to the very summit, and they impede in some directions the view, which is one of the most extensive in Greece. *Attica*, *Bœotia*, a part of *Phocis*, the southern portion of *Eubœa*, the barriers of the *Isthmus* and the *Saronic* gulf, with the opposite coast of Argolis are ichnographically displayed. To the right of Mount *Parnassus* rise the snow-capped range of mountains on the borders of *Ætolia* and *Doris*, which extend to *Œta*, to the right of which a long snowy ridge makes its appearance above the *Bœotian* mountains *Ptoum* and *Hypatus*, which I recognize for *Othrys*. In the northern portion of *Eubœa*, the cliffs which border the coast between Politiká and Limni are conspicuous, and the highest summit of them, called Kan-

[1] Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων.—Pausan. Attic. c. 32.

díli, shows itself between Khtypá and 'Egripo. Still following the horizon to the right, are seen the hill of Kalogherítza, the straits near it, the mouth of the *Asopus*, Mount Dhelfi, anciently *Dirphe* or *Dirphys*, the highest mountain in *Eubœa* next to *Oche*, and remarkable for its sharp cone, then the mountain immediately above Kumi in *Eubœa*, then Kálamo in *Attica* [1].

The channel of *Eubœa* changes its direction from north to north-west at the cape of *Rhamnus*, in *Attica*, which is the termination of the great *Bœoto-Attic* chain of *Cithæron* and *Parnes*, and is immediately opposite to the bay of Stura, the ancient Styra, in the midst of which is an island, probably the Ægilia of Herodotus [2]. Here the island of Eubœa

[1] The following angles, connecting points in Eubœa and three other islands with the main, may possibly be of use to geographers.

Mount Kandíli (cliffs in *Eubœa*, between Politiká and Limni) with summit of Khtypá ...	9°	25′
M. Khtypá and the Euripus	12	10
—— and the tower at the entrance of the strait near Vasilikó	16	12
—— and mouth of the Asopus	37	19
—— and summit of Mount *Dirphe*	44	
—— and summit of the hill above Kumí	70	
—— and Kálamo in *Attica*	73	23
M. *Dirphe* and Kavo Doro	90	
—— and Mount *Pentelicum*	106	18
Pentelicum, and the north point of Skyro.....	91	31
—— and the south point of Skyro	76	7
—— and the north point of Zia	6	14
—— and the south point of Zia	18	4
—— and south cape of Andhro	10	50
—— and east cape of Ydhra.....	61	49

Bearing of *Pentelicum* by compass, S. 39 $\frac{1}{3}$ E.

[2] Herodot. l. 6, c. 101, 107.

is narrower than in any part, except at the isthmus of Lithádha at the northern extremity. Both these narrow places seem to be unknown to modern geographers; the isthmus of Stura is noticed by Plutarch in the life of Phocion, who after the battle of Tamynæ occupied a fortress on the isthmus, named Zaretra. The peninsula to the southward of Stura terminates in the great round mountain, the highest in *Eubœa*, anciently called Oche, which to the north-east throws out the terrible *Caphareus*, now Xylofágo or Kavo Doro, and to the south-west cape Mandíli, the south-eastern extremity of the island, and anciently named Geræstus. It appears from the ancient authors, that there was a town and temple of Neptune on this cape, and a port below it [1], which seems very small, though Livy describes it as "nobilis Eubœæ portus [2]." It may have derived some shelter from a small island which lies immediately off the cape. Between this promontory and the islands Petaliús, the ancient Petaliæ, is the great bay of Kárysto, and in the middle of it is the town seen a little to the right of Kavo Doro, and situated, as Strabo describes it, at the foot of Mount *Oche*.

In the Gulf of 'Eghina or the *Saronic Gulf*, it is observable that the eastern end of *Salamis*, the western end of *Ægina*, the eastern end of *Pityonesus* (now called Anghístri), the western end of the peninsula of *Methana*, and the summit of mount Ortholíthi in the *Argolic* peninsula, fall in the same line. To the right of these, is the cluster of rocks

[1] Strabo, p. 446. Thucyd. l. 3, c. 3. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 3, c. 4.
[2] Liv. l. 31, c. 45.

called the Pendenísia, or five islands; in a line with Mount *Arachnæum* near Ligurió. A little to the right of the Pendenísia is seen a cape of the Argolic coast, round which the coast retires to the left, and forms the bay of Sofikó. Another small island shows itself a little to the right of Anghístri, lying between it and the Pendenísia, and another of the same size nearer to *Salamis*, forming nearly an equilateral triangle with the former and Pendenísia.

The nearest district on the *Bœotian* side is the *Tanagrice*, or *Tanagræa*, inclosed between the lower heights of *Parnes* and the low *Theban* ridge, of which the principal summit is now called Soró. The *Asopus* is seen forcing its way through a rocky ravine of no great length from the *Parasopia* into the plain of *Tanagra*, which is separated only from the maritime plain of *Oropus* by the last falls of *Parnes* near 'Oropo and Sykámino, above which two villages the *Asopus* again traverses a rocky defile, which probably formed the separation between the *Tanagrice* and *Oropia*. At the head of the plain of *Tanagra*, just under *Parnes*, stands Mavromáti, in a line with the convent of Siamatá. In the middle of the plain of *Tanagra*, Skimatári interlineates with Mount Kandíli of *Eubœa*; and near the sea Vathý is seen in a direction a little to the left of the *Euripus*; close under *Parnes*, on the right bank of the *Asopus*, is the tower and village of Staniátes. In the direction of *Pentelicum* we look down on Tatóy, near which village a fountain, some fragments of ancient sculpture, and the foundations of walls, indicate the site of the celebrated *Deceleia*.

On the slope of a round mountain behind *Rhamnus*, and in a line with its summit, are seen Kapandríti, and a little beyond it Khalkúki. From thence a cultivated slope descends to the valley of *Marathon*. From the north-western side of the same height, and from the adjacent parts of *Parnes*, the waters meet, and form a torrent, which passes a little to the right of Markópulo, and falls into the sea between the mouth of the *Asopus* and Kálamo.

The direction of the streams in *Attica* shows the different slopes of the land. All the waters from the south and south-east of *Parnes* flow to the *Cephissus*, the most distant origin of which is in some heights attached to the north-western side of *Pentelicum*, about four miles to the south-east of Tatóy. The river receives contributions from *Pentelicum* as it proceeds through the plain, particularly that rising at Kifisiá, which in fact is the principal source of the river. The waters from the northern side of *Pentelicum* and from the southern side of the range which stretches from *Parnes* to *Rhamnus*, meet and form the *Charadra* of *Marathon*; the low ridge of Tatóy which connects the slopes of *Pentelicum* and *Parnes*, separates the waters contributing to the *Cephissus* and flowing to the *Saronic* Gulf, from those which flow to the *Charadra* and the *Euboic* frith.

The mountains of the Mesóghia are well distinguished, but the greater part of its plain is hidden by *Hymettus*, which is now called Telovúni. The first mountain of the *Paralia*, seen to the left of *Hymettus*, is 'Elymo, a round hill of no great height and not far from the sea, and which has a village

of the same name at its foot. To the left of it appears Mount Paní, which beginning eastward of Vari, runs inland to the plain of the Mesóghia and to Keratía. Beyond Paní rises the ancient Laurium, for which I cannot learn any modern name, then a hill the highest of all the minor ones, and similar in form to *Hymettus*, near the village Markópulo (of Mesóghia); beyond which are two pointed heights, one on the southern, the other on the northern side of Porto Rafti.

Jan. 13.—Return to Athens, leaving St. Nicolas at 8.21, and passing through Menídhi at 9.3. At 9.20 halt by the side of a cultivated rising ground, on the summit of which are modern walls. Soon afterwards reach the side of a torrent called Ianúla [1], now running rapidly in consequence of the late rains. It rises in a gorge of *Parnes* eastward of *Phyle*, passes by Khassiá, receives the great torrent from *Parnes* which passes by Menídhi, and thus forms a principal branch of the *Cephissus*, which it joins at some mills a little below Turalí. We pass the junction of the two streams at 9.57, and a few minutes after cross the *Cephissus*. At 10.50 enter the 'Egripo gate: the Menídhi road branches from that of 'Egripo at the passage of the *Cephissus*.

Jan. 28.—From Athens to Kifisía and Vraná [2].

[1] Ἰανούλα, or Γιανοῦλα.

[2] I have omitted the Itinerary of some excursions around Athens, because the results added to those of former journeys, have been published in an Essay on the *Demi of Attica*, printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. i. For the same reason the Remarks on the Marathonia and the Itinerary through Attica have been very much curtailed.

—At 9.55 pass through the 'Egripo gate: at 10.20 arrive at Ambelókipo, where are gardens and olive-grounds with small casini, situated along the *Ilissus*, for a considerable distance above the monastery of Petráki: from thence proceed along the south-eastern side of a ridge called Lulé-vuno, the *Ilissus* remaining at a short distance on the right. By the road side are several round holes of great depth cut through the rock, belonging to a conduit apparently of ancient workmanship which still supplies the town, entering it at the north-eastern gate, which is vulgarly called Bubunístra, from the noise of the water in the conduit. At 11 on our left are the ruins of a Roman aqueduct on arches, crossing a valley, and which appears by its direction to have brought water from Mount *Parnes*. It was probably the same which was constructed for the Athenians by Trajan, and terminated by Antoninus Pius, as we learn from an inscription over the gate at Bubunístra. It is very possible that here, as at Eleusis, there was more than one source to the aqueduct; and that all the three mountains, *Parnes*, *Pentelicum*, and *Hymettus*, may have contributed water to the supply of Roman Athens. The work of Trajan was perhaps an addition from Mount *Parnes* to the original conduit which was excavated in the rock, according to the mode customary in Greece before the time of the Romans.

We now enter the olive plantations which surround Kifisía and the adjacent villages. At 11.22 pass Kato Marúsi, often called Logothéti, as belonging to the English vice-consul of that name.

It contains only a pyrgo, a garden, and two or three cottages. At 11.25 cross a stream called Pispír, which originates near the monastery of Mendéli; it forms a considerable branch of the *Cephissus*. Having crossed several other smaller rémata, and at 11.35 passed through Upper Marúsi, we arrive at 11.56 at Kifisía, vulgarly pronounced Kifishá or Tjifishá. Here are several large pyrghi with good gardens, and a mosque, before which are a fountain and a beautiful plane-tree. The rare advantage in *Attica* of an abundance of running water in the middle of summer has rendered this place a favourite abode of the Turks of Athens; but the generality of the houses are in a ruinous condition, and all in the present season are empty. The Greeks are at work in the olive-grounds, corn-fields, and vineyards; and the women, alarmed at the sight of an armed Albanian servant of mine, lock up their houses and hide themselves.

Having proceeded from Kifisía at 12.38, the olive-woods soon cease, and we enter upon the uncultivated root of Mount *Pentelicum*, which unites that mountain with *Parnes*. All the upper part of the plain of Athens adjacent to this ridge is covered with arbutus and stunted pines. At 1.25, having turned the end of the mountain, we are in a line between its summit and the pass of *Deceleia*, where the modern road to 'Egripo passes between two heights which are separated by a deep réma originating at a Kefalóvrysi under Tatóy, a village, the territory of which is a narrow strip of cultivated land among the pine-woods.

The torrent of Tatóy is a tributary of the *Cephissus*, but the fountains of Kifisía are the principal feeder of that river, though not the most distaut, which is at Fasídhero, on the heights between Kifisía and Tatóy: this branch flows through the plain at no great distance to the west of Kifisía.

At 1.50 we pass the small village of Stamáta in an elevated situation, surrounded by a few barren fields, among woods of pine. It was probably the site of a demus; but no fortifications or other remains are to be seen, although the position is important as being in the middle of the communication between the plain of *Marathon* and that of Athens. Several torrents flow through ravines on our right from Mount *Pentelicum*, and after uniting, enter the plain of *Marathon* at Vraná. We ascend through a barren mountainous tract studded with pines, until at 2.36, being at no great distance to the northward of the peaked summit of Mount Aforismós [1], an opening in the ridge commands a view of the plain of *Marathon*, the marsh, and salt lake, together with the channel and island of *Eubœa*, Mount *Oche*, the islands *Petaliæ*, and the bays of Marmári and Stura. Aforismós, though steep, has a very regular slope, and is beautifully clothed with pine-woods. It is probably the ancient *Icarius*. The descent from hence to Vraná is long, and we do not arrive there till 3.10. This village stands immediately at the foot of the mountain, on a low rocky height surrounded on three sides by the deep stony bed

[1] Ἀφορισμός.

of the torrent before mentioned, which spreads and is lost in the plain of *Marathon*. The peaked summit of Mendéli, or *Pentelicum*, appears through the opening of the torrent at the back of the village. A third peak, in the same cluster of mountains, called Argalíki [1], lying eastward of Aforismós, rises immediately from the plain, and sends forth a deep charadra which extends from the summit quite into the plain. On its bank, just at the foot of the mountain, are some remains of Hellenic walls among other ruins of a more modern date; this I take to be the site of the Heracleium, or temple of Hercules, near Marathon; for this demus I believe to have been situated not at the modern Marathóna, but at Vraná. Each of the three summits called Mendéli, Aforismós, and Argalíki, had probably its ancient name; but the whole mountain I conceive to have been that called *Brilessus*, which may also have been the specific name of Mendéli, as being the highest and most conspicuous of the three. The identity of Pentelicum and Brilessus can hardly be doubtful on comparing Thucydides, Theophrastus, Strabo, and Pausanias [2]. There is no other summit in this part of Attica of sufficient importance to answer to Brilessus; nor any author but Pausanias, who employs the word Pentelicum as the name of the modern Mendéli; about his time, therefore, this appellation probably became common in consequence of the celebrity of the marble of the

[1] Ἀργαλήκι.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 23.—Theophrast. de Sign. Temp.—Strabo, p. 399.—Pausan. Attic. c. 32.

demus Pentele, and thus expelled the old word Brilessus or Brilettus, which, like Hymettus, and several others having a similar termination, belongs to the earliest language of Attica.

The season has been so dry, that at present there is not a drop of water in the *Charadrus*, or torrent of *Marathon*, with the exception of a few stagnant pools towards the mouth. The wheat is just above the ground, the barley some inches high: large tracts in various parts of the plain are covered with hyacinths in bloom, and the uncultivated parts are clothed with a fine grass, affording pasture to large flocks of sheep and goats, which have been brought hither for the most part from Mount *Helicon*, and are now followed by a great number of lambs and kids.

Jan. 29.—Having on a former occasion passed four days at Marathon, I have little to detain me here. While I was employed on the summit of the Sorós [1], as the tumulus of the Athenians is called, my servant amused himself in gathering, at the foot of the barrow, a great number of small pieces of black flint which happened to strike his observation. These flints are so numerous, and have been so evidently chipped by art into their present form, like gun-flints, that there is good reason for believing them to have been the heads of arrows discharged by the Persians who fought at

[1] ὁ σωρὸς, the heap. It is probable that σορὸς, a coffin, was originally the same word, applied to a tumulus heaped over the dead.

Marathon, and to have been interred with the Athenians, after having been gathered from every part of the plain, after the battle: Herodotus shows, that some of the Barbarians were armed in this manner, though his remark is applied not to the army of Darius, but to that of Xerxes. Flint of this kind, if produced in any of the adjacent parts of Greece, is at least very rare. I have heard that arrow heads of bronze have also been found here, but we searched for them without success. The earth of the tumulus is mixed with a fine sand, and resembles that of the soil of Egypt.

Marmári, on the opposite coast of Eubœa, is an ancient name mentioned by Strabo, from whom we learn that it was so called from the quarries of marble commonly called Carystian, which were there situated. With rather more accuracy than usual, Strabo describes it as over-against Halæ Araphenides in Attica[1]. Opposite to the middle of the Bay of *Marathon* is an island named Platiá, situated two or three miles from the *Eubœan* coast. At Cape *Cynosura*, of the *Marathonia*, the channel narrows to five miles, and the Bay of Stura extends from thence to Porto Búfalo. Stura, the ancient Styra, is near the shore in the inner part of the bay, in the middle of which is the Stura-nísi, or *Ægilia*.

From Sorós I proceed to the chapel of St. George, under Mount Stavrokoráki; and from thence ride round the foot of that mountain to the

[1] Strab. p. 446. Stephan. in Μαρμάριον.

corner of the great marsh, which stretches from thence to the salt lake of Dhrakonéria. Towards Kato-Suli the road passes over rocks, from under which issue some copious springs of water; a little below them is the deepest part of the lake of *Marathon*. In summer, when the water is confined to a small space, eels are caught here. This, and the Dhrakonéria at the foot of the ridge of *Cynosura*, or cape at the northern extremity of the Bay of *Marathon*, are then the only parts of the marsh which preserve any water. The springs at the foot of Stavrokoráki are probably the fountain *Macaria*.

Having sent my baggage by the ordinary route to Grammatikó and Kálamo by Upper Suli, I proceed with a single attendant to visit the sites of *Tricorythus* and *Rhamnus*. That of the former demus is at thirteen minutes from Kato-Suli, on the right of the road to *Rhamnus*, where a rising ground is covered with fragments of Pentelic marble, many wrought blocks, and in one place some remains of columns without flutings. The plain of *Tricorythus* is of a semicircular form, and terminates in a pass, from which a torrent issues, and, after crossing the plain, joins the marsh.

At 1.4, ten minutes beyond the ruins of *Tricorythus*, we enter the pass, which at 1.10 opens into a plain, about three miles in length, and one in breadth, separated from the shore only by a rocky ridge, and inclosed on the opposite side by the mountain of Dhimíko.

This valley formed the best part of the ancient

Rhamnusia. Like the plain of Suli, it contains many velanídhi trees, has a tolerable soil, but is ploughed only in a few places. At the northern extremity are the ruins of the temple of the Rhamnusian Nemesis, lying in a confused heap on the peribolus, the wall of which is still a conspicuous object. In the plain, at a small distance from the wall, is the foundation of a square and another of a round monument, of small dimensions, probably sepulchral. The peribolus included two temples[1], and stood at the head of a gorge leading by a regular slope to Ovrió-kastro, which is eleven minutes distant from the temples on the sea shore; the remains of a wall are observable on the left of the road all the way down. Ovrió-kastro, a common Romaic form of Ἐβραιό-καστρον, or Jewish Castle, is situated on a small height overhanging the sea, and is closely surrounded on every other side by higher hills, which are barren and covered with shrubs. To the north the height is strengthened by a deep torrent, now dry: on the opposite side there is a hollow and a small level by the sea, so that the fortress itself was only connected with the hills at the back by a little ridge, on which stand the remains of a gateway, with the adjacent walls still extant to half their height. They are of the third order of masonry, built of Attic marble, and being mixed with shrubs and bushes form a very picturesque ruin. On the highest part of the hill, a small quadrangular keep occu-

[1] For a description of the temple of Nemesis, see *the Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, and a paper *On the Demi of Attica*, in the Transactions of the R. S. of Lit. p. 197.

pied an angle of the inclosure: the walls are traceable in most parts, but are not of any considerable height except near the gate. The whole circumference of the inclosure was little more than half a mile, but the ground about the temples seems also to have been inhabited. In the middle of the inclosure of the fortress lies a monument of white marble, concave on one of the sides, and broken into two pieces, on one of which, in the middle of the concave side, are the words,

ΡΑΜΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ
ΚΩΜΟΙΔΟΙΣ

in very neat characters. The name of the man of Rhamnus, who dedicated the monument, was probably on another stone. Immediately opposite to *Rhamnus*, in the narrowest part of the Euboic frith, where the breadth is only two miles, is the entrance of Porto Búfalo, which I take to have been anciently the harbour of Porthmus. The occupation and destruction of the fortress of Porthmus by Philip, after expelling the Eretrians, to whom it belonged, was one of the accusations repeatedly urged against him by Demosthenes: the orator particularly alludes to its position, ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, or opposite to Attica, and his commentator Ulpian observes, that Porthmus was a *harbour* dependent on Eretria [1]. The advantages of this harbour seem to have given importance to Porthmus during a long succession of ages [2].

[1] Demosth. Philip. 3, p. 119. [2] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 12. Hierocl. p. 645.
125. Reiske; 4, p. 133. De Corona, p. 248.

A little to the northward of Porto Búfalo is Dhysta, the ancient Dystus, against which, according to Theopompus, Philip proceeded from the vicinity of Eretria[1], in the course of the same transactions referred to by Demosthenes. *Styra*, now Stura, is seen to the southward, and Mount *Dirphe* bearing 6° to the north of west.

From the temple of Nemesis, a line drawn through the pass leading into the plain of *Tri-corythus* will cut a cape near Porto Rafti, which I observed from the foot of Mount Stavrokoráki; Ovrió-kastro is in the same line produced northward. At 3.22, quitting the temple and crossing a part of the plain, we ascend the mountains to the north-westward, which are a continuation of Mount Dhimíko, and follow the torrent of Ovrió-kastro to its source, where we arrive at that of another réma, flowing to the plain of Suli, and from thence, after having crossed some cultivated heights which extend in the direction of Kálamo, arrive at 4.35 at Grammatikó, a village of 30 or 40 houses, prettily situated in a sequestered hollow among orchards and corn-fields. In one of these orchards the rain has lately brought to light a sepulchral stone, adorned in the usual manner with a pediment, below which are three figures about one quarter of the human size, in high relief. A woman seated has her right hand joined to that of another woman standing: between them is a man with a front face in lower relief. The women are clothed in long drapery, covered with

[1] Theopomp. ap. Stephan. in Δύστος.

a loose upper robe thrown over the shoulders; above the three figures are the names

ΘΕΟΓΕΝΙΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΛΛΟ

almost obliterated: the form of the characters is of a good time, as well as the style of the sculpture. The monument, as well as the situation of the place, leave little doubt that Grammatikó was the site of a demus; but there is no clue to guide us to the name.

Jan. 30.—At 8.24, leaving Grammatikó, we ascend a high round ridge north-westward of it, which I observed from the summit of *Parnes*. It is usually called the mountain of Varnáva (Barnabas), from a small village below it on the side towards Tatóy. It is higher than either Dhimíko, or the hill of St. Demetrius, which is another similar summit between Grammatikó and Marathóna. The mountain of Varnáva terminates abruptly at the sea in a rocky peak to the south-east of Kálamo, which I have remarked from several points, among others from Psilirakhí. Inland this mountain takes a sweep at the back of Kálamo, where one of its highest tops is called Mavronóro, and despite its name, is, like the greater part of the ridge, a round bare *white* rock. From thence there is a branch of rugged pine-clad hills as far as 'Oropo, which place is situated at the foot of the extremity of this ridge. Though much broken, it is in all parts a cultivable mountain with an easy slope. It comprises all the territory of Markópulo and Kálamo, except a small plain on the sea-side northward of Kálamo, and another smaller to the south-

ward; Kálamo itself standing on an extremity of the hills between them. I take these mountains to be the ancient Phelleus.

Having crossed the ridge of Varnáva, we begin to descend at 9.15, and at 9.30 having the highest summit on the right, arrive at a Hellenic tower, half ruined, and prettily covered with ivy. Just below it is a fine source of water and a ruined church, in which are some pieces of small columns, with a fragment, preserving part of a figure in low relief. Both the tower and the sculpture are like almost every thing ancient in Attica, of white marble. They indicate the site of another of the demi of Mount Phelleus, of which we shall never know the names, unless some inscriptions should hereafter reveal them. Near the ancient tower stands another of modern date. The village of Varnáva is not far below us on the left. After a loss of ten minutes we continue our progress over a mountainous road, through a country in which there is some cultivated land amidst oaks, pirnária, and the common shrubs. At 10.10 we are opposite the opening of Tatóy, in the ridge which joins *Parnes* to *Pentelicum*: the summit of *Hymettus* is seen over the opening. Many torrents as we proceed flow to the right in deep ravines towards the sea, particularly one which we cross a quarter of an hour short of Kálamo, and which terminates in the small maritime plain already mentioned. Others on the left of the road contribute to the river of *Marathon*.

Kálamo, where we arrive at 11.23, is situated on the heights above the sea, in face of the deep gulf of Alivéri, in *Eubœa*. It belongs to the

district of Livadhía, contains about 200 houses, and has an air of improvement and comparative opulence: there are several new houses of two stories, smartly white-washed, and having out-houses and inclosed yards. The Proestós has even glass to his windows. The hill above Kálamo commands a good view of all the surrounding parts of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, and of the opposite coast of *Eubœa*. On that shore, a little to the northward of Porto Búfalo is seen Dhysta, a village with a pyrgo and lake, then the southern cape of the Bay of Alivéri, and Alivéri village, at the bottom of the bay, about two miles from the shore. The coast has a westerly direction from thence as far as *Eretria*. To the southward of Alivéri, the position of a Hellenic ruin near Kaléntzi is pointed out to me, bearing N. 73 E. On the northern side of the plain, snowy cliffs which I observed from Psilirakhí reach from N. 35 E. to N. 18 E., to the westward of which latter direction is seen the village of Ghymnó, situated in a plain, at the foot of a high mountain which extends to *Eretria*. Ghymnó is perhaps the site of Tamynæ, and the mountain the ancient Cotylæum [1]. The acropolis of *Eretria* is visible, and on the adjacent coast four small rocky islands. The topography of the *Euripus* is well seen. Fýla, which bears N. 28½ W., seems to have derived its name from its position exactly on the communication between the plains of 'Egripo and Vasi-

[1] Herodot. l. 6, c. 101.—Strabo, p. 447.—Æschin. in Ctes. p. 480, Reiske.—Stephan. in Κοτύλαιον.

likó, and occupies perhaps the site of an ancient fortress named Φυλὴ. Beyond the town of 'Egripo, the cliffs which stretch along the coast from Politiká northward are again conspicuous, and their highest point, Kandíli, bearing N. 24 W. The principal summits near Chalcis and Thebes are easily recognized. The easternmost point of the Bœotian shore is in a line with the summit of *Othrys*. Kumi, the ancient Cume, from which the towns of the same name in Ionia and Campania were named, lies on the eastern end of the cliffs, which are to the north of Alivéri.

An inscription at Kálamo contains a grant of proxenia by the Oropii to one Œnophilus of Crete, and directs a copy of the decree to be placed on a pillar in the temple of Amphiaraus [1].

Quitting Kálamo at 1.40, and descending over the hills by a bad road, we arrive, at 2, at the great Charadra, or torrent, which I observed from the summit of Mount *Parnes*, and which is said to contain water all the year. The place is called Mavro-dhílissi [2], to distinguish it from another Dhílissi beyond 'Oropo; and there was probably once a village of that name, but no habitations now exist, though the sides of the hills are well cultivated; a mile below, the torrent taking a great turn to the

[1] . . . . . εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ Οἰνόφιλον Φί(λων)ος Κρῆτα πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως Ὠρωπίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα ὅσαπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου.

[2] Μαυρο-Δήλισσι.

right, enters the northern plain of Kálamo, and there joins the sea. There are many ancient remains at Mavro-dhílissi, particularly the foundations of walls on the steep slope of the hills on either side of the ravine, which seem to have been intended only for supporting terraces, some of those on the slope of the northern hill being traceable parallel to each other at small distances. A more explanatory relic of antiquity, however, has been lately brought to light by the rains, and is now lying near some ancient foundations. It is part of a cornice of some great building, formed of white marble, and inscribed with the letters ΛEI in large characters of the best times, deeply engraved, and at a great distance asunder. Another and larger portion of the same cornice was not long since carried to Kálamo, to be used in the new buildings where I saw it. The latter is inscribed with the letters ΤΟΣΑΜΦΙ. From this evidence of the practice of resorting to Mavrodhílissi for the materials of the buildings which have lately been erected at Kálamo, there can be little doubt that the inscribed marble, now at Kálamo, which records the favours granted to Œnophilus, was brought from Mavro-dhílissi, as well as another which has been carried from Kálamo to Athens, and which, like the former, appears to have been anciently deposited in the temple of Amphiaraus. The ΑΜΦΙ on the cornice at Kálamo, may be a part of the name Amphiaraus, and all the three monuments, therefore, concur in proving this place to be the site of the Amphiaraeium, which having stood near Psaphis, between Rhamnus and Oropus

on the road from Athens to the latter place, and not far from the sea [1], agrees in position with Mavro-dhílissi. As the words of Strabo imply only that the temple was near, and not at Psaphis, and as Kálamo stands in a situation which the ancients are likely to have occupied, it is very probably the site of that Attic demus, for such Psaphis became, although originally, as it would seem from Strabo, it was a dependency of Oropus, and consequently a part of the Bœotian community [2].

At 2.30, I begin to descend from Mavro-dhílissi through a gorge in the hills by a gradual slope, and in a few minutes perceive the village of Markópulo on the left, in a lofty situation, and distant about as far from the left bank of the torrent of Mavro-dhílissi, as Kálamo is from the right. At 2.53 enter a plain which extends along the shore as far as the mouth of the *Asopus*, and immediately afterwards cross another great rema, now dry. At 3.3 pass a third torrent of the same kind, not far to the right of a range of cultivated hills, which are a continuation of Mavronóro. At 3.21 arrive at "the Holy Apostles [3]," so called from a ruined church,

[1] Εἶτα Ῥαμνοῦς, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Νεμέσεως ἱερόν· εἶτα Ψάφις ἡ τῶν Ὠρωπίων· ἐνταῦθα δέ που καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιαράειόν ἐστι τετιμημένον ποτὲ μαντεῖον, &c.—Strabo, p. 399.

. . . . . εἶτ' ἔστ' Ὠρωπὸς πόλις
Καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπέχον ἱερὸν οὐ πολὺ
Ἔστ' Ἀμφιαράου καὶ νεὼς καὶ τὸ τέμενος.
Dicæarch. v. 85.

[2] For further remarks on the temple of Amphiaraus and Psaphis, see *On the Demi of Attica*, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. 1, p. 200, and at the end.

[3] στοὺς ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους.

near which is a hut with some gardens and wells, situated on the sea side, in the centre of a bay included between two low projecting points about two miles asunder. Here are some remains of a Hellenic wall just within the sea, apparently an ancient jetty, and in the church a fragment of a small Doric column.

Opposite to Apostólus, on the shore of *Eubœa*, is Kastrí, the site of *Eretria*, which celebrated city stood on a projection of the coast, at the south-western extremity of a great plain extending inland between two high mountains, and containing the village of Ghymnó. At the opposite corner of the plain is Vathý, a small village near the shore. The entire circuit of the ruined walls and towers of the *Acropolis* of *Eretria*, still subsist on a rocky height, which is separated from the shore by a marshy plain. At the foot of the hill are remains of the theatre, and in the plain a large portion of the town walls, with many foundations of buildings in the inclosed space. The situation was defended to the west by a river, and on the opposite side by a marsh.

Above Apostólus rises an insulated hill, having a small conical termination on the further part of the summit, where I find some foundations of ancient walls, amidst a heap of rough stones. They seem to be the remains of a small fortress or watch-tower. The monastery of Ambíghi is seen from hence, pleasantly situated in a wood on the mountain side, at about one third of the distance from Markópulo to 'Oropo. Markópulo, as well as Apostólus, belongs to Rashíd Bey of 'Egripo.

At the foot of the same height on the western side, and not far from Apostólus, a ruined chapel contains a sepulchral stone inscribed with the name Τιμανδρίδης, in neat and antique characters. In a little rema at the foot of the height, nearer the sea, are some ancient squared blocks of stone.

Leaving the foot of this hill at 4.5, and crossing the plain at no great distance from the right bank of the *Asopus*, we arrive at 4.37 at 'Oropo [1]. This village, which contains about thirty houses, with a pyrgo and kiosk of the Turkish Spahí, stands on the lower heights of the ridge of Markópulo, above some gardens containing a few olive and fig-trees, which extend to the *Asopus*. The hills above the village are partly clothed with pines : their highest summit, which is at no great distance to the southward, is called Karakáxa. The plain of 'Oropo extends along the sea shore from Apostólus to the village of Alikúki [2], a distance of about three miles, and narrows from its maritime base, until it ends in the angle, not quite so distant from the sea, where 'Oropo and Sykámino are separated from each other only by the *Asopus*.

A summit on the south-eastern side of 'Oropo has the appearance of an *Acropolis ;* no remains of walls are to be seen, but at the foot of the hill several ancient sepulchres were uncovered by the floods of last October, when among other usual contents of Greek tombs, were found many heads of spears and lances made of brass, some of which I purchase from the people of the village. These

[1] Ὠρωπὸς. [2] Ἀλικούκι.

remains of antiquity, added to the preservation of the ancient name without any corruption, cannot leave much doubt as to the position of the city, notwithstanding that they are in contradiction to some authorities, from which *Oropus* would seem to have stood on the sea coast. Strabo, continuing his route along the coast from south to north, notices next to the Amphiaraeium the sacred port of Delphinium, and twenty stades beyond it Oropus, then Delium. Opposite to Delphinium was Old Eretria in Eubœa, and, opposite to Oropus, New Eretria: the passage across the strait in the former situation was sixty stades, in the latter forty[1]. As the mouth of the *Asopus* makes a projection in the coast, and narrows the strait between it and Kastrí, from whence the shore of *Eubœa* retires in an easterly direction to Vathý, leaving the respective breadths of the channel from the mouth of the *Asopus* to those two places, nearly as Strabo has indicated, his description leads directly to the conclusion that *Oropus* was at or near the mouth of the *Asopus*, *New Eretria* at Kastrí, *Delphinium* at Apostólus, and *Old Eretria* at Vathý or thereabouts; and this maritime position of *Oropus* is

[1] Ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν περιήγησιν τῆς χώρας (sc. Bœotiæ) ποιητέον, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Εὔβοιαν παραλίας τῆς συνεχοῦς τῇ Ἀττικῇ. Ἀρχὴ δ' ὁ Ὠρωπὸς, καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν, ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον, καθ' ὃν ἡ παλαιὰ Ἐρέτρια ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, διάπλουν ἔχουσα ἑξήκοντα σταδίων. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δελφίνιόν ἐστιν ὁ Ὠρωπὸς ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡ νῦν Ἐρέτρια· διάπλους δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν στάδιοι τετταράκοντα. Εἶτα Δήλιον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκ Δήλου ἀφιδρευμένον, Ταναγραίων πολίχνιον, Αὐλίδος διέχον σταδίους τριάκοντα· ὅπου μάχῃ λειφθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι, &c.—Strabo, p. 403.

confirmed by other authorities. Pausanias describes it as being ἐπὶ θαλάσσης [1], and we learn from Diodorus that in the year B.C. 402, the Thebans, who had taken it from the Athenians in the twentieth winter of the Peloponnesian war [2], removed the inhabitants, in consequence of a sedition, to a distance of seven stades from the sea [3]. Perhaps this latter fact may lead to an explanation of the difficulty. As the removal was evidently made for the purpose of placing the town out of the reach of the Athenian ships, an opposite motive may have induced the Athenians to make it a maritime town when it was in their possession. 'Oropo, therefore, I conceive to have been the site of the original Bœotian city, as well as that to which the Thebans removed the Oropii, though it must be admitted that the distance is greater than the seven stades of Diodorus; and here they probably remained for a long time, even after the cession of Oropus to the Athenians by Philip [4], and the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, for Dicæarchus, after the restoration of that city by Cassander, still describes Oropus as belonging to, or as being a colony of Thebes [5], although he describes the Oropii as Athenian Bœotians, an expression which he applies also to the Platæenses [6]. As to the ἐπὶ θαλάσσης of Pausanias, there seems no mode of accounting for it, but by the supposition that the Oropii had, in his time, again removed to the sea.

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 34.
[2] Thucyd. l. 8, c. 60.
[3] Diodor. l. 14, c. 17.
[4] Pausan. ubi suprà.
[5] *οἰκία* (al. *ἀποικία*) *Θηβῶν.*—Dicæarch. p. 12.
[6] *Ἀθηναῖοι Βοιωτοί.*—p. 12, 14.

They then occupied, perhaps, the site of Delphinium at Apostólus, for it is remarkable that Pausanias makes no mention of Delphinium, and his distance of twelve stades from Oropus to the Amphiaraeium, though still much within the real distance from Apostólus to Mavro-dhílissi, will at least be fifteen stades nearer the truth, than if the Oropus of his time had been at 'Oropo.

There are several ruined churches at 'Oropo which show that it was once a Christian town of some importance. One of them contains a broken marble inscribed with portions of three decrees of Proxenia by the people of Tanagra; one of the foreigners is of Chalcis, the native city of the two others is not preserved[1]. The inscription is valuable from being, like those of Orchomenus, in the Æolic or Bœotic dialect; but there is some difficulty in accounting for its being found here, for

[1] . . . . . ς ἄρχοντος, Ὁμολωΐω τρισκηδεκάτη, ἐπεψάφιδδε Ι . . . . οὔρρανδρος Δαμοκλεῖος ἔλεξε· δεδόχθη τῦ δάμυ πρόξε-(νον εἶμεν κὴ)εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος Ταναγρείων Διογένην Ἰαροκλεῖος . . . . . (αὐ)τὸν κὴ ἐσγόνως κὴ εἶμεν αὐτῦς γᾶς κὴ Fυκίας ἔππα-(σιν κὴ Fισοτε)λίαν κὴ ἀσφάλειαν κὴ ἀσυλίαν κὴ πολέμω κὴ ἰράνας (ἰώσας κὴ κατ)ὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν, καθάπερ κὴ τῦς ἄλλυς προ-(ξένυς κὴ εὐ)εργέτης.

Α γ α θ α ρ χ ο . . . . .
Ἀμινοκλεῖος ἄρχοντος, ...
ἐπεψάφιδδε Ὀρσίμ . . . .
ἔλεξε· δεδόχθη τῦ δ . . . .
τᾶς πόλιος Ταναγρε . . . .
Χαλκιδεῖα αὐτὸν κὴ ἐσ- . . . .
κίας ἔππασιν κὴ Fισο . . . .
κὴ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θ . . . .
ἰώσας κὴ τἄλλα . . . . .
νυς κὴ εὐερ . . . . . ,

V. Inscription No. 60.

Tanagra could not have been less than four miles distant from hence, and the Bœotic dialect was probably not employed at Oropus, unless in the ages prior to its dependence upon Attica. The inscriptions found at Mavro-dhílissi, which was in the *Oropia*, are in Hellenic, and three tombstones at 'Oropo bearing names, have the father's in the possessive case, which was the Attic method, and not the usual Bœotian form[1]. It is observable, however, that they have not the name of the demus, which favours the supposition, that Oropus never was an Attic demus. The probability is, that the Tanagræan decree, which is on a thin slab of white marble, and lies in a ruined church, unattached to the building, was brought to 'Oropo from the deserted site of Tanagra, for the purpose of preserving it, as the Greeks are often in the habit of doing when they find inscribed marbles[2].

Having crossed the *Asopus*, we arrive in fifteen minutes at Sykámino, which is now smaller than 'Oropo, and does not possess so many zevgária, though three ruined churches, and some modern remains upon the hill above the village, show that it was once a place of greater magnitude than it is at present. It stands exactly at the opening of the ravine through which the *Asopus* finds its way from the plain of *Tanagra*. The channel of the river is now quite dry: the modern name, which in the interior is Vuriémi, is here pronounced Vuriéndi. In one of the churches is still preserved the sepul-

[1] V. Inscriptions Nos. 62, 63, 64.

[2] From Oropo, Mount *Dirphe* bears N. 26¾ E. by compass, and the ruins of *Eretria* N. 33 E.

chral inscription in memory of Aphrodisius, son of Zoilus, of Oropus[1], which was published by Spon.

Jan. 31.—Having sent my baggage horses to Skimatári by a road which leads by 'Inia and the left bank of the *Asopus*, I follow the 'Egripo road, at 8.23, in search of *Delium*, and cross the hills extending from Sykámino to the sea. These are partly in cultivation, and partly consist of a forest of pines, among which there is some good pasture; for some time our road lies in a line parallel to the shore at the distance of about a mile, but at length, at 9.15, descends upon the sea-beach. In three minutes more, after passing a ruined church in which are some ancient fragments, we again leave the sea-side and enter a small plain, which is about a mile in width at the water-side, and narrows from thence to Dhílissi[2], situated at its southern extremity, where I arrive at 9.25. The village consists only of five or six houses and a roofless chapel, where are some Hellenic fragments and squared stones, a large bowl made of stone, 2 feet 1 inch in diameter, 4 inches thick, 9 inches high, pierced with a hole in the centre, and on the outside cut into furrows. In a field below the chapel there is a large wrought stone of five sides, or rather quadrilateral, with one angle cut off. There is no water here, and the village is supplied from wells near the sea-shore.

Delium is described by Strabo as a temple of Apollo, and a small town of the Tanagræi, thirty

[1] V. Inscription No. 61.

[2] Δήλισσι.

stades distant from Aulis[1]. It is celebrated for having witnessed the defeat of both the most illustrious people of antiquity. That of the Romans by a part of the army of Antiochus I have already had occasion to refer to. In the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians formed a design against Bœotia, which was to be executed in the beginning of the winter by simultaneous operations at the two extremities of that province. On the Phocic frontier a revolt in the cities of Siphæ and Chæroneia was to be supported by a landing at Siphæ of Acarnanian auxiliaries from the Athenian fleet, which was at Naupactus, under the command of Demosthenes, while the Athenians from the Attic frontier were to seize and fortify Delium. The Bœotians, however, obtained notice of the design, Demosthenes failed at Siphæ, and the Bœotians had time to place garrisons in the disaffected places on the Phocic frontier, and to return to Tanagra before the Athenians had been more than three days at Delium. During that time Hippocrates, the Athenian commander, had fortified the consecrated ground at Delium, after which his army encamped among the hills between Delium and Oropus, at a distance of ten stades from the former. The Bœotians consisted of 7000 hoplitæ, 10,000 light-armed, 500 peltastæ, and 1000 cavalry. The Athenians had about the same force of hoplitæ, and were well provided with cavalry, but they had no light troops, except some followers of the regulars, indifferently

[1] Strabo, p. 403.

armed, the greater part of whom, as soon as the fortifications were finished and the army in position, returned to Athens.

It was towards evening when Pagondas of Thebes, the Bœotian commander, advanced from Tanagra. Hippocrates, who happened to be at Delium, joined his camp as soon as he heard of the enemy's approach, leaving 300 horsemen to protect the fortress and to act during the battle according to circumstances. The two armies were separated by a hill and unseen to each other, until Pagondas, crossing the ridge, advanced in quick time, and was met in like manner by the Athenians. The extremities of either line were prevented from encountering by certain ravines, but in the centre there was close fighting. The Athenians overthrew the left of their opponents' centre, where the Thespienses were the chief sufferers, but on their own left were obliged to give way before the Thebans, whose phalanx was twenty-five file in depth, while that of the Athenians had a depth of only eight. Pagondas at this moment sent to the relief of his left a body of cavalry which, appearing suddenly from behind the hill, made the Athenians suppose that the enemy had received a reinforcement, and caused them, though victorious in that part of the line, to retreat just about the time that the Thebans had broken the adverse phalanx; a complete defeat of the Athenians was the consequence, and it would have been still more disastrous had not Pagondas on the approach of night withdrawn his forces to Tanagra. Some of the Athenians reached Delium, others Oropus, and others the

heights of Parnes, after having suffered greatly from the Bœotian cavalry, and from some Locri who had just arrived to the assistance of the Bœotians. To the request of the Athenians for permission to inter their dead, Pagondas replied, that if the dead were in Bœotia, the Athenians might carry them away on quitting the Bœotian territory, but that if they were on the Athenian territory, it was for themselves to act as they thought proper; by this answer implying, that the cession of the Oropia was to be the condition of compliance with their request, Oropia being a Bœotian district which had been conquered by the Athenians. It shows that the boundary of the Oropia and Tanagrice was less than ten stades to the eastward of Delium. On the seventeenth day after the battle, Pagondas took the fortress which the Athenians had constructed at Delium. The description of it by Thucydides gives a good idea of a Greek field-work, and the mode in which it was destroyed by the enemy is not less curious. In fortifying the place, the Athenians first excavated a trench round the consecrated ground containing together with the temple, the portico of which was in ruins, a well, or source of water. Having thrown the earth of the ditch outwards, they drove a circle of piles along the edge of the ditch, and then filled the interval between the piles and the embankment with mixed materials composed of earth, of vines which grew around the temple, and of some ruined buildings. On the summit of the wall thus constructed they erected wooden towers. It was not until the Bœotians had been reinforced from Corinth and Megara

and by the Peloponnesian garrison which the Athenians had recently driven out of Nisæa, as well as by some archers and slingers from the towns of the Maliac Gulf, that they ventured to return from Tanagra to Delium in order to attack the fortress. After several attempts they succeeded in setting fire to the combustible materials of the walls. Their engine for this purpose was nothing more than a hollow mast or trunk of a tree, to one end of which was adjusted a cauldron filled with charcoal, sulphur, and pitch, and to the other a pair of bellows, for the purpose of raising the fire as soon as the cauldron was brought in contact with the rampart [1]. The machine having been conveyed to the fortress upon carts, the conflagration of the wood and vine branches soon obliged the garrison to abandon the walls. Some of them were slain, 200 were made prisoners, the remainder escaped to their ships and to Athens [2].

The facility with which the Athenians retreated to their vessels renders it probable that Delium was situated not at the modern village, but on the sea-shore, where alone wells are now found corresponding to the "water at the temple" mentioned by Thucydides. But Livy is decisive on this point. His words are, Templum est Apollinis Delium imminens mari; quinque millia passuum a Tanagrâ abest; minus quatuor millium inde in proxima Eubœæ est mari trajectus [3]. The *ἱερὸν*,

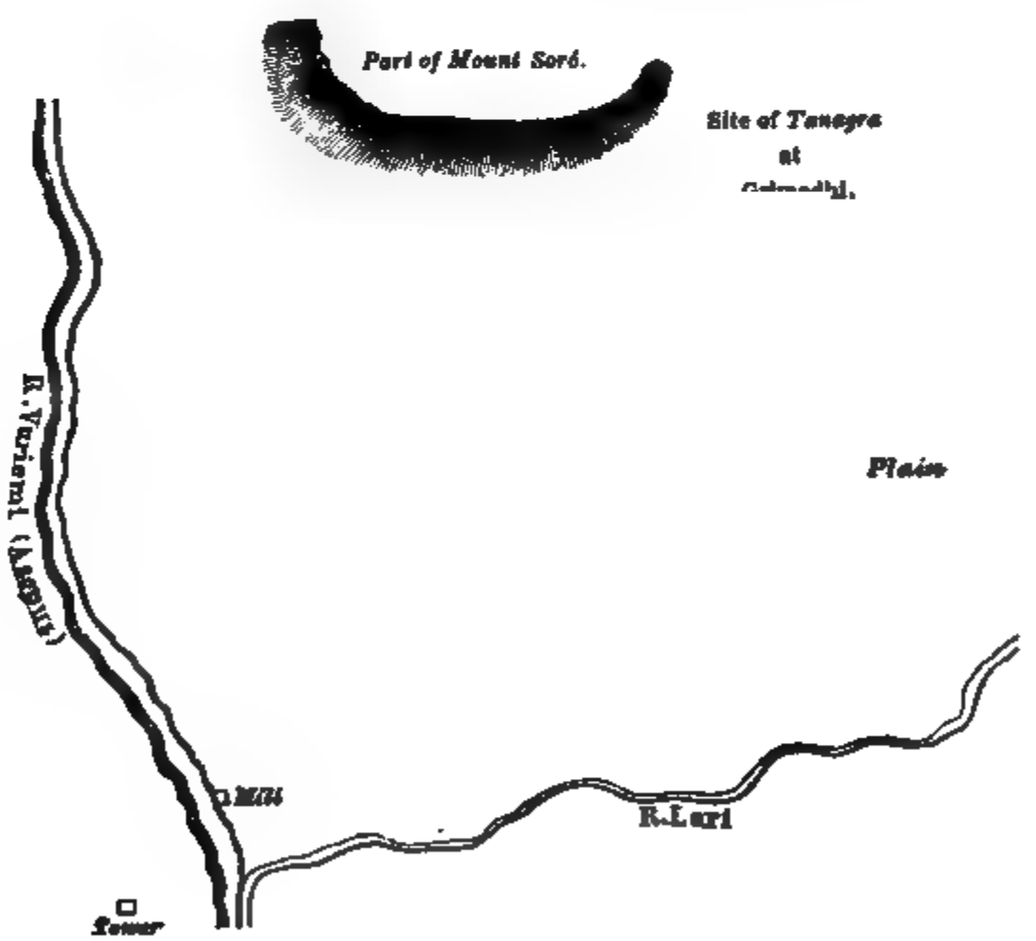
[1] This kind of engine was improved in later times, and the *κεραία*, or pipe was made of iron. Apollod. Poliorc. p. 20. Paris.

[2] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 76, 77. 89, *et seq.*

[3] Liv. l. 35, c. 51.

therefore, with its consecrated ground and surrounding vineyards, was near the shore, and the πολίχνιον, or small town of *Delium*, at the modern village of Dhílissi [1].

Having ascended a narrow but well cultivated valley from Dhílissi, I arrive in thirty-five minutes at a source of water and a reservoir, from whence the remains of an aqueduct are traceable in the direction of Dhílissi. A road to Dhrámisi, Vathý, and Ἔgripo turns off at the reservoir to the right. Soon afterwards we enter an open country well cultivated, and in twenty-seven minutes enter the



[1] From Dhílissi, *Eretria* bears N. 70 E., Mount *Dirphe* N. 39 E., Fyla N. 15 E.

village of Skimatári. Three miles to the southward of it is Grimádha or Grimála, once perhaps the name of a modern village, but now attached only to the ruins of a Hellenic city which was certainly Tanagra, and which seems to preserve some traces of its Homeric name Γραῖα [1], in the present appellation [2]. Tanagra was advantageously situated in the center of a fertile champaign, consisting of plains and undulated ground included between Mount *Parnes* and the *Euboic* frith, and extending in the other direction from the *Thebæa* to the *Oropia*. Standing at the eastern extremity of the ridge of Mount Soró, and not far from the root of Mount *Parnes*, which stretches to *Delium* and *Oropus*, it was placed exactly in the point of communication between the plains at the foot of *Parnes* and those towards *Aulis* and the sea. The town was near two miles in circumference, of an irregular form, determined by the nature of the ground, which consists of a height commanded by the eastern extremity of the ridge of Soró, at the distance of about a mile above the junction of the Vuriemí or *Asopus* with a rivulet named Lari, which we crossed midway from Skimatári. The upper angle of the site is rocky and abrupt, and looks down on a natural terrace, below which stood the

[1] There were different opinions among the ancients as to the situation of Græa. Aristotle supposed it to have been Oropus, but the name itself of Tanagra, sometimes written Tanagræa, is a strong argument of the identity. Tana seems to be an Æolic prefix, of which the import is yet to be discovered. Vide Stephan. in Τάναγρα.

[2] Γριμάδα, Γριμάλα.

body of the town on a broad level raised a little above the third or lowest plain which reaches to the two rivers, and has a breadth varying from three to five hundred yards. The town walls followed the crest of the height and the last falls of the ground above the plain. No acropolis is distinguishable, though probably there was some interior inclosure at the upper angle. About one hundred yards below the summit are ruins of a theatre excavated in the bank which separates the highest point from the terrace immediately below it. Its diameter is between three and four hundred feet. A part of the masonry which supported the two ends of the cavea remains, but neither seats nor proscenium are visible, nor any vestiges of the stoa which Pausanias describes as attached to the theatre of Tanagra. On the terrace below the theatre, to the north-east of it, are the well-constructed foundations of a public building, formed of marble of a very dark colour, with a green cast. The city walls, which are of ordinary limestone, are a mere heap of ruins, though they are traceable in the whole periphery, as well as many of the towers. The masonry is almost regular, and as usual is faced only with wrought stones, the center being filled with rubble.

On the left bank of the *Asopus*, a little above its junction with the Lari, stands a mill which is turned by derivations from both the rivers, and opposite to their junction, not far from the right bank of the *Asopus*, is one of the high towers which I have before alluded to, as not unfrequent in Bœotia, and as having been built probably by the Franks.

This tower has since been converted into a Greek church, in which are lying several fluted Doric shafts covered with a coat of stucco, and a large rectangular block of the same kind of black marble as that which was used in the great building in the city. Inscribed on it, in characters of ancient date, is the name ΗΣΧΙΝΑΣ, the Bœotic form of *Αἰσχίνης*.

In the wall on the outside of the tower is another inscribed marble, but not of the dark kind. The inscription begins with an epigram in two elegiac couplets, showing that the stone supported a statue dedicated by one Phorystas, son of Triax, who had obtained a victory in the games of Jupiter, and who, upon several other occasions, had been the first in the foot race [1]. Below the verses, which are in common Hellenic, is a decree of Proxenia, in Bœotic, by the people of Tanagra, in favour of one Dioscorides of Athens; the form is exactly similar to that of the Tanagræan decrees at

[1] *Εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε Φορύστας παῖς ὁ Τρίακος,*
κήρυξ νικήσας καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός·
ἄλλους τ' ἀθλοφόρους πτανοῖς ποσὶν εἷλον ἀγῶνας,
εὐόλβου δὲ πάτρας ἄστυ καλὸν στεφανῶ.
Καφισίας ἐπόεισε.

- - ρω ἄρχοντος, μεῖνος Ἱπποδρομίω προτριακάδι, ἐπεψάφιδδε - - ος Μνάσωνος, Ἀθάνιχος Δωροθίω ἔλεξε· δεδόχθη τῦ δάμυ [πρόξεν]ον εἶμεν κὴ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος Τανα-γρείων Διουσκορίδα[ν] - - ω Ἀθ[α]νεῖον, αὐτὸν κὴ ἐσγόνως, κὴ εἶμεν αὐτὺς γᾶς κὴ Fυ[κίας ἔππα]σιν κὴ Fισοτελίαν κὴ ἀσφάλειαν κὴ ἀσυλίαν κὴ πολέμω [κὴ ἰράνας ἰώ]σας, κὴ κυτὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν, κὴ τἄλλα πάντα [ὀπόττα κὴ τῦ]ς ἄλλυς προξένυ[ς].—V. Inscription, No. 70.

'Oropo. There is no apparent connection of subject between the epigram and the decree, and it is difficult to understand how they came to be on the same stone. But that the verses should be in Hellenic and the decree in Bœotic is not surprising, even if we suppose them to be contemporary, since Pindar preferred the Doric to his own native dialect, and poets claimed the privilege as early as the time of Homer, of using any dialect or all of them at once. Diplomacy on the other hand, appears to have preserved the local forms in many parts of Greece, even after the period when they ceased to be in common use. We find in the first inscription, that while the poet wrote in Hellenic, the maker of the statue recorded his name in Bœotic by the words Καφισίας ἐπόεσε.

In the Augustan age Tanagra and Thespiæ were the principal towns of Bœotia, and were larger, or at least more populous, than Thebes [1]. In the time of the Antonines Thebes seems to have recovered a little, but Tanagra still possessed the lands of Aulis, Harma, and Mycalessus [2]. Pausanias praises the Tanagræi for having placed their sacred buildings in a place entirely separated from, and unmixed with, the houses of the town [3], whence it would seem that all the temples mentioned by him were on the height near the theatre, where, unincumbered by any ordinary buildings, they were seen undoubtedly to great advantage. The principal temple was that of Bac-

[1] Strabo, pp. 403, 410.
[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 19.
[3] Ibid. c. 22.

chus, which contained a statue in Parian marble by Calamis, and the figure of a headless triton. Near it were temples of Themis, of Venus, and of Apollo, in which last Diana and Latona were also honoured. All these buildings may have stood on the platform which still exists. There were two temples of Mercury, in one of which he was surnamed Criophorus, in the other Promachus: in the former he was represented in a statue made by Calamis as bearing a ram on his shoulders. The latter temple was near the theatre, and probably near the gymnasium also, the surname having been derived from a fable of the Tanagræi, according to which Mercury had led them to victory against the Eretrienses, marching at the head of the ephebi, armed only with a strigil. The same gymnasium contained a picture of Corinna with the band of victory on her head, and represented as so beautiful that Pausanias is disposed to attribute her success over Pindar to this cause, not less than to the Æolic dialect of her verses, which had an advantage over the Doric of her great rival in being more intelligible to her hearers. There was also a monument of Corinna in a conspicuous part of the city [1]. At a place called Poloson was the observatory of Atlas, and on Mount Cerycium, in which mountain the Tanagræi reported that Mercury was born, was the tomb of Orion. If we are to take literally the assertion of Pausanias, that these two places were "in Tanagra," it would follow that Mount Cerycium was no other than the height above the theatre, and perhaps that

[1] ἐν περιφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως.

Cerycium was the name of the Acropolis, and that the temple of Hermes Promachus stood on the hill, on which he was reported to have been born; but it is very possible that by ἐν Ταν́άγρᾳ Pausanias meant the district of Tanagra, and that Cerycium was the entire mountain stretching westward from Grimádha.

At the time when Thebes had recently been restored by Cassander, and its desert inclosure laid out in streets, Dicæarchus described Tanagra in the following terms: "The road from Oropus to Tanagra leads for thirty stades through a country covered with olive plantations and forest trees, where the traveller is free from any apprehension of robbers. The city stands on a rugged and commanding height, and has a white argillaceous appearance.[1] The houses are remarked for their handsome porticoes, and encaustic paintings. The country abounds less in corn than in wine, which is the best in Bœotia." He then commends the inhabitants, who were all landholders, for a frugality void of avarice, for justice, good faith, hospitality and charity; and adds, that Tanagra was the safest and most agreeable residence in Bœotia for a stranger[2].

The river Lari, although only a small brook, is

[1] τραχεῖα μὲν καὶ μετέωρος, λευκὴ δὲ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ ἀργιλλώδης. Dicæarch. βίος Ἑλλάδος, p. 12. The author probably alludes to the contrast of Tanagra with the dark appearance of Thebes, which he says was τῇ χρόᾳ μελάγγειος, p. 14.

[2] From the summit of the walls of Tanagra, Mount *Dirphe* bears N. 47 E., its angle with Khtypá 57.25, with Parnes 108.40.

said not to fail in summer. It receives a considerable contribution from some springs, which issue from the rocks, on its banks just below the city. No notice occurs of this stream in ancient history, and it seems not unlikely that it still preserves its ancient name.

From Grimádha to the foot of Mount *Parnes*, and to the slope which conducts to the Pass of St. Mercurius, extends a plain, which is covered with pines towards the foot of Parnes, and in the other parts is fertile, and well cultivated. Low pines and brushwood cover the part of Mount Soró, near Grimádha. The place where the *Asopus* issues from the rocky ravine, which I have before described as separating the *Parasopia* from the *Tanagrice*, is not far above *Tanagra*: the summit of *Cithæron* appears through the gorge; just below the exit the river is joined by a deep rema from Mount *Parnes*, and in the angle formed by the junction stands the hamlet of Latáni, in a lofty situation. This gorge of the *Asopus* being exactly in the direction of *Scolus* and *Platæa*, Dicæarchus has correctly described the road from Tanagra to Platæa, as having been in some degree desert and stony, and as having passed near Cithæron. His remark that it was not very dangerous, alludes probably to the robbers who appear to have frequented Cithæron from that time to the present[1].

On the edge of the hills which stretch along the sea-coast, and meeting a branch of *Parnes*, bound the plain to the eastward, are seen near

[1] See p. 378 of this volume. The σ, or 200 stades from Tanagra to Platæa, is perhaps a textual error; the distance not being so great.

the left bank of the *Asopus* the village and tower of 'Inia, or Staniátes, at the entrance of the lower gorges which separated the *Tanagrice* from the *Oropia*, and through which the river flows to Sykámino. Further on, towards St. Mercurius, is the hamlet of Buïáti [1]. The champaign country around *Tanagra* extends beyond Skimatári, as far as the range of Khtypá and Siamatá, and communicates in the direction of Vasilikó, in *Eubœa*, with a descent into a lower maritime plain, in which are Dhrámisi, Vathý, and the *great* port of *Aulis*.

The Tanagrice having been near the frontier of Attica and Bœotia, was frequently the scene of contention between the two rival people, or their allies. Besides the battle of Delium, there were two other celebrated actions fought in this district twenty-five years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and with an interval of only two months between them [2]. In the first, the Athenians, with their allies, who were chiefly of Argos, and amounted in all to 14,000, were opposed to a somewhat smaller force of confederates, headed by Pleistoanax and his tutor Nicomedes, who in returning home with 1,500 Spartans from Doris, where, in union with a large army of allies, they had been defending their kinsmen, the Dorians, against the Phocians, were afraid of attempting a passage through the Megaris, which was in possession of the Athenians, and diverged therefore into the territory of Tanagra. They were victorious on this occasion, in consequence of the treachery of a body of

[1] Μπουγιάτι.

[2] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 107, 108. Diodor. l. 11, c. 79, et seq.

Thessalian cavalry, who turned against the Athenians during the battle. The scene of action was probably the plain between Tanagra and the foot of Parnes, across which mountain the Athenians received their supplies. Diodorus relates, that there were two actions: that the Thessalians who deserted in the first, attacked on the same night a convoy of the Athenians, which brought on the second general conflict; that the latter was of doubtful event, and that it was followed by a truce of four months.

Sixty-two days after the battle of Tanagra, as it was usually called, Myronides of Athens, who had in the preceding year been twice successful in battle with the Corinthians in the Megaris, obtained a third victory over the Bœotians at Œnophytæ, which was of much greater importance than the former, as he followed it up by razing the walls of Tanagra; from whence he led his victorious forces to Thebes, and through Bœotia to the frontiers of Phocis and Locris, receiving the submission of many Bœotian and Phocic cities [1], and taking hostages from the Opontii of Locris. As we cannot doubt from the circumstances of the event, that Œnophytæ was in the Tanagrice, not far from the Attic frontier, the name further shows that it was the place where the wine was chiefly produced, for which the Tanagrice was renowned. It is by no means unlikely that the modern 'Inia, written Οἴνια, is a corruption of Οἰνοφύται: it stands, as I have already remarked, in a commanding position near the left bank of the Asopus, between Tanagra

[1] Thucyd. ibid. Polyæn. l. 1, c. 35.

and Oropus, or nearly in the situation where it is probable from history, that the battle was fought.

Returning to Skimatári, I overtake a monk belonging to a convent not far distant, who says that he has always understood the ancient name of the ruins at Grimádha to have been Ténagra, so he pronounces it, *quasi* Ταίναγρα. In a tower a little to the left of the road, which, like that near Grimádha, has been converted into a church, I find on a block of the same kind of black marble which was employed in the principal building at Tanagra, the name Hipparchia in very ancient characters, the X being formed like an ordinary Ψ, and the initial aspirate expressed by H. Another marble has the name Βιοττός. Several other sepulchral stones, each with a name in the nominative, without either paternal or ethnic, are preserved in the churches in or near Skimatári. There is one also of a woman named Lais, in the dative preceded by ἐπὶ. These two forms appear from a variety of examples to have been the Bœotian mode of inscribing names on tombstones, and to have been adhered to at very distant periods of time; whereas, so near as *Oropus* we find the name of the father added on four sepulchral inscriptions at 'Oropo and Sykámino. In Attica the demus seems to have been an indispensable adjunct. All the inscriptions at Skimatári are on black marble, except one which is not sepulchral, and on which I can distinguish only the letters ONTANAΓPA. These letters, and the marble of the other inscribed stones, render it probable that they were all brought from Grimádha, from which place, as it has been long deserted, the neighbouring inhabitants have been

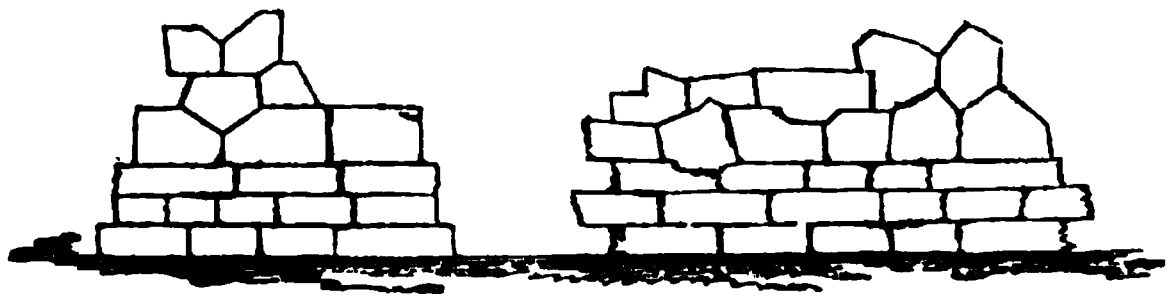
accustomed to remove the ancient inscribed or sculptured stones, as they have been brought to light by the rains or the plough, to the churches in the surrounding country.

Feb. 1.—From Skimatári to Andrítza and Thebes: the road follows the left bank of the Lari in a direction parallel to the range of Soró. Besides the sources which issue from the bank of this river near Grimádha, there are others more copious, which join it not far above the tower or church, which I visited in returning from the ruins; but above the latter sources the Lari is nothing but a dry torrent, and in most places the water-course is even ploughed. We cross it, and a little afterwards, at 8.20 (having set out at 7.55), the village of Bratzi[1] is at the foot of the mountain on the left. Soon afterwards we ascend the inferior hills of the range of Soró, which border the plain on the west, and then arrive in a deep χείμαῤῥος, or torrent-bed, in a rich soil, and which, though now dry, is occasionally the principal feeder of the Lari. It receives others from the northward, and flows at first to the east, but afterwards turns to the southward, through the plain of Bratzi and Skimatári. It is clearly not the *Thermodon*. At 8.44 the hamlet of Kapandríti is on the right, at the distance of a mile and a half: at 9.8 we arrive at Andrítza, a village of ten or twelve houses, forming what in the northern parts of European Turkey is called a palánka, that is to say, a quadrangle, having all the doors and windows of

[1] Μπράτζι.

the houses within, and a single gate; thus the whole constitutes a rude fortress. This village, though little more than two miles distant from the road from Thebes to 'Egripo, is entirely concealed from it by a range of heights, which are distinguished from the low undulating hills characteristic of this part of Bœotia, by precipices of white rock, which crown the summits.

On a part of these rocky heights, distant 6 or 7 minutes to the north-west of the village of Andrítza are found the remains of a small Hellenic *polis*, or fortified *come*. The walls of the citadel are traceable round the most precipitous part of one of the rocky brows, which is about 140 yards long and 40 broad; and those of the town are in many places visible, enclosing a slope to the south and west of the acropolis, in which direction the site was bounded by a small torrent, descending from Mount Soró, and flowing into the plain eastward of Mount Siamatá, where it joins the torrent which descends from the convent of Platanáki on that mountain. The ruins of the ancient walls are most considerable on the eastern side of the citadel, where a projecting rock is occupied by a square tower, and a similar piece of the wall adjoins it to the northward. Here the remains are about 15 feet high.



Tower. *Curtain.*

The masonry in the upper parts of the work consisted for the most part of irregular polygons joined with the utmost accuracy, but the basis is formed of narrower and regular courses. Beyond the torrent, where are some foundations, perhaps those of a temple, the rains of last October have uncovered an ancient pedestal, formed of a handsome kind of breccia with a red cement, about 2 feet 9 inches square, and 1 foot 6 inches high, divided in its mid-height by a moulding, and shaped at the top in the form of a triangle with a round hole in the middle, to which a statue may have been attached, or perhaps a tripod. There is no inscription, but on one side below the moulding a large vase is represented between an ox and a man, who is seated in a chair with a sceptre in his right hand: the two figures look inwards towards the vase. The style and execution are indifferent. The vase and ox may allude to the productions of the landed property of the seated figure, who was perhaps the dedicator of the tripod.

Between the place where this monument is lying and the S.W. angle of the acropolis, where the rocks are highest, a copious fountain issues from under them, and discharges itself by two spouts. A small church stands just above it, and there are several other churches on the hills around, but all are in ruins except one near the village similar to that at the fountain. On the western and highest extremity of the hill stands a high square tower in ruins, which I remarked in proceeding from Thebes to 'Egripo; it seems to be of the time of

the Franks. There are remains also of a reparation of the wall of the citadel, apparently of the same date, on the crest of the rocks on the southern side. This repair, as well as the churches, show that the source of water and the fertile soil of the surrounding plain had caused the place to retain its inhabitants from Hellenic times to those of the Lower Empire, or at least to be restored at the latter period, although they have been unable to save it from Turkish desolation. Only a small portion of the surrounding soil is now cultivated.

It is only by negative arguments that any conjecture can be formed of the ancient name of this place. Its situation and small dimensions strongly argue that it was one of the four κῶμαι of the Tanagrice, which were Harma, Mycalessus, Eleon, and Pharæ [1]. The two former having been on the route from Thebes to Chalcis, could not have been very near Andrítza; indeed the situations of them both are tolerably well determined: and as Eleon of the Tanagrice was so named from its marshes, of which there is not the smallest appearance near Andrítza, these ruins may rather be ascribed to Pharæ, which, from Strabo and Stephanus, but still more from an extant autonomous silver coin, bearing on one side the Bœotian shield and on the other a diota with the letters ΦA, appears to have been a place of some importance, although it was not among the Homeric towns of Bœotia, unless, as some of the Bœotians thought, Νίσσαν τε ζαθέην had been improperly substituted in the

[1] Strabo, p. 405.

catalogue for Φαράς τε ζαθέας [1]. Of the other Bœotian towns named by the poet, Hyria and Eilesium are the only two to which I have not yet adverted, with an attempt to their identification. Strabo says, or has been made to say, that in going from Thebes to Argos, Hyria lay upon the right of the road, and Tanagra on the left, which cannot be true of the road from Thebes to Argos, nor indeed of the road from Thebes to any other conceivable place, if Hyria, as he asserts, was near Aulis [2]. Either the text therefore is faulty, or the information of Strabo incorrect; and probably some of the ancient critics were right in supposing that Hyria was the same place as Hysiæ. Eilesium like Eleon, indicates, as Strabo remarks, a marshy position, which is not easily found in the part of Bœotia, where the names associated with it in the catalogue would seem to place it.

At the foot of a height similar to that of Andrítza, and situated in the direction from thence of Mount Soró, there is an ancient crypt, or sepulchral cavern, of a semi-circular form, excavated in the rock. Conspicuous from Andrítza also is a summit of the range of Soró, towards *Tanagra*, having a peak of naked rock which is called Vigla, or the look-out. It is separated from a higher summit towards Thebes by a narrow pass which leads to Mustafádhes, and some other small villages on the southern side of the ridge. From this pass to the Psilirakhí inclusive, extends a chain of summits, about the middle of

[1] Il. B. v. 508.

[2] Strabo, p. 404.

which is the highest point, or proper Soró. I have in vain endeavoured to discover in history the ancient name of these heights, which, though low, compared with the surrounding mountains, are a remarkable feature in the topography of the Thebæa, and of all eastern Bœotia. Sorós being a Hellenic word, the mountain may retain perhaps its ancient name. Towards the north it is separated by some hollows from a low parallel ridge stretching from the rocky heights of Andrítza in the direction of the hill which advances into the plain of Thebes towards the foot of Siamatá, and which I suppose to have been the site of *Teumessus*. Andritza itself stands nearly opposite to a projection of Mount *Hypatus*, a little westward of the remains of Glisas, mentioned Dec. 21.

Ten minutes beyond Andrítza, proceeding towards Thebes, at a ruined church of Aghía Paraskeví, or St. Friday[1], I find a long block of black marble, of the same kind as that of the foundations at Tanagra, and of which the monuments at Skimatári are composed, as well as that in the tower between that village and Grimádha. On the marble are inscribed two lines of characters of remote antiquity, rudely engraved, but tolerably preserved. Two sides of the stone are rough, as if broken, and one end of the inscription is thus lost; but enough remains to show that it was simply a dedication to Bacchus by one Æschron, or Æschrondas[2], the name of whose father

[1] Ἁγία Παρασκευή.

[2] *ωνδας* was a common termination in the names of Bœotian men, corresponding to the Attic *ωνίδης*.

is imperfect [1]. The coincidence of the black marble and the worship of Bacchus are sufficient reasons for believing that the monument was brought from Tanagra. The dialectic peculiarities of AE and OE to express the Hellenic AI and ΩI are unexampled in any Greek inscriptions I have yet seen, and are the more remarkable as they have nothing in common with the Bœotic, according to the specimens of that dialect, which are afforded by the inscriptions of Orchomenus, Tanagra, and Lebadeia.

From Aía Paraskeví, following the road to Spakhídhes [2], we arrive, after crossing the hills for seven minutes, at a source of water and a small ruined church of the Panaghía, before which lies a cubical stone 1 foot 7 inches in the side, having a rough moulding almost worn away by time at the bottom, but in other respects quite plain. The inscription is complete, and although it consists only of the name of a woman, Plaucha, preceded by ἐπὶ, the letters are so large as to be disposed in two lines, and are written in Boustrophedon, as appears from the final E, which faces in the opposite direction to that of the former line. Here again, as in the names ΗΙΠΠΑΡΨΙΑ and AESΨRONDAS, the X is expressed by the Ψ of the Hellenic alphabet, and the Hellenic AI as in the document containing the latter name, is represented by AE [3]. The two monuments, therefore,

[1] AESΨRONDASAEΛIT..
DIONYSOE
For the exact form of the letters, see the lithograph copy, Inscription, No. 71.

[2] Σπαχίδες.

[3] ΕΠΠΠΛΑV
ƎΑΨ.
V. Inscription, No. 72.

both evidently of a remote antiquity, concur in proving that there were dialectic forms employed in Bœotia in early times different from those of the middle period, when the Hellenic αι was converted into η, as Ἡσχίνας for Αἰσχίνης, and the dative masculine was converted into υ, as ΤΥ ΔΑΜΥ for ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ, which in the earlier dialect would have been ΤΟΕ ΔΑΜΟΕ[1].

It is highly interesting to observe, that these forms agree with those of the Latin language, which is no more than natural, that language having been, like the Bœotian itself, a branch of the Æolic. I am not aware, indeed, that there is any instance in Latin inscriptions of OE in the termination of the dative masculine, but it may be questioned whether there is any Latin inscription extant so old as these monuments of the Tanagrice; and the final E may have been dropped in the Latin dative at an early time, as occurred at a much later period in the Greek, in regard to the final I.

There are some foundations of a Hellenic wall at the fountain, and some other wrought stones of large size, lying detached on the side of the extremity of that low chain which is characterized by its summit of white bare rocks. On the opposite side of the ridge, looking towards Mount Soró, stands the village of Vlokhó, less than a mile distant, and consisting only of three or four families. Here we join the road from Kálamo

[1] An example of the use of AE instead of AI in Thessaly occurs in some very ancient coins of Larissa, inscribed ΛARISAEON, and on an ancient vase, on which other Greek names are inscribed, I have seen that of Crœsus written KROESOS.

to Thebes. Twelve minutes beyond Vlokhó, Spakhídhes is a mile on the right; 8 minutes farther, in a narrow valley at the foot of Mount Soró, we pass immediately under the principal summit, and after another half mile diverge 10 minutes to the left of our route, to visit a spring, called Σουλλὰς, which gives name to an inferior summit detached from Soró. Water distils from the rocks, forms a pool in a small cavern, and is no otherwise remarkable than as being useful to the shepherds in this part of the mountain, where water is scarce. From thence, at the end of a mile and a half, we regain the road from Kálamo to Thebes, on the low uncultivated slope of Mount Soró, immediately opposite to the rocky insulated height which I suppose to have been the site of *Teumessus*. A little farther, at a ruined church upon a height, are many ancient wrought stones, and two handsome cisterns, of the usual bottle shape, stuccoed within. These are on the left of the road from 'Egripo to Thebes, at a mile from the hill of *Teumessus*: a little beyond them, on the left, is another cistern of the same kind; we then fall into the 'Egripo road, and arriving at the wall of Thebes at 3.58, in 10 minutes make half the tour of them before we enter the town.

Feb. 2.—We learn from Stephanus of Byzantium, who quotes Theopompus, that there was a town in Bœotia of the name of Chalia. That is was a polis of some importance, and that the inhabitants wrote themselves ΧΑΛΕΙΕΙΣ, and not ΧΑΛΙΟΙ as in the words of Theopompus cited by Stephanus, is evident from an inscription at Oxford, brought by Dawkins from a place near the *Asopus*, which he

called Vasilikó. I have inquired in vain for this place, but I learn from a list of the villages of the district of Thebes, that there are two named Khália [1] in the *Parasopia*. It was in that part of Bœotia, therefore, that the marble was probably found by Dawkins, and that the ancient Chalia was situated. As Theopompus couples Chalia with Hyria, it is an argument that Hyria and Hysiæ were the same, for the site of *Hysiæ* is at no great distance from Khália.

Among the minor places of the Thebæa were Cynoscephalæ and Græasstethus. In the first invasion of Bœotia by Agesilaus, B. C. 378, he proceeded, after crossing Mount Cythæron, to Thespiæ, and from thence entered the district of Thebes. The Thebans had thrown up entrenchments, as well in their passes as in many parts of their plains; behind these they fought, or sallying with their cavalry through openings which had been left for that purpose in the ramparts [2], annoyed the Spartans so as to oblige them frequently to shift their ground. Agesilaus nevertheless contrived to drive them from their positions, and destroyed the country up to the walls of Thebes [3]. Xenophon, in again stating these transactions, in his Agesilaus, there remarks that the king passed Cynoscephalæ, in the Theban territory, advanced to the city, and offered battle to

[1] Χάλια.

[2] A complete specimen of a rampart of this kind still exists in Attica, but as it was intended for the defence of the plain of Acharnæ, towards that of Thria, it was of a more permanent kind than we can suppose the field-works, here mentioned by Xenophon, to have been.—See *On the Demi of Attica* in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. 1, p. 138.

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 4.

the Thebans both in the plains and among the hills, by which the panegyrist intended apparently to contrast the conduct of Agesilaus with that of Cleombrotus, who in the preceding winter, though he had moved from Thespiæ to Cynoscephalæ, and had encamped there sixteen days, had not advanced beyond it, nor had laid waste the Theban land. In the second expedition of Agesilaus, in the following spring, he again took the road of Thespiæ, after crossing the Cithæron, but as soon as the Thebans moved towards the same point, he turned suddenly in the opposite direction, to Scolus, and having passed the Theban entrenchment which had been formed at that place, he proceeded to lay waste all the eastern part of the Thebæa as far as the Tanagrice [1]. Returning from that frontier, he marched to Thebes, and passed the city with the walls on his left; while the Thebans, having retired from near Thespiæ, prepared for battle in a narrow and difficult pass called the Græas-stethus, in front of an entrenchment which they had there formed. But Agesilaus not choosing to attack them in such a strong position, made a flank movement towards the city, which obliged the Thebans to quit their position at Græas-stethus, and to move in all haste to Thebes, taking the road by Potniæ as being the safest. Some of the Lacedæmonian moræ approached the Thebans as they were proceeding along the heights; and one of the polemarchs was slain in the encounter, while on the part of the Thebans the rear suffered a little, when they had nearly arrived at the city, from the cavalry and Sciritæ, and were obliged to

[2] See p. 331 of this volume.

turn and face their pursuers, who thereupon retreated. Agesilaus then occupied the position at Græas-stethus, which his manœuvre had obliged the enemy to evacuate, and on the next day he marched to Thespiæ.

Cynoscephalæ was renowned for having been the birth-place or residence of the great lyric poet of Bœotia [1]; and its situation seems to have been not more than half a mile from the walls of Thebes; for Pausanias, after having described some monuments on the outside of the gate Neitæ, proceeds to remark that the route which led towards Onchestus, crossed the river Dirce; and that the ruins of the house of Pindar were on the opposite bank of the river, with a temple of Dindymene, containing a statue which had been dedicated by the poet [2]. Probably Cynoscephalæ, like many other places in the time of Pausanias, preserved only its sacred edifice, together with ruins of the poet's house, which had been preserved from respect to his memory. Græas-stethus seems to have been in a narrow valley of the Kanavári, which lies exactly in the route from Thebes to *Thespiæ*, and affords several passes, such as Xenophon describes [3]. As Potniæ was ten stades from Thebes, on the way to Platæa [4], the marches of the Lacedæmonians through the Thebæa are thus perfectly intelligible.

[1] Κυνὸς Κεφαλαὶ . . . . . ἦν δὲ χωρίον Θηβῶν, ἀφ' οὗ Πίνδαρος Δαϊφάντου παῖς, Βοιωτὸς ἐκ Κυνὸς Κεφαλῶν, μελῶν ποιητής.—Stephan. in voce. V. et Thom. Mag. in Vita Pindar.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 25.

[3] Possibly some remains of antiquity at a ruined church, midway from Thebes to the site of *Thespiæ*, mentioned in the next page, may be the exact site of Græas-stethus.

[4] Pausan. Bœot. c. 8.

CHAPTER XIX.

BŒOTIA.

Departure from Thebes—Vale of the Kanavári—Rimókastro—Lefka, *Thespiæ*—*Leuctra*—*Battle of Leuctra*—Paleopanaghía—Pyrgáki, *Ascra*—Fountain *Aganippe*—*Grove of the Muses*—*Hippocrene, Olmeius, Permessus*—Neókhori—*Ceressus*—Tatezá—*Fountain of Narcissus*—Xeronomí—Pyrgo on Mount Korombíli—Port Alikí—Kakósia, *Thisbe*—Vathý, *Port of Thisbe*—Dobrená—Inscriptions at Kakósia—Khósia—Monastery of Saint Taxiarches—Port Sarándi—*Siphæ*—Dobó—Zálitza, *Bulis*—*Thebæ Corsicæ*—Port *Eutretus*—*Eutresis*—Arrival at Kyriáki.

FEB. 3.—From Thebes to Rimó-kastro. Having pursued the road to Livadhía for 40 minutes, as far as the crossing of the Kanavári, we turn to the left along the right bank of that river, which flows between downs of no great height, and in 20 minutes from the turning arrive at the ruins of a church on the left, which contains some remains of an ancient monument, consisting of squared blocks of white marble. Having remained here 5 minutes, we soon afterwards cross the Kanavári, and proceed along the left bank. Hereabouts the river is joined by several smaller torrents from the hills on either side, which are all now flowing in consequence of last night's rain. In 42 minutes from the church, at 11.17, we pass a mill on the right bank of the river, and at 11.30 the hamlet

of Arkhúdhitza, on the hill which borders the valley on the same side.

Twenty minutes farther, a verdant plain, containing the sources of the river, opens to view; and at 12.5 we begin to ascend the height which rises from its northern side, and which is one of the most commanding points towards the western extremity of that long range which extends from Mount *Helicon* by Thebes to *Tanagra*. On the summit stand the villages of Erimókastro, or Rimókastro [1], to the west, and Katzikavéli [2] to the east, separated only from each other by a torrent flowing to the Kanavári. To the southward the valley abovementioned is bordered by a parallel ridge which terminates eastward at Khalkí and Bálitza, three miles north of *Platæa*, or rather is there blended with the downs, which extend from the *Asopus* to Thebes. The valley is separated to the eastward by ground so gently rising from the plains of *Leuctra* and of *Platæa*, that it may be considered as continuous with those plains, although the waters on either side of the rise flow in very different directions; those to the eastward of it forming the western branch of the *Asopus*, and those below Rimókastro feeding the river Kanavári, which joins the lake Livádhi or *Hylice*.

In the middle of the vale, immediately below Rimókastro, are extensive ruins of an ancient

[1] Ἐρημόκαστρον—Deserted-castle; derived evidently from the neighbouring ruins. The suppression of the initial short vowel is one of the most common of Romaic corruptions.

[2] Καρζικαβέλι.

town, undoubtedly *Thespiæ*, the founders of which seem to have chosen the site for the sake of the sources of the Kanavári. Such a low situation, commanded by hills on either side, although not so important in ancient as it would be in modern times, must have been inconvenient in any kind of warfare; and the instances of Greek cities in such a position are rare. The only remains of military architecture are the foundations of an oblong or oval inclosure, built of very solid masonry of a regular kind. It is scarcely half a mile in circumference; but all the adjacent ground to the south-east is covered, like the interior of the fortress, with ancient foundations, squared stones, and other remains, proving that if the inclosure was the only fortified part of the city, many of the public and private edifices stood without the walls. The place is called Lefka, from a village of that name no longer in existence, but the ruined churches of which still remain to the number of five or six. When I visited these ruins in 1802, there were still three inhabited cottages at Lefka, but these are now deserted and ruined. In the time of Wheler the village appears to have been nearly of the same size as Rimókastro or Katzikavéli [1].

The springs which give rise to the Kanavári are in various parts of the valley; so that at the ancient site the stream is already formed, and flows

[1] "Rimócastro is divided into three little knots of houses, two upon the hill and one below."—*Wheler*, p. 470. He mistook the ruins for those of *Thisbe*.

along the northern side of the ruins, where it is joined by other sources which issue from the slopes near the river's bank, as well as from below the walls of the fortress, and even from among the ruins within the walls. The churches contain the remains of cornices, ceilings, architraves, columns, and plain quadrangular stones, all of white marble, and similar relics are found in all the surrounding villages and solitary churches, showing that the city which stood here was one of the most considerable in Bœotia. Lefka, Λεύκα, so nearly resembling Λεῦκτρα, would at first incline one to the belief that Leuctra was here situated, but Leuctra was never any thing more than a village of the Thespice, and it no longer existed in the time of Strabo, whereas the geographer's description of Thespiæ, as the only considerable town of Bœotia except Tanagra [1], corresponds to the abundant remains at Lefka, as well as to the date of the inscriptions which still exist here. Though I do not find the city named in any of these documents, Meletius has given us a copy of two which he discovered at Rimókastro bearing this evidence [2]; to which I may

[1] Having described Thebes as, *οὐδὲ κώμης ἀξιολόγου τύπον σώζουσα*, Strabo adds, *καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἀνάλογον ἔχουσι πλὴν Τανάγρας καὶ Θεσπιῶν· αὗται δ' ἱκανῶς συμμένουσι πρὸς ἐκείνας κρινόμεναι*, p. 403; and again, p. 460, *Νυνὶ δὲ μόνη* (Θέσπεια) *συνέστηκε τῶν Βοιωτικῶν πόλεων καὶ Τάναγρα· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐρείπια καὶ ὀνόματα λέλειπται.*

[2] *Θεσπιέων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἄρυφον* (?) *Παραμόνου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν.*

Αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην ἡ πόλις Θεσπιέων, Θεοῖς.—Melet. Geog. tom. ii. p. 341.

add the fact, that at the two villages I have procured several coins of Thespiæ, which are not very common in other parts of Bœotia. It must be admitted, that the description of Thespiæ by Pausanias, and by a poet cited by Stephanus, both of whom describe it as situated ὑπὸ, or at the foot of Helicon [1], would lead one to seek for it rather nearer to that mountain than Lefka; but, on the other hand, the distance of this place from Mount Fagá exactly accords with the fifty stades which Pausanias places between Thespiæ and the mountain of the Sphinx.

The inscriptions of the date of the Roman Empire are a fragment in honour of Trajan at Lefka, another containing the name and titles of Pertinax at Rimókastro, and a stele at the latter place inscribed in honour of a native citizen named Titus Flavius Philinus, who had attained under one of the Roman emperors not named, the dignity of quæstor of Asia, tribune, prætor, legate of Cyprus, and proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia [2].

Among several broken inscriptions in the ruined churches at Lefka [3], there is one more ancient than the others consisting of three lines of characters of the best times, engraved with great care on a block of white marble, the face of which is divided by lines into squares, so that each letter is inclosed

[1] *Θέσπια ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ᾤκισται.*—Pausan. Bœot. c. 26.

Ἄνδρες θ' οἵ ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος
Λήματι τῶν αὐχεῖ Θεσπιὰς εὐρύχορος.
Philiades Megarensis ap. Stephan. in *Θέσπεια*.

[2] V. Inscription, No. 73.

[3] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 74, 75, 76.

within a square [1]. Unfortunately one end of the marble is built into the wall, so as to conceal the end of each line, and the entire tenor of the inscription is thus left uncertain, though there is enough extant to show that it recorded the dedication by Archias and Thrasymachus, of a work made by Praxiteles of Athens. As Pausanias observed in the temple of Eros or Love, which was the deity held in the highest honour at Thespiæ, statues of Venus and Phryne in marble, made by Praxiteles, the great Athenian sculptor [2], it is not improbable that the existing inscription may relate to those works. As to the celebrated statue of Love in Pentelic marble, which was presented by Praxiteles to the ἑταῖρα Phryne, and by her to the Thespienses, by which she conferred a great benefit upon her native city by attracting strangers thither, the words of Strabo show that it had been removed from Thespiæ considerably before his time [3]; and Pausanias found only an imitation of it by Menodorus of Athens. In the time of Pliny the original was in the schools of Octavia at Rome [4]; and its ultimate fate is unknown. A brazen Eros, which Lysippus had made for the Thespienses, not inferior in merit perhaps to that

[1] V. Inscription, No. 77.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 27.

[3] Πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὀψόμενοί τινες τὸν Ἔρωτα ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν Θέσπειαν, &c. Strabo calls the lady, Glycera; but Glycera was a different person, almost equally renowned.—V. Athen. l. 13, c. 6. *Phryne* is confirmed by Pausanias in two other places.—Attic. l. 1, c. 20; Phocic. c. 14; and by Athen. l. 13, c. 6. Antholog. Jacobs, vol. i. p. 164; vol. ii. p. 254.

[4] Plin. H. N. l. 36, c. 5.

of Praxiteles, was destroyed by fire at Rome, after having been first carried thither by Caligula, restored to Thespiæ by Claudius, and again transported to Rome by Nero [1]. The earliest representation of Love worshipped at Thespia, still existed in the time of Pausanias in the form of a rude stone.

The other principal monuments of Thespiæ were not near the temple of Eros, but in a different part of the city near the agora, which contained a statue of Hesiod in brass. Near the agora was the theatre, a temple of Venus Melænis, a statue of Victory in brass, and a small temple of the Muses, containing their figures in stone of small dimensions. There still existed at Thespiæ also, in the time of Pausanias, a very ancient temple of Hercules, and in another part of the town images of Jupiter Saotes, of Bacchus, of Fortune, of Health, and of Minerva Ergane, with Plutus standing by her, both which were the work of (Theron ?)

The principal cause of the present superiority of Rimókastro over the neighbouring villages, and perhaps of the desertion of Lefka, is the fame of its patron saint named Kharálambo, Χαράλαμπος, who has the reputation of curing the plague, and of preserving from the infection. When the disorder rages in Thebes, or Livadhía, or 'Egripo, a disaster which though not very frequent in Greece is sure to happen occasionally where Turks reside, the Greeks often fly from the infected town, and place themselves under the Saint's protection at Rimókastro. His church stands on a hill to the east-

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 27.

ward of the village. Among the pictures which cover all the walls, is the figure of the saint himself, bearing very little resemblance to the ancient patron of Thespiæ, as imagined by Lysippus or Praxiteles, with the plague represented as a monster in chains at his feet. In another picture a crowd of kings, bishops, archons, and others, are driven by the plague, or the destroying angel, into the flaming gulph. The same church contains a large Hellenic sepulchral monument, representing, in indifferent workmanship, a naked man and a dog, without any inscription. It was found not long ago in a corn-field to the south-west of Lefka. The inscription in honour of Philinus is at the same church ; and in the wall outside are inserted two sepulchral stones, on one of which is the common heroic emblem of a man mounted on a horse, which has its left fore foot on an altar. The other stone has nothing but the name Ephippus, in very ancient characters [1].

The heights to the northward of Rimókastro and Katzikavéli are covered with vineyards : the rest of the surrounding country, like all that which extends to the mountains bordering the *Euboic* frith on one side, and to Mount *Parnes* on the other, consists of plains or downs bearing corn near the villages, but the greater part in natural pasture, with scarcely a tree or shrub to enliven the scene. It was not so anciently, when an oracle of Delphi bestowed the epithet of shady on Leuctra [2], and when, as we are

[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 78, 79.

[2] *Λεῦκτρα τέ μοι σκιόεντα μέλει καὶ Ἀλήσιον οὖδας.*
Pausan. Bœot. c. 14.

told by Plutarch, the heroum of Androcrates near Platæa was thickly surrounded with trees [1]. There were then probably gardens and plantations near the waters, the heights were well wooded, and all the detached temples and heroa stood in the midst of groves.

The Kanavári, which has its rise in the springs of *Thespiæ*, probably took that modern name from plantations of hemp [2] which once existed on its banks. It is said to retain water all the year, a rare quality in the smaller, and indeed in some of the more celebrated rivers of Greece; for the *Asopus* flows only about four months in the year. But the Kanavári, though it is preserved in the dry season by the narrowness of the valley below *Thespiæ*, which admits only of the water being diverted to mills, serves in its lower course for the irrigation of the plain of Thebes, so that in summer little or no water remains to be discharged into the lake Livádhi.

The site of *Leuctra* is very clearly marked by a tumulus and some artificial ground on the summit of the ridge which borders the southern side of the valley of *Thespiæ*; this position being exactly in the line between *Thespiæ* and *Platæa*, as Strabo intimates Leuctra to have been [3], while its smaller distance from the former accords with the fact of Leuctra having been included in the district of Thespiæ [4]. The battle of Leuctra was fought probably in the valley on the

[1] Plutarch. in. Aristid.

[2] *κανάβι*.

[3] Strabo, p. 414.

[4] *ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς*. —Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6, c. 4.

northern sidé of the tumulus, about midway between Thespiæ and the western extremity of the plain of Platæa. Cleombrotus, in order to avoid the Bœotians, who were expecting him by the direct route from Phocis, marched by Thisbe and the valleys on the southern side of Mount Helicon[1]; and having thus made his appearance suddenly at Creusis, the port of Thespiæ, captured that fortress, and twelve triremes belonging to the Thebans. From thence he moved upon Leuctra, where he intrenched himself on a rising ground; after which the Thebans encamped on an opposite hill, at no great distance. The position of the latter, therefore, seems to have been on the eastern prolongation of the height of Rimókastro. The Theban commanders having cited an oracle, which declared that the punishment of the Lacedæmonians, for the violation of the daughters of Scedasus of Leuctra, by two Spartans, was to take place in the plain of Leuctra[2], where the monuments of the women were erected, the Thebans adorned the tomb previously to the battle[3].

[1] *διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν.*—Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6, c. 4.

πορευθεὶς διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν παραθαλαττίαν ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν οὖσαν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀκινδύνως.—Diodor. l. 15, c. 54.

According to Diodorus (l. 15, c. 52), Cleombrotus was encamped at Chæroneia before he moved towards Thebes, and Epaminondas waited for him at the passes near Coroneia, *τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενὰ*, probably at the pass of Petra.

[2] *Ἐν τῷ Λευκτρικῷ πεδίῳ.*—Plutarch. in Pelopid.

[3] *ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.*—Xenoph. ibid.

Hence the monument and the plain appear to have been between the two positions. The numbers of the contending parties are not stated by Xenophon, but by the most probable accounts of subsequent times the Lacedæmonians had 10,000 hoplitæ and 1000 cavalry; and the Bœotians 6000 hoplitæ, with a better, if not a more numerous cavalry, than that of their opponents[1]. The two armies met in the plain, with their cavalry in front. That of the Lacedæmonians was soon defeated, and in turning, disordered their hoplitæ, just at the time when the Theban phalanx, which was fifty shields in depth, attacked the right of the Lacedæmonians, who were only about twelve deep. The close order of the Thebans had been purposely arranged by Epaminondas with the hope that, if he could break the Spartans where the king commanded, the rest of the army would be an easy conquest. The result was more successful than he could have expected. Cleombrotus, together with Dinon and Sphodrias, two of his chief officers, were slain; the right was turned; the left, as soon as they perceived it, retreated to the rising ground, and the whole army took refuge within the entrenchments, when finding that 1000 Lacedæmonians had fallen, including 400 out of 700 Spartans[2], the surviving leaders de-

[1] Plutarch. in Pelopid.—Diodor. l. 15, c. 52.

[2] Mitford doubts whether the Spartans were included among the Lacedæmonians, but such I think was the meaning of Xenophon, and it is confirmed by Plutarch, who, in his life of Agesilaus, represents the whole Lacedæmonian loss to have been 1000.

termined to demand a truce to bury their dead, and thus to acknowledge themselves beaten, upon which the Thebans delivered the dead and erected a trophy. As the barrow on the site of Leuctra is exactly on the summit of the ridge which was occupied by the Lacedæmonian camp, it is probably the place of sepulture of the 1000 Lacedæmonians who fell in this celebrated contest, from which is dated the decline of Sparta; it is therefore a monument of the same kind as the tumulus of Marathon, and a relic of antiquity scarcely less interesting.

On leaving Rimókastro for Paleo-panaghía, we descend into the plain and proceed along the foot of the hills. At about half-way, the village of Neokhório stands on a projection of the opposite mountain. In the middle of the valley, in the same direction, lies a large block of marble, on one side of which, in a circular compartment, figures of a man and horse are represented, below which is inscribed, in very large characters,

ΡΙΣΤΩΝΙΔ

ΗΡΩΙ

The inscription is incomplete at both ends, one being buried in the ground and the other broken; but the name was evidently Aristonides. Having returned into the road, six minutes farther a church occurs, which is made up of pedestals, altars, tombstones of different sorts, and other fragments of ancient architecture. Among the sepulchral monuments are five which represented horsemen in relief, like the *hero* above-mentioned. There are

two monuments of the same kind at the church of St. Kharálambo, another in the village of Rimókastro, others below that village, among the ruins of *Thespiæ*, and there is a similar one in the aqueduct of Thebes. In some of these the man is on foot by the side of his horse; in others he is mounted and armed with a shield and sword. The horse generally sets his left foot upon an altar, and the man's name is inscribed below with the addition Ἥρως. In the same ruined church a part of a human figure in high relief, representing a man in the act of stretching out his right arm, has lately been uncovered by the rains: a part of the figure is still buried in the earth. The place seems to be the same which Wheler states to have been called Phria, but no knowledge of that name now exists.

At the end of the plain of Neokhório we cross a slight elevation, and arrive at sunset at the village of Panaghía, situated among vineyards, a little above a small plain which reaches to the foot of Mount *Helicon*. The distance from Rimókastro is thirty-six minutes. At the church of Aio Vlasi at Panaghía are three inscriptions, the most curious of which is a stele of a singular form, inscribed with the name of Timon, and χῆρε for χαῖρε in the Bœotic dialect, like κὴ for καὶ in the inscriptions of Tanagra[1].

Feb. 4.—The ruins of Paleo-panaghía are about a mile distant to the north-westward of the present village, on a rocky summit in the direction of the mountain of Zagará. Here stands

[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 82, 83, 84.

a ruined tower of the middle ages on a peaked rock, at the foot of which are remains of churches and houses. Wheler, who calls this place Panaghía, without the Paleó, shows it nevertheless to have been exactly in the same desolate state it is at present. It would seem that new Panaghía was not then in existence, for he describes the valley and river, which is between it and Neokhório, without any mention of the village. He supposed the ruins to stand on the site of Ceressus, a strong fortress of the Thespienses, whose city, standing in a plain, seems to have required some such place of retreat towards the mountains. Twice Ceressus served as a place of refuge to them; first on occasion of an incursion of Thessalians, whose attacks they here successfully resisted; and again after the battle of Leuctra, when the place soon yielded to Epaminondas[1]. The tower commands a fine view of the *Thespice* and *Parasopia* as far as Mount *Parnes*, as well as of Thebes and a part of the Lake *Copais*. The nearer view is confined to the *Heliconian* summits. To the right the serrated top of Mount Zagará, or *Libethrium*, is seen foreshortened: and a little on this side of the highest point appears the monastery of Zagará, delightfully situated on a woody slope which falls to the retired valley where stand the two villages also called Zagará. To the left of the mountain the snowy summit of *Parnassus* just shows itself.

The rocky ridge of Paleo-panaghía is divided only from *Helicon* by a valley, which branches to

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 14.

the north-east. This plain is probably the territory of *Ascra*, for on the opposite side of it are the remains of a Hellenic fortress, on the summit of a high conical hill, or rather rock, which is connected to the north-west with Mount Zagará, and more to the westward with the proper *Helicon*. The distance of these ruins from Lefka corresponds exactly to the forty stades which Strabo places between Thespiæ and Ascra; and it is further remarkable, that a single tower is the only portion of the ruins conspicuously preserved, just as Pausanias describes Ascra in his time, though there are also some vestiges of the walls surrounding the summit of the hill, and inclosing a space of no great extent. The place is now called Pyrgáki from the tower, which is formed of equal and regular layers of masonry, and is uncommonly large. Hesiod describes Ascra as a disagreeable residence both in winter and summer[1], which may have been caused by the confined circuit of its walls, the abruptness of the hill, and the proximity of the great summits of *Helicon*, rendering the winter long and severe, and in summer excluding the refreshing breezes of the west. *Ascra* however is surrounded with beautiful scenery, with delightful summer-retreats, and with fertile plains, enjoying a mild climate during the winter; and it was less, perhaps, upon its intrinsic defects, than upon a com-

[1] Νάσσαρο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος ὀϊζυρῇ ἐνὶ κώμῃ
Ἄσκρῃ, χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ.
Hesiod. Op. v. 637.

Hesiod is here speaking of his father, who was forced by poverty to seek a new residence.

parison of it with the delightful Asiatic Æolis, from whence his family came, that Hesiod founded his condemnation of Ascra.

The middle of the valley, which lies between Paleo-panaghía and Pyrgáki, is watered by a torrent, which is joined farther on by two small streams from Mount Marandáli, as the neighbouring or eastern summit of *Helicon* is called, and thus forms the river which flows between new Panaghía and Neo-khório. From the left bank of this torrent, midway between Paleo-panaghía and Pyrgáki, issues a fine perennial source of water, which, by the numerous squared blocks around it, seems anciently to have enjoyed considerable reputation. On one of the blocks are the letters

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in large and well-formed characters: the fields around are spread with stones and remains of habitations, among which are two or three small churches in ruins. If Pyrgáki was *Ascra*, this fountain was probably the famous *Aganippe*, for Pausanias, after having described Ascra, proceeds to the Grove of the Muses in Helicon, and remarks that Aganippe was on the left hand [1], which is exactly true of this source, supposing the Grove of the Muses to have been at St. Nicolas, of which I was satisfied on my former journey, by an inscription which I found there, relating to the Games of the Muses, mentioned by Pausanias[2]. This inscrip-

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 29.

[2] *περιοικοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες τὸ ἄλσος καὶ ἑορτήν τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσπιεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι Μουσεῖα.*—Pausan. Bœot. c. 31.

tion, after having proceeded from the foot of the hill of Pyrgáki to Aio Nikóla, I again copy. It contains a catalogue of victors in the Museia, preceded by the names of the Agonothetæ and of the Archon (of Thespiæ), under whom the games were celebrated, which are styled the Great Cæsarian Augustan Museia [1]. St. Nicholas is a metókhi, or church and small convent dependent on that of Makariótissa, which is in the upper region of *Helicon*, towards its southern declivity. The metókhi is beautifully situated in a theatre-shaped hollow at the foot of Mount Marandáli. The buildings stand in the midst of a grove of pine, walnut, plane, and olive, mixed with myrtle, bay and oleander, and adjoining to them are some gardens containing many hazel trees. A constant verdure is maintained here in summer by a copious source of water. The fountain Hippocrene, which was twenty stades above (*ἐπαναβάντι*) the Grove of the Muses, was

[1] Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρίων Σεβαστήων Μουσείων Αὐρη. Καλλικλιανοῦ τοῦ Σωτηρίχου, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Αὐρη. Μουσέρωτος, πυρφοροῦντος Αὐρη. Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἐπίκτι, γραμματεύοντος Αὐρη. Λιβάνου τοῦ Λιβάνου, ἐνείκων οἵδε· σαλπικτὴς Πού. Αἴλιος Σεραπίων Ἐφέσιος, κήρυξ Μ. Αὐρή. Εὐτύχης Ταναγραῖος, ῥαψῳδὸς Μ. Αὐρή. Εὔκαιρος Ταναγραῖος, Πυθικὸς αὐλητὴς Μ. Αὐρή. Ἰουλιανὸς Τριπολείτης, Πυθικὸς κιθαριστὴς Λού. Γάϊος Αἴλιος Ἀλέξανδρος, κύκλιος αὐλητὴς Μ. Αὐρή. Σεπτίμιος Νεμεσιανὸς Ἀντιγενίδης Κύλων Ἀντιοχεύς, τραγῳδὸς Μ. Αὐφίδιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος Κορίνθιος, κωμῳδὸς Μ. Εὐτυχιανὸς Ἀθηναῖος, κιθαρῳδὸς Μ. Αὐρή. Ἀλέξανδρος Νεικομηδεύς, χοροῦ πολειτικοῦ Αὐρή. Ζωσιμιανὸς Γλύκωνος Θεσπιεύς, διὰ πάντων Μ. Αὐρή. Σεπτίμιος Νεμεσιανὸς Ἀντιγενίδης Κόλων Ἀντιοχεύς. —V. Inscription, No. 80.

probably at Makariótissa, which is noted for a fine spring of water, though the twenty stades of Pausanias accord better with the direct distance, than with that by the road. At the Hippocrene, Pausanias saw an ancient copy of the Ἔργα of Hesiod written upon lead, and much injured by time [1]. In my former tour in Bœotia, in which I proceeded from St. Nicholas to Zagará, and after following that valley, descended by Kotomúla to Livadhía, I remember to have remarked two other springs on the ascent of the mountain from St. Nicholas, but as these are scarcely more than half the distance mentioned by Pausanias, and are very inconsiderable in summer, neither of them can be the *Hippocrene;* there is a well also near the summit of Mount Marandáli, noted among the peasants as serving to water their cattle in summer, and called Kriopígadho (cold well), a name which is sometimes applied to the summit itself. If Marandáli was the sacred summit of *Helicon*, as its vicinity to the *Grove of the Muses* suggests, Kriopígadho corresponds with the fountain near the altar of Jupiter on Helicon, alluded to by the author of the Theogonia [2].

The Grove of the Muses preserved in the time of Pausanias a greater number of statues, by eminent masters, than any place in Bœotia, not ex-

[1] καί μοι μόλυβδον ἐδείκνυσαν, ἔνθα ἡ πηγὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελυμασμένον· ἐγγέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ Ἔργα. The natives (οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες) maintained that the Erga was the only poem written by Hesiod, and that even of this the first ten lines were spurious.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 31.

[2] Hesiod. Theogon. v. 3. v. inf. p. 497. n. 1.

cepting Thebes[1], and the extant inscription gives strong reason to believe, by the form of its letters, that the Museia were celebrated long after the time of Pausanias. The statues of the Muses remained here until the reign of Constantine, when they were removed to his new capital, where they were consumed by fire in the year 404[2]. In the approach to the alsos, Pausanias remarked a rock wrought in the shape of a cavern, which contained portraits in relief of Eupheme, nurse of the Muses, and of Linus. In the sanctuary were the nine Muses by Cephisodotus, and another set, of which three were by the same sculptor, three by Strongylion, and three by Olympiosthenes. Here also were Apollo and Hermes in brass, contending for the lyre, a Bacchus seated, the work of Lysippus, and another upright Bacchus, the finest of the productions of Myron, except his Erechtheus at Athens. This Bacchus had been presented by Sylla, who had taken it from Orchomenus. There were portrait-statues of several poets or other followers of the Muses[3], namely, Thamyris blind and bearing a broken lyre, Arion of Methymna on a dolphin, Sacadas of Argos, Hesiod seated with a lyre[4] on his knees, Orpheus (seated) with Telete standing by him, and surrounded by brutes in marble and bronze. The Grove contained also a statue of Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy, seated on

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 29, et seq.

[2] Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. l. 3, c. 54. Sozomen, l. 2. c. 5. Zosim. l. 2, c. 21, l. 5, c. 24.

[3] ποιητὰς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπὶ μουσικῇ.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 30.

[4] κιθάρα.

an ostrich of brass, and the figure of a deer giving suck to Telephus, near which were an ox and a statue of Priapus. Among the votive tripods, the most ancient was that dedicated by Hesiod, who had obtained it at Chalcis, as a prize for his verses.

"The vicinity of the Grove," adds Pausanias, "is inhabited, and the Thespienses here celebrate a festival and contest called the Museia, and another in honour of Love[1] in which there are prizes, as well in the arts of the Muses[2] as for Athletæ."

The water from the fountain at St. Nicolas, together with that from the adjacent slopes, joins the stream from *Aganippe* and the valley of *Ascra*, the latter having previously received another small contribution from the pass which leads to Zagará, and which was the ancient road from Thespiæ and the Museium of Helicon to Coroneia, by the valley of Libethrium. The united river or rather rivulet, then leaves the two Panaghías on the left, and Neokhório on the right, flows three miles in the direction of *Platæa*, then takes a sudden turn to the south-west, and dividing the roots of Mount Korombíli from those of *Helicon*, follows a still more westerly course to Dobrená and Kakósia, leaving on the right Karadá and Tatezá, and on the left Xeronomí. What was the ancient name of this river?—which having had its origin in such illustrious sources as Aganippe, Hippocrene, the Fountain of the Muses, and that of Narcissus, cannot but have had some celebrity among the Greeks.

[1] τῷ Ἔρωτι. [2] Μουσικῆς.

Hesiod mentions only the Permessus and Olmeius [1]. I have already remarked, that the evidence of Strabo and of the Scholiast on Hesiod [2], is favourable to the opinion that the river Kefalári, which joins the lake *Cephissis* near the site of *Haliartus*, is the *Permessus* and its confluent the river of Zagará the *Olmeius*. But to this conclusion some objection may be made: both the testimonies just referred to are derived from Zenodotus, an Ephesian who lived in the time of the second Ptolemy, and of whose judgment on Grecian topography

[1] *Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν,*
Αἵθ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος, μέγα τε ζαθεόν τε
Καί τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἁπαλοῖσιν
Ὀρχεῦνται, καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος·
Καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῖο,
Ἢ Ἱππουκρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο,
Ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χόρους ἐνεποιήσαντο.

Hesiod Theogon. v. 1.

Though Hesiod does not assert that the Permessus and Olmeius were rivers, the masculine termination, and the belief of all subsequent writers, fully warrant the presumption that they were not mere fountains like Hippocrene, Aganippe, or that fountain near the altar of Jupiter, on the summit of the mountain, of which the poet has not given us the name.

[2] Strabo, p. 407, 411.—*Οἱ μὲν ποταμοὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας (sc. Permessus et Olmeius) οὗτοί εἰσι. Περμησὸς δὲ καλοῦσι οἱ ἐγχώριοι διὰ τὸ πρῶτον φανῆναι Παρμησὸν, ὥς φησι Κράτης ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτικοῖς. Ἐμβάλλει δὲ εἰς τὴν Κωπαΐδα λίμνην. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ζηνοδοτείοις γράφει Τερμησοῖο. Τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἔχει ἐν τῇ Θεσπιακῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ῥεῖ εἰς τὴν Κωπαΐδα λίμνην· κακῶς, ὁ γὰρ Τερμησὸς ὄρος ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ ποταμός. Καὶ ὁ Ὀλμειὸς ποταμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι τῆς Βοιωτίας κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ Ὀλμειοῦ τοῦ Σισύφου παιδός· Τριακόσια δέ που στάδια ἀπέχει Θηβῶν.*—Schol. Hesiod. Theog. v. 5.

Strabo does not leave a very favourable impression when he remarks, that Zenodotus proposed to alter the πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην of the Iliad into πολυστάφυλον Ἄσκρην, in opposition to the description which Hesiod has given of his native place, and the still stronger language of Eudoxus [1]. Pausanias, the only author besides Hesiod whom we can rely upon as having certainly seen the rivers in question, says only of the Permessus that it was a river of Helicon, and the reputed father of Aganippe [2]; and of the Olmeius, that it was a small river flowing on the summit of Helicon [3], which is so slight a mention of these celebrated streams, and so different from the usual confidence of Pausanias in recognizing places renowned in history or fable, that one cannot but suspect that he had doubts as to the identity of the rivers of Hesiod with those pointed out by the ἐξηγηταὶ, and which were probably the same alluded to by Strabo. His silence as to any river in the Haliartia except the Lophis, which rose not in Helicon but near the walls of Haliartus, tends to support this opinion of the impressions of Pausanias. Nor ought we to

[1] Εὐδόξου πολὺ χείρω λέγοντος περὶ τῆς Ἄσκρης.—Strabo, p. 413.

[2] θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀγανίππην τοῦ Περμησσοῦ λέγουσι· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Περμησσὸς περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 29.

[3] Ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρᾳ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ὁ Λάμος (lege Ὀλμιός).—Pausan. Bœot. c. 31. I have no hesitation in making the emendation here proposed, for on comparing the words of Pausanias with those of the Scholiast on Hesiod (ὁ Ὀλμειὸς ποταμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ), it is evident that the latter refers to the same river intended by Pausanias, and that both authors had in view the words Ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι in Hesiod.

omit the consideration that both Pausanias and the Scholiast seem to have mistaken the meaning of Hesiod, who does not place the Olmeius on the summit of Helicon (a singular situation for a river), but only says that the Muses bathed in the Permessus, Olmeius or Hippocrene, and that they danced at a fountain and altar of Jupiter, on the summit of the mountain. If, then, we can suppose that the names of Permessus and Olmeius had been changed between the time of Hesiod and that of the Ptolemies, or of the Roman empire, it will be natural to conclude that the two rivers noticed by the native poet, are those which we now find to be the only two considerable and perennial streams on the eastern side of Helicon, and that if the Kefalári was the *Permessus*, the river which rises in *Aganippe* and the Grove of the Muses, and flows to Kakósia, was the *Olmeius*[1].

Returning in 20 minutes from the Metókhi of St. Nicolas to New Panaghía, we descend from thence at 11, by a gentle slope to the river, cross it at 11.12, and immediately mounting the foot of an advanced height of Mount Marandáli, arrive in a few minutes at Neokhório. If I understand Wheler rightly, it was on the hill above Neokhóri, which is well defended by its form on every side except towards the mountain, that he supposed Thespiæ to have been situated, having observed upon it some "ruins of an ancient city," and having found in a

[1] Possibly a line of Pausanias has been lost between Ἑλικῶνος and ποταμὸς, which may have been descriptive of the top of the mountain as well as of the situation of the Olmeius.

church on the ascent, an inscription containing the name of Thespiæ. But as Thespiæ was certainly at Lefka, this was probably the site of one of the subordinate towns of the Thespice [1], to which supposition the inscription itself is not unfavourable, having belonged to a monument which was erected in honour of one Protogenes, son of Protarchus, by the young men of Thespiæ, in conjunction with those of some of the Παροικοὶ, or neighbouring people who were engaged in business in Thespiæ [2]. Such a monument might have been placed in any of the towns of the Thespice as well as in Thespiæ itself. It is by no means improbable that this position, and not Paleopanaghía, may be the site of *Ceressus*, being more centrical with regard to the *Thespice*, whereas Paleopanaghía is on the extremity of the district very near Ascra, and has not the advantage of being backed by Mount *Helicon*, from which it is quite separated.

Beyond Neokhóri the road quits the cultivated country, and crosses the barren roots of the mountain, which are covered with wild thyme and shrubs, particularly the paliúri, or Jerusalem thorn.

In descending towards the valley which lies between the mountains *Helicon* and Korombíli, and which is watered by the stream from Paleopanaghía, we arrive, at 11.53, at Tatezá, a hamlet dependent on Xeronomí. On the opposite bank of a

[1] The district of Thespiæ was called Thespice, or Thespiace, or Thespias.

[2] *Θεσπιέων οἱ παῖδες καὶ παροικῶν τῶν πραγματευομένων ἐν Θεσπιαῖς Πρωτογένην Πρωτάρχου τὸν . . . . . καὶ εὐεργέτην ἑαυτῶν.* — Wheler, p. 471.

rivulet which flows by the village, stands a ruined church, built of ancient fragments, among which are some heroic monuments like those already described. Here are also two plain tomb-stones, with single names in the nominative, in archaic characters [1]. Five minutes higher up the stream, is a copious fountain surrounded by a modern inclosure, of which the materials are ancient squared blocks. In the corn-fields above are many remains of former habitations. It is the site, perhaps, of that Donacon to which Pausanias adverts, immediately after noticing the Olmius [2], and before he describes Creusis and Thisbe, which two sites occur exactly in conformity with the order of his narrative, if we suppose *Donacon* to have been here situated, and his *Olmius* to be the river which flows from Panaghía to Kakósia, and which receives the rivulet of Tatezá near Xeronomí. If the remains near Tatezá indicate the site of *Donacon*, the fountain is that of *Narcissus*.

From Tatezá we proceed, in 25 minutes, to Xeronomí or Xeronomés [3], a considerable village in a wide cultivated valley, surrounded by high mountains, and watered by the small river before mentioned. Xeronomí has a large ruined church, composed of fragments of Hellenic architecture, and many ancient squared blocks of the white stone of the neighbouring mountains. Here are several heroic monuments, bearing figures of a man and horse; and three plain sepulchral stones of

[1] V. Inscript. Nos. 85, 86.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 31.

[3] Ξερονομὴ, or Ξηρονομὴ, or Ξηρονομαὶς, dry pasture, or pastures.

very ancient date, inscribed with the names Aristophanes, Nicomachus, and Phrasse. Arisstophanes is written with a double sigma : the X in Nicomachus is represented by Ψ [1]. One only of the heroic monuments, and apparently more ancient than the others, is inscribed : the name of the deceased is preceded by ἐπὶ and followed by ἥρῳ, but both the latter word and the name are in the Bœotic dialect [2].

It is evident from the numerous churches in this part of Bœotia, some of which are of large dimensions and ancient construction, that the Thespias continued to be well inhabited under the Byzantine empire, as it had been under the Roman; and it is curious to observe that these churches still preserve numerous remains of the temples and other buildings of Thespiæ, and its dependent villages and sacred places, which were one of the last holds of Paganism.

Leaving Xeronomí at 2.25, and sending my baggage by the direct road down the vale to Kakósia, I take that which leads to the port of Alikí—soon quit the valley, enter a gorge of Mount Korombíli opposite to Xeronomí, and after following it for about a quarter of an hour mount the ridge which borders the *Corinthiac* Gulf, leaving the summit of Korombíli to the left. The ridge, as well as the whole mountain, is a mere rock having some scanty intervals of soil, covered with wild shrubs. On the crest of the ridge, where we arrive at 3.10, the road passes over the remains of a Hellenic fortress, where, among the foundations of walls and houses,

[1] V. Inscriptions Nos. 88, 89, 90.

[2] V. Inscription No. 87.

one tower is still standing, which has given to the place the name of Pyrgo. The masonry is similar to that of Ascra, and the tower seems to have been intended as a watch and signal post, as well from its commanding position as from the great height of the original work, for though still enough remains of the tower to be very conspicuous at a distance, it seems formerly to have been twice as high; the part now standing being entirely filled with the materials of the upper part which have fallen into it. This point looks immediately down upon the port of Alikí, which opens to the west, but is well sheltered. The termination of the ridge of Pyrgo, to the southward, forms the northern side of the entrance into the harbour, and being connected above with a more abrupt ledge of rock, descending from the summit of the mountain, thus affords a natural protection to the harbour on the land side. The ancients, however, were not satisfied with this degree of security, but built a wall along the crest of the ledge of rock, which completely excluded all access to the harbour by land from the eastward. The principal remains are a tower, and an adjoining piece of wall of the same kind of masonry as that of Pyrgo. There was also a space at the foot of the heights inclosed within the ancient walls, and on the shore of the harbour is a marshy level, containing ponds for making salt, whence the name Alikí.

Pyrgo commands a fine view of the northern shore of the Moréa, and of the mountains which rise from it, but Corinth is hidden by the Cape of Perakhóra. It is remarkable that the mountains of the Moréa are more deeply covered with snow than

those on this side of the gulf. Last year I remarked the same tardiness of the spring in the northern part of the Moréa; here, on the contrary, and ever since I have left Athens, the sun at noon has been already too warm to be agreeable for travelling. The mountains on either side of the gulf seem to have the same relation to each other in respect of climate as two parallel walls, one of which is exposed to the north and the other to the south.

Half way towards the coast of *Megaris* lie the Kalá Nisiá, three low islands, upon one of which is a monastery. Eastward of Korombíli is Livadhóstra, a bad harbour in a large bay. From Pyrgo it lies to the west of the summit of Korombíli: near Livadhóstra eastward is another port named Kalamáki; then occur those of Ai Vlasi, or Aio Vasíli [1], and of Ghermanó or *Ægosthena*. To the westward of Alikí, near the Bœotian coast, are four small islands lying in a line parallel to the coast; their names in the direction from east to west are Makriá, Kumbolúri, or Stróng-hylo, Kuvéli and Foniá. Within them is the entrance into Vathý, the port of Kakósia and Dobrená. Khósia, a large village, is seen immediately under the peak of Paleovúni or *Helicon*. Farther westward the uncultivated roots of that mountain impede all prospect of the coast.

It is difficult to assign the ancient name to the port and fortress at Alikí. There are insurmount-

[1] This is the harbour at which Wheler slept under a pine-tree, and the next day ascended a high mountain to the village of Ai Vlasi, and from thence proceeded to *Platæa*.

able reasons against its being Creusis, the harbour of Thespiæ. When the Lacedæmonians twice retired from the Thespice to the Isthmus by Ægosthena, they are reported by the historian to have marched on both occasions by Creusis: the first time under the command of Cleombrotus; and again between seven and eight years afterwards, immediately after the defeat at Leuctra, in which the same Cleombrotus was slain [1]. A glance at the map will suffice to show that the route of the retiring Lacedæmonians could not have led by Alikí, their object being to make as speedy a retreat as possible, at the same time that they avoided the more direct roads across Mount Cithæron. In order to have reached Creusis, supposing it to have been at Alikí, they must have diverged to the right of their line of march near Livadhóstra; either following the steep maritime side of Mount Korombíli eastward, or making the tour of it by Xeronomí westward, and must then have returned by one of those routes nearly to the point in their line of marçh from which they had diverged. It may be considered certain, therefore, that *Creusis* was in the bay of Livadhóstra, and that the fortress and harbour at Alikí were some other ancient place.

Leaving Pyrgo I follow the summit of the ridge, and there being no path whatever, consume an hour in threading my way through the rocks to the valley, from whence, after crossing the river which is near the foot of the mountain, we arrive in twenty minutes at Dobrená [2], or Dobréni, and in

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 4, l. 6, c. 4.

[2] Τομπρενὰ, Ντομπρενὰ, Ντομπρένι.

fifteen more at Kakósia [1]. The distance to this place from Xeronomí by the straight road may be about an hour and a half.

Feb. 5.—A strong northerly wind and rain. Kakósia stands precisely on the site of the ancient Thisbe, which is well described by Strabo as situated at a small distance from the sea, under the southern side of Helicon, in a district confining on those of Thespiæ and Coroneia [2]. The position is between two great summits of the mountain, now called Karamúnghi and Paleovuná [3], which rise majestically above the vale, clothed with trees in the upper part, and covered with snow at the top, but in no great quantity at present. The modern village lies in a little hollow surrounded on all sides by low cliffs connected with the last falls of the mountain. The walls of Thisbe were about a mile in circuit, following the crest of the cliffs which surround the village; they are chiefly preserved on the side towards Dobrená and the south-east. The masonry is for the most part of the fourth order, or faced with equal layers of large, oblong, quadrangular stones on the outside, the interior as usual being filled with loose rubble. On the principal height which lies towards the mountain, and which is an entire mass of rock, appear some reparations of a later date than the rest of the walls, and there are many Hellenic foundations on the face of this rock towards the village. In the cliffs outside the walls, to the

[1] Κακόσια.

[2] Strabo, p. 411.

[3] Καραμούγγι, Παλαιοβουνάς.

north-west and south, are many sepulchral excavations.

The primates of the village, on visiting me, inquire whether I have found in my books any mention of the mode in which the place was anciently supplied with water, and where was the spring, their only resource at present being a well behind the rocky height. As neither Strabo nor Pausanias make any mention of a fountain at Thisbe, the inhabitants probably depended upon cisterns and wells, which can seldom fail at the foot of such a mountain as *Helicon*. The Kakosiótes, however, instead of digging wells, have preferred spending their money in building houses, and the same is observable at Dobrená; their ability to do so is probably caused by the retired situation of the place, and its distance from all the ordinary lines of communication.

The port of *Thisbe*, which is now called Vathý, is a beautiful little harbour surrounded by woody hills. On the ridge looking down upon it, which separates the plain of *Thisbe* from the coast, are the remains of a Hellenic tower and station, similar to that upon the ridge above Alikí, and evidently a fortified point and signal post on the road from *Thisbe* to its port. There are said also to be some remains of a fortress on the side of the harbour. The modern Skala of Dobrená in Port Vathý is called Plaka, that of Kakósia, Ai Iánni: and there are separate roads leading to them from either village a mile and a half across the plain, and then over the maritime ridge. The shore of Vathý is very rocky, and abounds in wild pigeons,

as Strabo and Stephanus have remarked [1]. The geographer ascribes to the abundance of pigeons at the harbour the epithet which Homer gives to Thisbe [2]; but there is no deficiency of them at Kakósia itself, for before I had made any inquiry on the subject, my Athenian janissary, whom I do not suspect of having ever read the Iliad, brought me as a present a brace of pigeons, which he had just shot among the rocks near the village. In the islands opposite to the harbour these birds are said to be still more numerous than at Vathý.

The only building remarked by Pausanias at Thisbe was a temple of Hercules, containing an upright statue of the god in stone: a festival was celebrated in honour of him called the Heracleia [3]. The Grecian traveller then proceeds to describe a peculiarity in the adjacent plain, which is alone sufficient to identify the place. "Between the mountain on the sea side," he says, "and that at the foot of which the town is situated, there is a plain, which the water flowing into it would cause to be a lake, were it not for a strong embankment [4] constructed through the middle [5], by means of which the water is turned every year into the part of the plain lying on one side of the causeway,

[1] Strabo, p. 411.—*ὁ πολίτης Θισβαῖος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν Θισβαίων ὡς φησιν Ἐπαφρόδειτος· καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον· περιστερῶν πλῆρες.*—Steph. Byzant. in *Θίσβη*.

[2] *Κώπας, Εὔτρησίν τε, πολυτρήρωνά τε Θίσβην.* Il. B. v. 50.

[3] Pausan. Bœot. c. 32.

[4] *χῶμα ἰσχυρόν.*

[5] *διὰ μέσου.*

while that on the other side is cultivated." In fact, the plain of *Thisbe* is completely surrounded by heights, there is no issue for the river which rises in the *Ascræa* and here terminates; nor can I even perceive the entrance of any subterraneous channel such as frequently occurs under similar circumstances in the calcareous formations of Greece: if there be any, it is still, as in the time of Pausanias, insufficient to the drainage of the plain. The mole or causeway which he describes, still subsists and serves, as it probably always has done, for a road across the marsh towards the port. It consists of solid foundations of masonry, and is traceable nearly half across the plain, on the side opposite to Kakósia. The river crosses the causeway into the marsh by two openings, the closing of which in the winter or spring would at any time cause the upper part of the plain to be inundated, and leave the lower fit for cultivation in the summer; but as the river is now allowed to flow constantly through them, the western side is always in a state of marsh, and the ground has become much higher on the eastern side.

Besides this work there are the remains of another above Dobrená, which the archons of Kakósia conceive to have been constructed for the purpose of making each division of the valley cultivable every two years out of three, whereas the ancient work only gave cultivation every other year. They remark, that the inundation of any part of the land once in three years would serve both for fallow and manure, and would ensure constant fer-

tility to two-thirds of the valley. This second work was between two and three miles beyond Dobrená, in the direct road to Xeronomí, where the valley is not more than four hundred yards wide. But it was merely a wall composed of loose stones and mortar, in nothing resembling the solid construction of the ancient mole opposite to the town, except that some squared blocks of Hellenic appearance are seen in one part of it. It is probably of the same period of the Byzantine Empire, when the churches were built, which show this part of Bœotia to have been at one time well peopled by Christians. The wall has been carried away in the centre by the stream, and could scarcely have served at any time for the purpose imagined by the Kakosiótes, but was rather a military separation between the two valleys of Xeronomí and Kakósia, or in other words, between the *Thespice* and *Thisbœa*, of which these straits are the natural boundary. It is very possible there may have been a Hellenic wall here, for such barriers of separation between districts were common among the ancients, as many remains of them attest, and which in this instance may have been renewed or repaired in the time of the Lower Empire. Just above the wall a narrow vale branches off from the main valley, and conducts again into it behind a hill which is thus insulated from Mount *Helicon*. The soil of all these valleys is excellent, and produces plentiful crops of wheat and barley ; there is a considerable space covered with vineyards immediately below Dobrená, but the wine is bad, in consequence of the

low and moist situation, and negligent manufacture: a part of the marsh bears in summer kalambókki of both sorts.

The monastery of Makariótissa, where is a copious source of water, which I suppose to have been the ancient Hippocrene, is visible from the southern side of the plain of Kakósia; it is situated on a little level half-way up the Karamúnghi, on the southern side of that summit. The road to the monastery from the plain of *Thisbe* ascends by the valley behind Dobrená.

Kakósia preserves several inscriptions, but the name Thisbe does not occur in any of them. Two relate to a family of the name of Brachas. One of these is a fragment, preserving only the ending of two elegiac couplets[1], which show that a Brachas had erected a monument in the city. The other, which is on a square stele, is complete, and testifies that a brother and two sisters, named Ulpius Brachas, Ulpia Paula, and Ulpia Hygeia, had erected a monument according to a decree of the council and people to their brother, M. Ulpius Paramonus, who was son of M. Ulpius Brachas Paramonianus, by Aurelia Arescusa, and grandson of M. Ulpius Paramonus by Corane Paula. On a cornice or moulding near the top of the stele, is a line in smaller letters, implying that the dedicators were descendants of Marcus Ulpius

[1] . . . . . μὲ Βραχᾶς εἵδρυσε πολήϊ
. . . . . τὸν φιλάεθλον ἄγαν
. . . . . τέκνῳ καὶ πατρίδι τειμήν
. . . . . τῷδε κλέος θεόθεν.

V. Inscription, No. 91.

Nicias, who had held the office of Bœotarch [1]. An inscription which was copied at Kakósia by Meletius, a century ago, and is no longer to be found, related to the same family of Brachas. It was inscribed on a monument erected to Trajan by Marcus Ulpius Brachas Epiphanianus Φιλόκαισαρ, in conjunction with his two sons and two daughters [2], and is probably the most ancient of the three inscriptions relating to the Brachæ, being cotemporary with the Emperor, from whom undoubtedly so many of the family had assumed the name of Ulpius and Ulpia.

[1] M. Οὐλπίου Νεικίου Βοιωτάρχου ἀπογόνοι, M. Οὔλπιον Παράμονον, M. Οὐλπίου Βραχᾶ Παραμονιανοῦ καὶ Αὐρελίας Ἀρεσκούσης υἱὸν, ἔγγονον M. Οὐλπίου Παραμόνου καὶ Κοράνης Παύλης, οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Οὔλπιοι Βραχᾶς, Παύλα, Ὑγεία· ψηφίσματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου. — V. Inscription, No. 92.

In this inscription the word ἔγγονος seems to be used in the sense defined by Hesychius, namely, that of υἱωνὸς, or υἱὸς υἱοῦ. Nevertheless, in some dedications to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius at *Tænarus*, ἔγγονος evidently means a step lower in descent; for Antoninus is there designated as υἱὸς of Adrian, υἱωνὸς of Trajan, and ἔγγονος of Nerva; and M. Aurelius as υἱὸς of Antoninus, υἱωνὸς of Hadrian, ἔγγονος of Trajan, and ἀπόγονος of Nerva.—See Travels in the Moréa, vol. i. p. 293, Inscriptions, Nos. 35, 36.

[1] . . . . . ὸν, Δακικὸν, Παρθικὸν, ὕπατον τὸ $\overline{\beta}$, Μάρκος Οὔλπιος Βραχᾶς Ἐπιφανιανὸς Φιλόκαισαρ, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, Οὔλπιος Δημοσθένης, Οὔλπιος Κράτων, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες, Οὐλπία Εὐπορία, Οὐλπία Βρόχιλλα, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.—Melet. Geog. T. ii. p. 342. 8vo.

Meletius must have been mistaken in the $\overline{\beta}$ indicating the year of Trajan's consulship, as he was only Cæsar in his second consulship, and governor of Germany. The inscription is either of the year 116, or 117, as in the former Trajan assumed the title of Parthicus, and in the latter he died. He had then been six times Consul.

Another inscription at Kakósia, not quite complete, records the construction of a house and —— to the Gods Augusti, by Tiberius Claudius Urbanus, by his wife Claudia Philonicha and by their two children, Urbanus and (Ulpius) at their own expence[1]. The earliest Augusti were M. Aurelius and Verus, and the form of the letters does not indicate a later time. The monument therefore was probably erected between the years 161 and 169 of the Christian æra.

The only inscribed monument at Kakósia older than the Roman Empire, is a dedication to Minerva, in characters of a very remote age, on a long narrow stone, now inserted in the wall of a private house; at one end the engraver, miscalculating the space, was obliged to end his line in a curve[2].

At 3.45 we quit Kakósia, and soon afterwards pass, between the marsh and the mountain, through vineyards in which the vines are mixed with almond trees now in blossom:—from thence ascend the mountain, which here closes the plain, and at 4.45 enter Khósia, or Khóstia[3], containing, like Kakósia and Dobrená, about 100 houses, which are beautifully situated under the rocks of *Helicon*, and dispersed among orchards of fruit-trees, chiefly almonds. A small torrent falls in cascades down a rocky gorge; and in summer,

[1] Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ (τῇ πό)λει τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν . . . . . Τιβήριος Κλαύδιος Οὐρβάνος κ(αὶ ἡ γυ)νὴ αὐτοῦ Κλαυδία Φιλωνίχα καὶ τὰ τέκνα Οὐρβάνος καὶ Ο(ὔλπιος) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησαν. — V. Inscription, No. 93.

[2] V. Inscription, No. 94.

[3] Χόσια, Χόστια.

when the water is scanty, is received into a tank in the lower part of the village, from whence it is conducted to the vineyards and olive-trees which cover the slope extending to the commencement of the plain of *Thisbe*. After passing through Khósia, we enter a mountainous district where the great counterforts of *Helicon* descend to the sea, and cross one of them, the extremity of which forms a lofty cape on the eastern side of the bay of Sarándi[1]. The summit of this ridge commands an extensive view of the *Corinthiac* gulf, with the coast of the Moréa, as far eastward as the bay of Corinth, and the *Acro-Corinthus*. On the western side of the bay of Sarándi rises another ridge, still more lofty than the eastern, and midway between them, in a beautiful retreat just under the woody steeps of Paleovúni, is situated a monastery dedicated to St. Taxiarches[2], a title of the archangel Michael, as leader of the heavenly host. Here I halt for the night at 5.25. The house is large, and contains numerous inmates, both monks and laics, whose persons are as dirty as their dwelling. The territory of the monastery consists chiefly of terraces on the slope of the mountain, producing olives and corn, and which end in a small level at the head of port Sarándi. A projection of the mountain which advances into the middle of the plain, about a quarter of an hour's walk below the monastery, and a mile from the sea-side, was the site of a small Hellenic polis.

Feb. 6.—A tabular summit formed the acro-

[1] Σαράντι.

[2] Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης.

polis, of which the walls are still traceable, as well as those of the town, which was situated on the eastern slope of the height, the western side having terminated in a precipice. Within the enclosure are the remains of terrace-walls, and to the south, looking towards the harbour, those of a narrow gate. On the slope of the acropolis towards the south, are some foundations cut in the rock. The whole is scarcely a mile in circumference. Some parts of the walls are carelessly constructed of rough stones, fitted together as in the first order of Hellenic masonry; other parts are of the second and third kind. There can be little doubt that these are remains of Tiphæ, or Siphæ, which was said to have taken its name from Tiphys, the pilot of the Argonauts[1], and where Demosthenes, the Athenian commander, made the unsuccessful attempt already adverted to, which preceded the battle of Delium. It may indeed be objected that Thucydides and Apollonius Rhodius, as well as Stephanus, who probably follows the historian, describe Siphæ as a dependency of Thespiæ[2], between which and Sarándi the whole of Thisbæa is interposed, but this may perhaps be reconciled by the superiority of Thespiæ over all the places in this angle of Bœotia, whence the entire country lying along the Alcyonic sea, under

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 32.

[2] *αἱ δὲ Σίφαι εἰσὶ τῆς Θεσπικῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ Κρισαίῳ κόλπῳ*

Τίφυς δ' Ἀγνιάδης Σιφαέα κάλλιπε δῆμον
Θεσπιέων. Apoll. Rh. l. 1, v. 105.

Σίφαι....ἐπίνειον τῆς Θεσπιακῆς.—Stephan. in *Σίφαι.*

ἐπιθαλασσίδιοι.—Thucyd. l. 4, c. 76.

Helicon, as far as the borders of Phocis, including Thisbe, may have often in common acceptation been called the Thespice. Pausanias expressly describes Tiphæ, which was probably the Æolic or local form of the word, as being on the coast beyond Thisbe to the westward. We learn from the same authority that the Tiphæenses had a temple of Hercules, in whose honour they celebrated a yearly festival, and that they pointed out the place where the ship Argo anchored on its return from Colchis [1].

The steeps of *Helicon* above the convent are clothed with shrubs, growing with great luxuriance, and among which the lentisk, the prinári, the wild olive, and the κέδρος or juniper, are the most abundant. These heights folding over one another, and crowned with the great summit of Paleovúni, covered with firs and snow, and so high and near that it seems to overhang the lower hills, form a scene of singular grandeur and beauty.

Leaving St. Taxiarches at 9.15, we begin to ascend the great ridge which forms the western cape of Port Sarándi. The road leads through a thick forest of the shrubs, or rather trees, just mentioned, among which the kedhri are remarkable for their uncommon size. Large tufts of myrtle frequently occur; and as well as the wild olive, the arbutus and the andrachne have their fruit still hanging on them. Of the last, Pausanias remarks that it produces a sweeter fruit in

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 32.

Helicon than in any other place[1]. At the best, however, they may be compared to a very insipid strawberry, and are admissible only to the table at a season when no other fruit is to be had, as I have seen the berry of the myrtle in Sicily, where that fruit attains a larger size than in Greece. At 10.30 we arrive on the crest of the ridge which terminates in a cape, known (as well as a great part of the neighbouring district) by the name of Velanidhiá, and then descending the western slope of the ridge, arrive at 10.54 at the monastery of Dobó[2], which is larger than St. Taxiarches, contains a handsome church newly painted, many cells and chambers, and between monks and servants, not less than forty inmates. Some of the apartments are neat and clean, which cannot be said of the inhabitants. The church is dedicated to St. Seraphim Thaumaturgus, a Greek of large property, who retired here not long after the Turkish conquest, and built the monastery. His skull, which is here deposited, is in great request in the neighbourhood, for its wondrous power in driving away all kinds of evil. The holy relic[3] has just been sent to Thebes, to put a stop to an epidemic disorder which has made its appearance in that town; and it is with difficulty that I can procure a sufficient number of mules to carry me to St. Luke, all those belonging to the convent being employed on that service. There are many

[1] *οἱ τῆς ἀνδράχνου θάμνοι παρέχονται τῶν πανταχοῦ καρπὸν ἥδιστον.* — Pausan. Bœot. c. 28.

[2] Δομπὸν, or Ντομπόν.

[3] *τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον.*

manuscripts in the monastery, handsomely written on parchment or vellum, but all of late date, and all πατερικὰ, with the sole exception of a general history, which begins with the creation and war of Troy, and ends with a part of the history of Venice, and of the Turks. The author's name I could not discover. There are said to be some good printed editions of the classics belonging to Dobó, but they have been sent to Livadhía for the use of the school there.

Sending my baggage to Kyriáki by the direct road over the mountain, I proceed thither by the way of the sea shore, for the sake of visiting a Hellenic site near the harbour of the monastery, which we reach in an hour, the road descending through hills covered with shrubs. The ruins are those of a small fortified town, which we may confidently name *Bulis*. It occupied the summit of a rocky height which slopes on one side towards a small harbour, and is defended in the opposite direction by an immense βράχος, or lofty rock, separated by a torrent from the precipitous acclivities of *Helicon*. These which rise directly to a snowy summit called Tjivri [1], from a small village of that name, consist of perpendicular white rocks, mixed with narrow natural terraces covered with pines. The slope of the site of *Bulis* towards the sea is cultivated, and contains a house belonging to Dobó, below which there is a level on the shore two thirds of a mile broad, and a magazine which was built by the monks when they owned a boat; but of this convenience, so important to

[1] Τζήβρι.

them, as there is no easy access to the place but by sea, they are now deprived. The port is called Zálitza; between it and Cape Velanidhiá is a similar inlet of the sea, named Mázeri, around which are some pastures belonging to Zeríki, or Zerítza, a village on Mount *Helicon*, and serving for its flocks in winter. The Paleókastro has some handsome pieces of wall of the third order remaining, and seems to have been rather larger than the ancient town at St. Taxiarches.

Although Pausanias places his remarks on Bulis in his Phocics, he seems hardly to have accounted it a city of Phocis, since he describes it as *bordering* upon that province[1]. He considered it, perhaps, as a neutral town, from having been colonized by Dorians under Bulon. Stephanus, Pliny and Ptolemy, however, all attribute Bulis to Phocis[2]. Pausanias describes it as occupying a lofty site, conspicuous to those who sail from Anticyra to Lechæum, and as distant seven stades from the sea, eighty stades from Thisbe, and one hundred stades from Anticyra, all which computations will be found tolerably correct, applied to this site. He notices the remarkable torrent which here joins the sea, and which was named Heracleius; there was also a fountain, Saunium[3], which I have not discovered,

[1] *τῇ γῇ τῇ Φωκίδι ὅμορος.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

[2] Stephan. in Βοῦλις. Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 3. Ptolem. l. 3, c. 15.

[3] *Κάτεισι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ταύτῃ χείμαῤῥος ὃν οἱ ἐπιχωρίοι ὀνομάζουσιν Ἡρακλεῖον. . . . . καὶ πηγὴ Βουλιδίοις ἐστὶ καλούμενον Σαύνιον.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

perhaps from not having sufficiently searched for it. The murex, producing the purple dye, the fishery of which employed half the people of Bulis in the time of Pausanias, is no longer caught on this coast, though assuredly it still exists here. The deity chiefly worshipped by the Bulidii was named Megistus, meaning Jupiter. The city contained likewise temples of Diana and of Bacchus, with statues of those deities in wood.

Having ascertained the ancient positions of Siphæ and Bulis, I shall revert to the inquiry as to the ancient name of the fortress and harbour, now called Alikí. The only authors who afford us any assistance in this question are Scylax and Pliny, and the extreme corruption of the text of the former renders him a most doubtful guide. Proceeding along the coast from west to east, he names Corsiæ, Siphæ, the harbour Eutretus, a fortress Boethon, and then Ægosthena of the Megaris. This is the vulgar reading, but some of the commentators have changed Corsiæ into Creusia, and Boethon (ὁ Βοηθῶν) into τῶν Βοιωτῶν [1]. The rejection of the word Corsiæ is founded on Pausanias, who places Corsiæ near the *northern* shore of Bœotia, and partly on the improbability of Scylax having omitted Creusis, which was the chief harbour on the southern coast of this province. There is reason however to believe from Pliny, that there

[1] Μετὰ δε Φωκεῖς Βοιωτοί εἰσιν ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις αἵδε· Κορσίαι (Κρεουσία) Σίφαι καὶ λιμὴν Εὔτρητος καὶ τεῖχος ὁ Βοηθῶν, (τῶν Βοιωτῶν,) ὁ παράπλους δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἡμισυ ἡμέρας ἔλαττον.—Scylax in Βοιωτοί.

really existed a second Corsiæ in this part of Bœotia, and that it was distinguished from the other by the name of Thebæ Corsicæ, in which case the similarity of name seems to point out the modern Khósia as the successor of Thebæ Corsicæ, its situation just below the highest summit of Helicon, according moreover with Pliny's words, juxta Heliconem [1]. On this supposition, the arrangement of the names by Scylax is not incorrect, whereas if we read Κρεουσία for Κορσίαι, we must suppose Scylax to have placed Creusia the first name on the coast, when it ought to have been the last.

By the port Eutretus, there is some appearance that Scylax intended the harbour of Thisbe, which may have received the name of Eutretus from the numerous cavities in the rocks, where pigeons still breed in immense numbers, as Strabo remarked. It would then follow, that the τεῖχος, or fortress of Bœotians, which is the next place in the arrangement of Scylax, was that still existing at Alikí, the name of which may have been lost by the corruption of the text.

But there is still another interpretation which may be given to this passage of Scylax. We learn from Strabo, that Eutresis, one of the Homeric towns of Bœotia, was in his time a village

[1] Dein in intimo sinu angulus Bœotiæ alluitur cum oppidis Siphis, Thebis quæ Corsicæ cognominatæ sunt, juxta Heliconem. Tertium ab hoc mari Bœotiæ oppidum Pagæ unde Peloponnesi prosilit cervix.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 3.

of the Thespice [1]. Stephanus places it between Thespiæ and Platæa [2], but his information may be doubted, as there is but one place in the ten miles between Platæa and Thespiæ where any town is likely to have stood, and that was occupied by Leuctra. There is some reason therefore for thinking that the Θεσπιῶν of Stephanus ought to be Θισβῶν, that Eutresis was a κώμη of the Thespice in the road from Thisbe to Platæa, and that the vale of Xeronomí was its territory, for it seems clear that this valley belonged to the Thespice, and not to the Thisbæa, which latter, considering the relative importance of the two cities, one cannot conceive to have extended beyond the narrow place before described in the valley of Dobrená, across which there was formerly a wall. In this view of the question it seems not improbable that the ruins at Alikí are those of the fortress of the Eutresitæ, and that the Hellenic remains at Xeronomí belonged to the temple of Apollo Eutresites, mentioned by Stephanus, which may have been converted by successive repairs into the ancient church now remaining there. And in this case it is also possible that the words ὁ λιμὴν Εὔτρητος καὶ

[1] . . . Εὔτρησιν . . . κώμιον Θεσπιέων· ἐνταῦθά φασι Ζῆθον καὶ Ἀμφίονα οἰκῆσαι πρὶν βασιλεῦσαι Θηβῶν.—Strabo, p. 411.

[2] Κεῖται παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ Θεσπιῶν εἰς Πλαταιὰς ἀπάγουσαν, ἣν ἐτείχισε Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀμφίων . . . ὁ κωμήτης Εὐτρησίτης ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Ἀπόλλων Εὐτρησίτης· καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ μαντεῖον ἐνδοξότατον.—Stephan. in Εὔτρησις.

The plural termination of Thisbe is justified by Xenophon, l. 6, c. 4.; by Stephanus in Θίσβη, and by Strabo, p. 411, who says, Ἡ δὲ Θίσβη, Θίσβαι νῦν λέγονται.

τεῖχος τῶν Βοιωτῶν are all to be referred to the harbour and ruins at Alikí.

Having quitted the Paleókastro of Zálitza at 2, we cross the torrent, pass under a singular sharp insulated rock, upon which are some remains of ancient terraces, and continue to follow the side of the rocky mountain by a road overhanging the sea. On the right towards the summit of the heights, are churches of St. Theodore and St. Anthony, but not in sight. These, like the monasteries of St. Michael and Dobó are remains of the eremitical and monastic establishments which peopled these woody deserts in the time of the Byzantine empire. The hills are chiefly covered with wild olive, ilex, holly-oak, and juniper of a large growth. The oaks would furnish an abundance of useful timber, but at present, like the others, they serve chiefly to supply fire-wood to the towns on the gulf. As we proceed, the hills become very steep, and terminate precipitously in the sea, affording only an extremely rugged and difficult path along the side of them: it was no better in the time of the Roman Empire, for Pausanias doubted whether there was any road at all from Anticyra to Bulis [1], though more anciently there was a communication, as Cleombrotus marched this way from Chæroneia with a large army just before the battle of Leuctra, in order to avoid an

[1] Ἐς δὲ τὴν Βοῦλιν ἐκ μὲν τῆς Βοιωτίας Θίσβης σταδίων ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐξ Ἀντικύρας δὲ τῆς Φωκέων δι' ἠπείρου μὲν καὶ εἰ ἀρχὴν ἐστιν, οὐκ οἶδα· οὕτω δύσβατα ὄρη καὶ τραχέα τὰ μεταξὺ Ἀντικύρας τε ἐστὶ καὶ Βούλιδος.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

encounter with Epaminondas in the passes of Tilphossium and Haliartus on the direct route[1].

At 4 we turn off from the sea-shore, and ascend the ridge which borders the sea, in a direction forming a right angle with our former route. The summit commands an extensive view of the *Corinthiac* gulf, and of all the northern part of the Moréa from Corinth to Mount Voidhiá; the gulf of Aspra Spítia also presents itself surrounded by steep, barren ridges, which exhibit an appearance almost as dismal as any part of Dalmatia, or Albania. Inland in every direction appear the snowy fir-clad summits of *Parnassus* and *Helicon*. Not far from the place where we quitted the coast a high rocky cape extends into the sea, beyond which the coast retires as far as Punda, a cape on the south eastern side of the gulf of Aspra Spítia, opposite to which on the north-western shore is the peninsula of Kefalí. Having crossed two high stony ridges, we arrive at 6.10 at Kyriáki, situated in the heart of the mountains under the last of the snowy summits of Mount *Helicon*. Half way from the sea we passed on our left a little level on the sea-side, where is a port called Aghiá, belonging to the monastery of St. Luke, while at the same time on the right I perceived the road from Dobó to Kyriáki, leading through a hollow between two of the highest points of Mount Tzivri. Our baggage was upwards of four hours in coming by this road, having passed a great part of the way through snow, which in some places was

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6, c. 4.—Diodor. l. 15, c. 54.

three feet in depth. The greater part of it was collected yesterday and in the preceding night, when it was raining at St. Taxiarches, but the snow fell as we crossed the higher parts of the ridges between that place and Dobó.

CHAPTER XX.

PHOCIS.

Kyriáki — Mount *Helicon* — Paleá-khora — Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris—*Stiris* and its fountain—*Ambrysus*—Metókhi Sto Ialó—Sídhiro-kafkhió—Aspra Spitia—*Anticyra*—Mount *Cirphis*—Dhesfína—*Medeon*—*Marathus*—Cape *Pharygium*—*Mychus*—*Parnassia Nape*—River *Pleistus*—*Delphi*—Its topography, antiquities, inscriptions, &c.

KYRIAKI is a village of 30 families belonging to the district of Livadhía, situated on the north-western side of Mount Tzivri in a small hollow cultivated chiefly with vines, and surrounded closely on all sides by fir-clad summits of the *Heliconian* range. The valley is very cold and humid in the present season. A torrent runs through the village, which, uniting with others a little below St. Luke, joins the sea at Sidhero-kafkhió in the gulf of Aspra Spítia.

Pausanias says, that of all the mountains in Greece Helicon is the most fertile, and abounds the most in trees [1]. Though he may be correct in the main, the western extremity differs in character from the other summits. The Muses naturally preferred the gentler slopes, the springs, and

[1] Ὁ δὲ Ἑλικὼν ὀρῶν τῶν ἐν ἐστιν εὔγεως καὶ δένδρων ἀνάτῃ Ἑλλάδι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστά πλεως.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 28.

groves, and smiling valleys to the eastward. Here the barren and terrific prevail over the beautiful and fertile: the higher parts consist of rocks intermixed with pine-trees, while the lower roots partake of the naked barrenness of the neighbouring *Cirphis*, a mountain which is almost entirely of this character. But even on this side of *Helicon* some pleasant valleys are interspersed among the rocks. In summer the woods and verdant pastures of *Helicon* contrast most agreeably with the parched plains of *Bœotia*; and if industry were protected, all the cultivable parts of the mountain would speedily be embellished by fields and gardens, villages and houses, offering delightful retreats in summer, instead of merely furnishing pasture to the flocks when they retire in that season from the arid plains. The only villages at present in the upper regions of the mountain, including the divisions of it anciently called Laphystium and Libethrium, are Tzara, Surbi, Gránitza, Zagará, Steveníko, Zeríki, Tzivri, and Kúkora.

Strabo describes Helicon as equal to Parnassus both in height and perimeter[1]. In the latter he may be correct, if we consider Parnassus as bounded by the *Nape* of *Delphi* to the south, and on the western side by the ravine which extends from *Cytinium* to *Amphissa*, but in regard to the height the geographer was certainly mistaken, as Liákura is some hundreds of feet higher than Paleovumá, which is the highest point of the *Heli-*

[1] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἑλικὼν οὐ πολὺ διεστηκὼς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ ἐνάμιλλός ἐστιν ἐκείνῳ κατά τε ὕψος καὶ περίμετρον.—Strabo, p. 409.

con. In the quantity of cultivable land *Parnassus* may rival *Helicon*, as there is nothing upon the latter which can be compared in extent to the upper *Parnassian* plains containing Agurianí, the *Corycian cave*, and the Kalývia of Arákhova; but *Helicon* in general is more εὔγεως, as Pausanias describes it, and better clothed with a productive soil, the *Parnassian* plain just mentioned being poor and gravelly, though in some parts barley is grown and even wheat.

Feb. 7.—At a distance of thirty-five minutes from Kyriáki, a peaked summit bordering the valley on the north retains a piece of ancient wall; and in the descent of the pass to the right of this hill, which leads from the vale of Kyriáki into that of Stiri, are some other remains of the same kind, and an excavation in the rock. The pointed hill was probably the site of a dependent *come* of the *Stiritis*, and the pass may have been fortified on account of its importance as one of the approaches to *Stiris* from *Bœotia*. Continuing to descend by a bad road, we enter, in forty minutes, the valley of Stiri, and in fifteen more arrive at the Paleá khora, a height so called in the centre of the valley, and which has every appearance of an ancient site, being a tabular hill defended by precipitous rocks, and situated at the junction of two streams. The summit is surrounded with a wall of loose construction, resembling in some parts the first kind of Hellenic masonry, though with much smaller stones than the Cyclopes used. No citadel is traceable, but the surface of the rock within the inclosure is excavated in many places for habitations, and

there are two or three ancient cisterns near a ruined church. The height is between seven and eight hundred yards long, lying in a direction of N.E. and S.W., and not more than one hundred yards broad in the widest part. A lower rocky summit of the same height to the south-west was not included within the ancient walls. The torrent of Kyriáki is joined at that extremity of the hill by another which comes from the neighbourhood of Zeríki; and which, after having received several tributaries in the valley of Stíri, flows along the northern side of Paleá khora. All these torrents are dry in summer. Zeríki is situated between two of the summits of Helicon, called Gdhaméni [1] and Kolles [2]. On the northern side of the latter is the village of Surbi, not far from Livadhía.

From the Paleá khora, a quarter of an hour's ride in a N.W. direction, brings me to the monastery of St. Luke of Stiris [3], which stands on the side of a peaked hill advancing into the valley. This height also was fortified by the ancients; some of the foundations still remain on the summit, others are seen a little below the monastery, as well as to the north-east of it, where an angle of the Hellenic wall is still standing, and the monastery itself is in great part built of ancient materials. The fortress was of the triangular form, common among the ancients; the two sides which descend from the angle at the summit of the hill follow two ridges which inclose a hollow between

[1] Γδαμένη.
[2] Κόλλαις.
[3] Ἅγιος Λοῦκας ὁ Στιρίτης.

them. To the south the height is precipitous. The walls seem to have been much more carefully constructed than those of the Paleá khora: the masonry is partly of the third order and partly of regular courses. Though the hill narrows towards the base of the triangle, the circumference of the fortress was greater than that of Paleá khora, and the monks believe it to have been *Stiris*. But it could hardly have been the Stiris which Pausanias describes, because there is a copious fountain within the walls of the monastery issuing from the side of the hill, whereas Pausanias says of Stiris that "it was situated on a stony height, where the wells were few and supplied only water fit for washing or the use of cattle; and that the inhabitants brought water for drinking from a place four stades below the city, where was a descent to a source excavated among the rocks [1]." On the other hand, it is not easy to reconcile the source at the monastery with that which Pausanias mentions, the distance from the Paleá khora to the monastery being greater than four stades, and there being instead of a descent, an ascent, to the fountain, almost equal in height to the descent from the Paleá khora. The only other source in the valley of *Stiris* is a well to the south-westward of Paleá khora; but instead of being in a hollow among rocks, it rises to the surface of the cultivated part of the valley, and instead of being four stades, is not more than one and a half from the ancient site. An inscription, however, in the

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 35.

outer wall of the church, leaves little doubt that the adjoining fountain was that intended by Pausanias. Of this inscription there remain about two-thirds, which was more than I expected to find, as Chandler remarks only that it had been seen by Wheler, and supposed apparently that it no longer existed in his own time. It resembles that at *Thisbe*, which records the dedication of a building at that place to the gods Augusti and to the city, attesting in like manner the dedication to the gods Augusti and to the city of a *κρήνη*, or constructed fountain, with steps, and a covered building, and a conduit of water which had been made at the expence of the dedicators Xenocrates and Eumaridas [1]. The word *βαθμοὶ* in the inscription accords with the *κατιόντες* of Pausanias, and the rocks from which the source issues, with his *πέτραις*[2]. If the descent to the water is not now such as both Pausanias and the inscription seem to imply, that may easily be accounted for by an alteration in the ground, caused by the erection of the monastery. The word *πόλει*, though at first sight it seems to favour the opinion of the monks of St. Luke, is not adverse to either supposition, as

[1] The following is a copy of the inscription after supplying the ends of the lines from Spon and Wheler: *Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ Πόλει τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαθμοὺς, καὶ τὸ ἐποίκιον Ξενοκράτης καὶ Εὐμαρίδας ἀνέθηκαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰσαγωγήν.*—V. Inscription No. 95. An I has been omitted by the lithographer near the end of the first line.

[2] *τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ πότιμον ὅσον σταδία τέσσαρα ὑποκαταβαίνοντες λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ πηγῆς· ἡ δὲ ἐν πέτραις ἐστὶν ὀρωρυγμένη καὶ ἀρύονται κατιόντες ἐς τὴν πηγήν.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 35.

the fountain was a mere dependency of the city. Upon the whole, therefore, I believe that the height in the valley at the confluence of the two torrents is justly called the Paleá khora, or old town, and that the fountain is that which the Stiritæ made use of; but that, from the fault either of Pausanias or of his text, the distance of the fountain from the city is not correct, and he has omitted to describe the fountain as situated on the side of a hill. The ancient walls on this height are perhaps those of a fortress built by the Stiritæ, as well for the sake of occupying this commanding height as for that of protecting the fountain, and which Pausanias may not have noticed because it may have been already ruined before his time.

The people of Stiris considered themselves a colony of the demus Στειριεῖς in Attica, who settled here under Peteus, when he was driven out of Attica by Ægeus[1]. The city partook of the severe punishment inflicted upon the Phocians by Philip, son of Amyntas, at the end of the Sacred War, B.C. 346, but as generally occurred in regard to the cities of Greece, which history represents to have been destroyed, the inhabitants, after having been dispersed for a short time in the villages, returned to the old site. Stiris still preserved some population when Pausanias travelled, but it contained no public monument worthy of remark, except a temple of Ceres Stiritis made of crude brick, in which were two statues, one of Pentelic marble,

[1] Οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθά φασι, says Pausanias, as if he did not credit the story.

the other of ancient fabric, and enveloped with sashes or bandages[1]. The Igúmenos of St. Luke wishes to persuade me that the monastery was built by the same architects who afterwards erected St. Sophia at Constantinople. Wheler and Chandler met with abbots more intelligent, and who knew that the building was not founded till about the year 960 by Romanus the Second, in honour of a hermit of Stiris of the name of Luke, whose history has been related by Chandler. The church, however, certainly resembles that of St. Sophia ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ, being built in the form of a Greek cross, with a vestibule and three doors at the western end: a dome in the centre, and upper galleries supported by columns on the sides. The length of the nave, from the inner door to the skreen of the altar, is 46 feet; the θόλος, or dome, is 31 feet in diameter: some fine slabs of verd antique are seen in the pavement and walls. There are 130 men, 62 horses, and 23 mules, attached to the monastery, which possesses two metókhis, one at Patra and the other on the sea-side, at Sidhiro-kafkhió. To my inquiry for manuscripts and books, they reply that every thing of that sort was burnt by the archicleft Andrítzo. Whether this be true, or rather, as I suspect, partly true, and partly used as an excuse to conceal what is left, it is evident, at least, that the house has suffered from some such cause since the time of Chandler, for I can learn no tidings of the Iambic verses hung up in a frame in the church, which Chandler copied and published. The building

[1] ταινίαις.

bears strong marks also of having been shaken by earthquakes, which are not unfrequent here; and a great fissure in the dome is known to have been caused by one of these convulsions.

The valley of *Stiris* affords a beautiful contrast to the rocks and woods of the lofty and rugged summits which surround it. Unlike some of the basins of the Moréa similarly encased, which have not a tree, or shrub, or hedge in them, and are such perfect levels as to resemble lakes, this vale is enlivened by rising grounds, and a great variety of vegetation. Although not more than two or three miles in diameter, the surface is diversified with natural pasture, corn-fields now green, and vineyards still quite brown, mixed with copses of holly-oak, and ilex, or with olives and cypresses. To the peculiar shape and colour of the two latter trees, which contrast so agreeably with all others, the scenery of Greece is much indebted for its beauty in all seasons. At present those trees, with the two species of oak just mentioned, and the smaller evergreens which prevail in all the retired valleys and sheltered situations, particularly the lentisk and myrtle, enliven the winter scene in a manner unknown among the woods of Northern Europe. One kind of pirnári[1] grows to the size of the common oak on the hills around the valley of *Stiris*, as well as in other parts of the *Heliconian* ridges, but there are two other varieties of it, one of which is a large shrub, the other a small low bush; this last is the *κόκκος* of Pausanias, which he justly

[1] *πρινάρι*, from H. *πρῖνος*, Quercus Coccifera, more vulgarly *πιρνάρι*, or *πουρνάρι*.

compares to the σχῖνος, or lentisk, and describes as abounding in the district of Ambrysus, and as producing an insect used for dying wool[1]. The insect is found on every kind of pirnári, though of course it is not so easily gathered from the larger trees. The ilex with smooth leaves[2], which abounds here, as it generally does in the woods of Greece, and which is called ariá in the Moréa, is here known by the name of aglámi[3].

Above the heights which bound the vale of *Stiris* on the north-west, and separate it from the valley of Dhístomo, rises the bare and rocky *Cirphis*, which is itself overtopped, by the majestic summits of Liákura, painful to behold, from the dazzling whiteness of the recent fall of snow, and receiving an apparent increase of height and diminution of distance from that clearness of atmosphere which in Greece generally attends fair weather in winter.

There are two roads from St. Luke to the Gulf of Aspra Spítia: one by the metókhi at Sidhirokafkhió, more commonly called Sto Ialó[4]; the other more circuitous, which passes from the north-western extremity of the valley of St. Luke through a defile to Dhístomo, the site of the ancient Ambrysus. Having visited this place on a former journey, I prefer the route by the metókhi.

The remains of *Ambrysus* are too inconsider-

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 36. He remarks that the Gauls of Phrygia call this shrub ὖς, that is, houx, the modern French name of the prinus.

[2] Quercus ilex.

[3] ἀγλάμι.

[4] στὸ γιαλὸν, at the sea.

able to illustrate the description which Pausanias has given of its double wall, built by the Thebans against Philip, son of Amyntas, and which Pausanias considered the strongest defensive work in Greece, next to the fortification of Messene[1], though the walls were only about fourteen feet high, and five feet thick, with a distance between them of a little more than five feet[2]. The town was situated at the southern foot of Mount *Cirphis*, in a small valley giving rise to the stream called Plataniá, which joins the *Cephissus* in the plain of *Chæroneia*. The long valley of this river furnished an easy access from that plain to *Ambrysus*, nor is the other approach to it from *Stiris* difficult, though both might be perilous routes for an army if the country were hostile, particularly the former, from the length of the narrow valley. It appears from Pausanias that there was a more direct road from Chæroneia into the vale of Stiris across the mountains, for he conducts his reader from Chæroneia to Stiris, and from Stiris to Ambrysus, and remarks that the road from Chæroneia to Stiris was rugged, and for the most part mountainous[3].

At 2.15 we proceed from the monastery to its metókhi "by the sea." The road leaves the plain at its south-western end, and at 2.45 enters a narrow opening, through which the torrent, formed by

[1] Pausan. Messen. c. 31.

[2] Phocic. c. 36.

[3] There are two roads, he says, from Chæroneia into Phocis: one by Panopeus, Daulis, and the Schiste to Delphi, *ἑτέρα τραχεῖά τε ὁδὸς καὶ ὀρεινὴ τὰ πλέονα ἐς πόλιν Φωκέων Στίριν.*

the joint waters of the valleys of Kyriáki and of Stiri, makes its way, bordered on either side by precipices of white rock, among which grow a few junipers and wild olives. The road frequently crosses the torrent, and follows alternately either bank, until at 4 it enters a valley included between two steep and rocky mountains, and covered with olive plantations and corn-fields. At 4.15 we arrive at the metókhi, which consists only of two apartments; one with a fire-place in the middle, and a wooden ledge round the wall for the Kaloghéri to sleep upon; the other containing an oil mill and a press, with stables for the mules used in the mill and farm. The monks cultivate the corn and olives, gather in the harvest, and make the oil. The mill is nothing more than a cylindrical stone, turned by means of a horse or mule yoked at one end of a lever, the other end of which is fixed in the centre of the stone. The olives thus bruised are put into baskets and pressed. In the evening a ten minutes' ride conducts me from the metókhi to the sea, where are some remains of a Hellenic fortress, crowning a rocky promontory at the northern end of the beach in which the plain terminates. The road from the metókhi to Aspra Spítia leads through a narrow pass between the promontory and the mountains which border the vale of the metókhi to the northward. The wall of the fortress remains in good preservation on the northern side of the hill, where in some places it still exists to more than half the original height: on the other sides it is hardly traceable, but within the enclosure there are some terrace walls, one particularly,

which is a fine specimen of polygonal masonry, verging to a more regular kind. On the road side, at the foot of the promontory, is a heap of ruins near the shore, consisting of some ancient blocks in situ, covered with the remains of a church, among which is a capital of white marble of indifferent execution. There seems to have been an ancient tower here which had been converted into a church. The promontory and ruin, as well as an anchorage for boats within the cape, are named Sidhiro-kafkhió [1], meaning a place where iron has been smelted, though there is not at present any appearance or tradition of such works having existed here. The summit of the promontory commands a good view of the Gulf of Aspra Spítia with the cultivated lands surrounding it, of the promontory Kefalí on the opposite side of the Gulf, and of the coast of *Phocis*, as far as Cape Trákhila. Opposite to the latter, on the eastern side of the gulf, is seen Cape Punda, which is the extremity of Mount Verseníko; beyond it are the inlet and port called Aghiá, and then the rugged falls of the same mountain extending to the place where I quitted the coast coming from Dobó. The little vale of the metókhi, watered by the river of *Stiris*, separates Mount Verseníko from the equally rocky and forbidding heights which lie between this valley and that of St. Luke, and which extend westward as far as the vale of Dhístomo, and to a narrow pass which leads up to that place from the gulf.

[1] Σιδηρο-καυχιόν.

Feb. 8.—Having returned to Sidhiro-kafkhió, I pass at 8.15 through the opening which separates the promontory from the mountain on the right, and continue along the rocky foot of the latter, near the sea-side, till 9.5, when we arrive on the beach at the extremity of a little valley, which is the entrance of the pass already mentioned, as leading from the sea to Dhístomo. In this direction appears one of the summits of *Cirphis*, now called Xero-vúni [1], covered with snow. That named Somalési [2], which was seen from the vale of *Stiris*, is more to the southward, near Dhesfína, beyond which village a part of the same range, called Xeroghiánni [3], projects into the sea, and terminates in Cape Trákhila. Finding here some Kefaloniote fishermen about to haul their seine, I remain to wait the event, in hopes of a purple murex, or some fish with an ancient name; and not quite without success to me, though with little to the fishermen, who besides a few kalamákia [4], or cuttle-fish, catch only two or three of a small species of herring, the name of which, μαρίδες, cannot but be Hellenic [5]. The chief market for the fish caught in this gulf is Livadhía. Proceeding at 9.30 along the shore of the gulf, we cross the extremity of a root of Mount *Cirphis*, and arrive in a little cultivated plain and slope, where on a hill on the right are the remains of Aspra Spítia (the white houses), once a considerable village, but now only a small dependence on

[1] Ξεροβούνι.
[2] Σωμαλέσι.
[3] Ξερογίαννι.
[4] Καλαμάκι, ink-fish.
[5] The σμάρις is mentioned by Aristotle, l. 8, c. 30.

Dhesfina. The baggage mules which set out with us from the metókhi arrive at Aspra Spítia at 10.20, and continue their route to Dhesfina, while I visit a spot towards the head of the bay, where, among olive plantations, are some ancient foundations sufficient to indicate a Hellenic site, though as building materials are often carried away from hence by sea to the neighbouring coasts, in a few years probably there will hardly be a vestige of antiquity left. Half a mile farther south is the high peninsula named Kefalí. It is connected with the main by a level isthmus which is cultivated with corn and olives, and on the southern side forms the head of a harbour named Ai Isídhoro (St. Isidore), where on a rocky projection at the south-eastern corner of the bay are the remains of a castle built with small stones and mortar. To the left, on the side of this peninsular mountain, are some ancient catacombs in the rock. From hence as far as Xeropígadho in the plain of Sálona, all the shore, with the exception of a few cultivated hollows on the sea-side, is rugged and mountainous; the entire promontory, as far inland as the *Pleistus*, belongs to Dhesfina. One of the small maritime valleys just mentioned is situated within Cape Trákhila, and is in sight from Ai Isídhoro as well as from Sidhiro-kafkhió. It is called Prósako, and between it and Ai Isídhoro are two long narrow inlets, named Stenó and Valto. Stenó is said to be a good port, and to be frequented by vessels of considerable burthen. Karíndria is a cultivated spot beyond Cape Trákhila, similar to Prósako.

In the entrance of the gulf of Aspra Spítia are three islands, two towards Aghiá, the other to the westward, not far from Cape Trákhila. On the middle one, named Dhaskalió, as well as on the westernmost, Tzarúkhi, are remains of walls, cisterns, arches, and houses, constructed of small stones and mortar.

Having returned to the village of Aspra Spítia, I there find an inscribed marble, serving to prove that the remains near the sea are those of Anticyra, which Livy and Pausanias sufficiently show to have stood in some part of this gulf[1]. The marble is said to have been originally found among the fields near the sea, where it lay for many years by the side of a well, and served the women to beat their clothes upon in washing them, by which means the greater part of the letters had been obliterated, when it was brought up to the village two years since. There still remains enough to show that it was a record of the rights of proxenia granted to strangers by the people of Anticyra[2]. Although like the other Phocian cities, Anticyra was for a time dismantled and abandoned at the end of the Sacred War, it had survived many of the other cities of Phocis in the time of the Roman empire, an advantage which it

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 18.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 36.

[2] *Ἄρχοντος Καλλιστράτου, γραμματεύοντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου . . . . . ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει τῶν Ἀντικυρέων δόμεν Ἡρακλέωνι Ξενοκρίτου Ἀμβρυσσίῳ, αὐτῷ (καὶ ἐκγόνοις) προξενίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, προδικίαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν, (ἔγκτησιν γᾶς καὶ) οἰκίας καὶ τἄλλα τίμια, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει· ἐγγύοι τᾶς προξενίας . . . . Ἡρακλείδας Ξενοκρ . . . .*—V. Inscription, No. 96.

chiefly owed to its situation on this sheltered gulf, and its importance as a point of communication with the interior. It was besieged and taken in the year B.C. 198, by the Consul T. Quinctius Flamininus, when after having forced his way through Epirus into Thessaly by defeating Philip at the Aoi Stena, he was repulsed at Atrax, which caused him to proceed into Phocis for winter quarters, where he took Anticyra for the sake of its harbour and the convenient situation for communicating by land with Thessaly [1]. These attributes of Anticyra are exemplified on other occasions in ancient history [2], and exactly accord with modern experience, there being no place in the *Corinthiac* gulf more frequented than Aspra Spítia as a point of passage, in consequence of its central position and the excellence of the harbour. In ancient times Anticyra was chiefly celebrated for the production and preparation of the best hellebore in Greece,—a medicine to which the ancients attached an absurd value, many persons even coming from a distance to reside at Anticyra for the sake of a more perfect cure [3]. According to Pausanias, there were two kinds growing in the district, of

[1] Itaque relictâ obsidione, quia nullus in totâ Acarnaniæ atque Ætoliæ orâ portus erat, qui simul et omnes onerarias, quæ commeatum exercitui portabant caperet, et tecta ad hibernandum legionibus præberet, Anticyra in Phocide in Corinthium versa sinum, ad id opportunissime sita visa: quia nec procul Thessaliâ, hostiumque locis, abibant, et ex adverso Peloponnesum exiguo maris spatio divisam, ab tergo Ætoliam Acarnaniamque ab lateribus Locridem ac Bœotiam habebant.—Liv. ubi sup.

[2] Polyb. l. 18, c. 28; l. 27, c. 14.

[3] *ἀποδημεῖν δεῦρο πολλοὺς καθάρσεως καὶ θεραπείας χάριν.* —Strabo, p. 418.

which the root of the black was used as a cathartic, and that of the white as an emetic.

Several of the ancient authors, or rather perhaps their copyers and commentators, have confounded this Anticyra with another of the same name in Locris. When the Romans were allied with the Ætolians against Philip, (in the year B. C. 210,) Lævinus, the Roman prætor, besieged Anticyra of Locris, both by land and sea. The town stood so near the shore that the prætor brought the engines on board the ships to bear upon the walls, and in a few days became by these means master of the place, which he delivered to the Ætolians[1]. The historian, whose description is the more worthy of attention as having been taken from Polybius, represents Anticyra as being a town of Locris, situated on the left in entering the Corinthiac gulf, and at a short distance, both by land and sea, from Naupactus. It is evident that such a description will not suit the Anticyra which stood at Aspra Spítia; for this town was in Phocis, as Livy himself states in the former passage just cited; it was even nearer to the borders of Bœotia than of Locris,—nearer to the inner extremity than to the entrance of the Corinthiac gulf,—and instead of being near Naupactus, it was separated from that place by sixty miles of a very rugged and difficult country. The place therefore taken by Lævinus, and given up to the Ætolians, was evidently not the Anticyra which stood at Aspra Spítia, but a town towards the western extremity

[1] Sita Anticyra est in Locride lævâ parte sinum Corinthiacum intrantibus, breve iter terrâ eo, brevis navigatio ab Naupacto est.—Liv. l. 26, c. 26.

of the Locrian coast. The existence of three Anticyræ may be deduced from Strabo; one in Œtæa, or rather Melis, one in the country of the Locri Ozolæ, and the third in Phocis [1]. Horace in a well-known verse alludes to the three Anticyræ, and ascribes the production of hellebore to them all [2].

[1] Τῆς δὲ Οἰταίας ἐστὶ . . . καὶ Ἀντίκιῤῥα (al. Ἀντίκυρα) ὁμώνυμος τῇ ἐν Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ἑσπερίοις.—Strabo, p. 434.

That Strabo by Hesperii meant the Ozolæ, appears from another passage, p. 416, where he says, καλοῦνται δ' οἱ μὲν Ἑσπέριοι Λοκροὶ καὶ Ὀζόλαι, and adds, that they impressed upon their money the figure of the star Hesperus.

ἡ Κρίσσα τῆς Φωκίδος ἐστὶν . . καὶ Κίῤῥα καὶ Ἀντίκιῤῥα (al. Ἀντίκυρα) καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ συνεχῆ κείμενα χωρία πρὸς τῷ Παρνάσσῳ.—Strabo, p. 416.

. . . . Κρίσσα, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κόλπος Κρισσαῖος· εἶτα Ἀντίκιῤῥα (al. Ἀντίκυρα) ὁμώνυμος τῇ κατὰ τὸν Μαλιακὸν κόλπον καὶ τὴν Οἴτην.—Strabo, p. 418.

. . . . τῷ Σπερχείῳ, τῷ παραῤῥέοντι τὴν Ἀντίκυραν (al. Ἀντίκιῤῥαν.)—Strabo, p. 428. *Vide et* p. 434. *ubi sup.*

Stephanus in Ἀντίκυραι proves the orthography of the Anticyræ of Phocis and Melis, and his gentile Ἀντικυρεὺς agrees with the inscription at Aspra Spítia.

[2] Nanciscentur enim pretium nomenque poetæ,
Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam
Tonsori Licino commiserit.

Horat. de Arte Poeticâ, v. 299.

According to Stephanus (in Ἀντίκυραι) the people of the Maliac Anticyra not only claimed for their city the honour of producing the best hellebore, but supported the claim by the tradition that one of their citizens had helleborized Hercules, when labouring under madness in their neighbourhood, — ἐλλεβορίσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα μετὰ τὴν μανίαν. But the marshy plain at the mouth of the Spercheius differs so much from the rocky district round Aspra Spítia, which we cannot doubt, from Pausanias, to have been the favourite habitat of the hellebore, that the claim of the Anticyrenses was probably no more than an unfounded pretension, supported by a fable. Some of the commentators have

Pausanias remarked at Anticyra some statues of brass in the agora, and a temple of Neptune at the port, small, constructed of wrought stones [1], plastered within, and containing an upright statue of Neptune in brass, one foot of which was upon a dolphin, the hand on the same side on the thigh, and the other hand bearing a trident. There were two gymnasia, one of which contained the baths; in the more ancient stood a brazen statue of a Pancratiast of Anticyra, who had gained the prize at Olympia. Above the agora was a source in a well, which was covered with a roof supported by columns; a little higher up was a monument formed of rude masses [2], said to be that of Schedius and Epistrophus, sons of Iphitus. Two stades beyond the city to the right, upon a high rock, which was part of the mountain, stood a temple of Diana, containing a statue by Praxiteles of more than the human size, which represented the goddess as bearing a torch in the right hand, and a quiver on the shoulders, with a dog at her feet to the left [3].

Having quitted Aspra Spítia at 1.35, and ascended, by a path of extreme steepness, the rocky mountain at the back of the village, the

supposed that Horace meant three islands near Anticyra, upon what authority I cannot discover; they could hardly have known of the existence of the three islands in the gulf of Aspra Spítia, or of the exact site of Anticyra. But Pausanias shows that it was not in these islands that the hellebore grew. If two of the Anticyræ produced, or pretended to produce the hellebore, it would be sufficient to authorise a Latin poet in attributing it to all the three.

[1] λογάσιν λίθοις.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 36.

[2] λίθοις τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν.

[3] c. 37.

same probably upon some part of which stood the Temple of Diana, we enter at 2.20 upon an elevated plain, bounded on the left by the barren mountain Xeroghiánni, and on the right by Somalési, of a similar character. Whether applied to these or to the height we ascended, the description which Pausanias has given of the mountains above Anticyra is perfectly just[1]. Here it is, he adds, that the hellebore chiefly grows, a fact which, not knowing the plant, I can neither confirm nor contradict. Half way across the plain to Dhesfína we enter vineyards, on the side of which are *πατήρια*, or little circular constructions of masonry for treading the grapes. In other parts the plain is bare, with the exception of a few scattered wild pear-trees. Midway on the left hand, at the foot of Xeroghiánni, and hid from the road in a rema, stands the monastery of St. John, from which the mountain takes its name of Dry-John. The land of the territory of Dhesfína is cultivated only once in two years with barley and wheat, except in certain places among the rocks, where they burn the bushes, or where the soil is manured by the sheep and goats which resort to the rocks for shelter. There they sow every year and without any previous ploughing. This year all the southern end of the plain lies fallow, while the northern part is ploughed.

The village of Dhesfína, or Tjesfína[2], is situated

[1] *τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀντίκυραν πετρώδη ἄγαν ἐστί.*

[2] *Δεσφῖνα, Τζεσφῖνα.*

on the western slope of a high rocky hill, on the summit of which stand a chapel and a large pirnári-tree. This height is separated only from the equally rocky roots of Xeroghiánni by a torrent flowing to the northward, which a little above the village issues from a narrow rocky opening between the two mountains: opposite to the village the ravine widens, and below it spreads into the plain. The village contains one hundred and seventy families, most of whom inhabit houses of two stories, comfortable when compared with the poor cottages of the peasants of Albanian race in *Attica* and *Bœotia*. Here, as at Arákhova and further westward, the Albanian language is uncommon, although so near as the villages and convents of Mount *Helicon* it is generally spoken, and many of the women are even ignorant of the Greek.

Though Dhesfína is in the district of Sálona, a large proportion of which belongs to Turks, there is no Turk inhabitant or proprietor in the territory of Dhesfína. The mukatá and spahilík are purchased by a native Greek, who collects the taxes and accounts to the Vóivoda of Sálona for a dhekatía of one-ninth on corn, vines, and olives, for two paras a head upon cattle, and five piastres a head as an average on all males subject to the kharátj. For himself he receives as Spahí one asper a head on cattle, and four paras the strema upon vineyards. *Lastly*, if such a word can ever be correctly employed in Turkey in speaking of imposts, the village contributes forty-eight purses a year to the Vóivoda to enable him to satisfy the demands of Alý Pashá. The monasteries pay only the kha-

rátj on their inmates, the dhekatía on their land, and the ἀσπρο-κέφαλο on πράγματα, or a tax of an asper a head on cattle of all kinds. When I inquire here whether any traveller like myself has been seen before at Dhesfína, no one can recollect such an occurrence, though one man states that he remembers to have seen one of the people called Μιλιόρδοι so near as Arákhova.

Feb. 9.—From the chapel of St. Elias, on the summit of the hill of Dhesfína, I perceive that this hill is the extremity of a ridge which divides the plain of Dhesfína into two nearly equal parts, and that above the gorge, and not far from the village, there is another plain on a higher level. About a mile to the westward of the village, at the foot of a rocky projection of the range of Xeroghiánni, the plain is covered with a hybernal inundation which usually remains until the month of May. It is chiefly caused by the torrent of Dhesfína, and has, I believe, a katavóthra, through which there is a partial discharge to the Gulf of *Crissa*. On either side of the village, and even among the rocks in the upper part of it, are many ancient catacombs, but all very small, and capable only of containing a single body. There are others to the south of the village, excavated in the face of the rocky height which rises from the opposite bank of the torrent. These remains, slight as they are, are sufficient to show that Dhesfína is the site of a Hellenic town, as its commanding position in the middle of this secluded promontory would alone induce one to presume. I am inclined to think it was *Medeon*;

for though neither Strabo nor Pausanias in speaking of that city can be said to indicate its precise situation, yet as the former places Medeon on the Crissæan Gulf[1], and the latter near Anticyra[2], we may infer at least that it was in some part of the country lying between the two gulfs. Nor are the one hundred and sixty stades, which according to the former authority was the distance between Medeon and the frontier of Bœotia, very different from the reality when applied to Dhesfina.

Strabo mentions some other places in Phocis, to the eastward of Anticyra: first, Marathus, a small town; then Cape Pharygium, with a station for ships; and Mychus, so called as being the last port of Phocis, and which lay below Mount Helicon and Ascra. "Nor," he adds, "is Abæ, a city noted for its oracle, far from these places; nor Ambrysus, nor Medeon, a town of the same name as that in Bœotia[3]." In another place he remarks that Mychus, the last port of Phocis, and lying below the western end of Helicon, was 90 stades distant from Creusis[4]. From a comparison of which passages with one another, and with the coast itself, it seems probable that the remains at Sidhiro-kafkhió are those of *Marathus*, that the cape and harbour *Pharygium* were the same now called Aghiá, and that *Mychus* was the port of *Bulis*, which lies under one of the summits of

[1] Μεδεὼν δ' ὁ μὲν Φωκικὸς ἐν τῷ Κρισσαίῳ κόλπῳ, διέχων Βοιωτίας σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα.—Strabo, p. 410.

[2] Κεῖται μὲν δὴ ἡ πόλις (Ἀντίκυρα) κατὰ Μεδεῶνος τὰ ἐρείπια.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 36.

[3] Strabo, p. 423.

[4] p. 409.

Helicon, though it is obvious that the 90 stades from Creusis must be too little if Pausanias is right, as in fact he is, in placing Bulis at 80 stades from Thisbe. As to the introduction of the names of Abæ and Ascra, as of places situated near this coast, it can only be considered as an example of the want of precision, or of the defective information of the geographer, or of the corruption of his text; for neither of these places is much less than 20 geographical miles in direct distance from the Gulf of Aspra Spítia. He shows the same want of precision in coupling Medeon with Ambrysus, having before placed it in the Crissæan Gulf; though a comparison of the two passages may perhaps afford some argument in favour of placing *Medeon* at Dhesfína, this place being about midway between the *Crissæan* Gulf and the site of *Ambrysus* at Dhístomo.

In the steep mountains and rocky paths of this coast of the *Corinthiac* Gulf, few horses are kept. Dobó is the last place where I could find any for hire. At St. Luke I exchanged them for mules, and at Dhesfína asses only can be procured for the baggage. The road from Dhesfína to Kastrí leads nearly north across the plain for three quarters of an hour, and then begins to descend into the valley of the *Pleistus* between the two summits of Mount *Cirphis*, now called Somalési and Kutzúra; the latter of which borders the plain of Sálona, and forms the steep rocky coast on the eastern side of the *Crissæan* Gulf.

The view from the summit of the ridge comprehends all that magnificent ravine, the famed *Parnassia Nape*, from the root of Mount *Parnassus*, which closes the site of *Delphi* to the westward, as

far as another great counterfort of the mountain eastward, which, descending from Arákhova, meets Mount Xerovúni, and divides the course of the waters forming the *Pleistus* from those which flow through the *Schiste* to the Plataniá and the *Cephissus*. All the side of *Parnassus* which slopes to the *Pleistus*, from the foot of the white cliffs extending from Kastrí to Arákhova, is cultivated: round Arákhova, with vineyards; between that village and Kastrí, with corn; and around Kastrí, with olives, which are also grown along the banks of the river wherever there is any level space or easy slope. The range of *Cirphis* on this side consists throughout of precipitous cliffs, every where naked, with the exception of the highest point Xerovúni, which bears firs, and is now covered with snow. The road on the descent of *Cirphis* is for a quarter of an hour good and not abrupt, leading along a slope covered with bushes; afterwards it is that zig-zag stony path down the steep side of the mountain, which forms so conspicuous an object from Kastrí.

In 39 minutes from the summit of the mountain we cross a bridge over the Xeropotámi[1], or dry river, as the *Pleistus* is called, for though now a respectable stream, it is dry during a great part of the year, as it was when I last saw it in the month of July. After an ascent from the river of nine minutes in a direction eastward of the site of *Delphi*, we arrive at a fountain and great plane tree, then skirting for seventeen minutes an olive wood, which extends from thence a considerable distance to the eastward, we arrive at the issue of

[1] Ξηροποτάμι, or Ξεροποτάμι.

a stream from the hill, so considerable as to turn eight or ten mills in the course of its rapid descent to the *Pleistus*: having ascended five minutes from this source, we join the road from Arákhova to Kastrí, on the crest of a small ridge which branches from the rocks of *Parnassus*, and where are the ruins of an ancient tower, so placed as to have furnished a good look-out on the approach to *Delphi* from the *Schiste*. Here begins the ancient cemetery: many sori remain in the neighbouring corn-fields, some of which have their opercula, some are almost buried, and there are others probably below the surface. On the side of the rocks which overhang the road are cryptæ with curved tops. The flat stones which covered the receptacles are still lying upon some of them, but either broken or a little removed on one side, so as to show that the tombs have all been opened. There are some remains of an ancient road nearer to the rocks than the modern path. The sepulchral excavations continue from hence as far as the turning to the left which leads to the monastery of the Panaghía; many sepulchres, perhaps, are concealed behind the earth and stones, which are continually descending from the cliffs, and are deposited at the foot of them. Three or four minutes beyond the tower is a curiously sculptured incision in the rock on the right, in the style of those at *Telmissus*, and other places in Asia Minor. The sculpture is on a large mass, now broken in two, and which probably fell off from a higher situation on the cliff, for one cannot imagine any less powerful shock capable of breaking it. It represents a door studded with nails, and undoubt-

edly belonged to some great excavated sepulchre. Above it are seen several catacombs of different forms. From hence to the *Castalian* spring is a distance of seven minutes, leaving on the left the monastery of the Panaghía, which stands on a platform supported by massy Hellenic walls. In eight minutes more I arrive at Kastrí, at the house of the Papás, not quite so dignified a personage as his predecessor, the high priest of Apollo, though he unites to his ecclesiastical character the civil office of Protógheros, or prime elder of the village.

Delphi is correctly described by Strabo and Justin as occupying a rocky theatre-shaped position[1], but the remark of the latter author, that it is precipitous on *every* side is not that of an autoptes. The following are the topographical notices of the place, which Pausanias has left us[2]:—

"From the Schiste," he says, "there was a steep and difficult road to Delphi. On entering the city, four temples presented themselves in succession[3]: the first was in ruins; the second had been despoiled of all its statues; the third preserved only a few images of the Roman emperors; the fourth was the temple of Minerva Pronæa[4], containing a statue of the deity, and in the pronaus another larger, in brass, dedicated by the Massa-

[1] Οἱ Δελφοὶ, πετρῶδες χωρίον, θεατροειδὲς, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχων τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, σταδίων ἑκκαίδεκα κύκλον πληροῦσαν.—Strabo, p. 418.

Templum Apollinis Delphis positum est in monte Parnasso in rupe undique impendente . . . . . media saxi rupes in formam theatri recessit.—Justin. l. 24, c. 6.

[2] Pausan. Phocic. c. 5. 8. 24. 32.

[3] Ἐσελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν ἐφεξῆς ναοί.—c. 8.

[4] Described by Demosthenes, (c. Aristog. p. 780) as a μέγιστος νεώς.

liotæ. Adjoining to the temple of Pronæa was the temenus of the hero Phylacus[1]. On turning to the left from the gymnasium, there was a descent of not more than three stades[2] to the river Pleistus, which joins the sea at Cirrha, the harbour of Delphi. In ascending from the gymnasium to the temple of Apollo, the water of Castalia was on the right of the road[3]. The city stood entirely upon a slope, and so did the sacred inclosure of Apollo, which occupied a large space in the highest part of the city, and was traversed by numerous passages of communication[4]. On going out of the temple, and then turning towards the left[5], there occurred an inclosure containing the sepulchre of Neoptolemus, above which[6] was a stone of no great size, fabled to have been given to Cronus, as a substitute for the infant Jupiter. On returning from thence towards the temple of Apollo occurred the fountain Cassotis, to which there was an ascent through an inclosing wall. The water was said to proceed under ground into the adytum of the temple, and to render the priestess prophetic. Above Cassotis was the Lesche, an edifice containing paintings by Polygnotus of Thasus, which

[1] *πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προνοίας Φυλάκου τέμενός ἐστιν*, c. 8. See also Herodot. l. 8, c. 39.

[2] *ὑποκαταβάντι οὐ πλέον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἢ τρία στάδια.*—Pausan. Phocic. c. 8.

[3] *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνιόντι ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Κασταλίας καὶ πιεῖν ἡδύ.*

[4] *Δελφοὶς δὲ ἡ πόλις ἄναντες διὰ πάσης παρέχεται σχῆμα· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς περίβολος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· οὗτος δὲ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ ἄστεώς ἐστι· τέτμηνται δὲ καὶ ἔξοδοι δι' αὐτοῦ συνεχεῖς.*

[5] *Ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τραπέντι ἐς ἀριστεράν.*—c. 24.

[6] *ἐπαναβάντι.*

had been dedicated by the people of Cnidus [1]. The theatre was contiguous to the sacred inclosure of Apollo: above the latter was a statue of Bacchus, dedicated by the Cnidii. In the highest part of the city was the stadium [2], originally constructed of the ordinary stone of Parnassus, and in which state it remained until Herodes, the Athenian, adorned it with Pentelic marble."

Of the two fountains the *Cassotis* is recognized without difficulty as that now called Kerna, which is just above the village of Kastrí, to the north-west; and the *Castalia* still more evidently as that already mentioned at the upper extremity of the ancient site towards the east, on the right hand in entering a narrow fissure which separates the two renowned *Parnassian* summits. This fissure, called Ἀρκουδόρευμα, or bear-ravine, is the bed of a torrent originating in the upper region of *Parnassus*, and

[1] Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Κασσωτίδα ἐστὶν οἴκημα γραφὰς ἔχον τῶν Πολυγνώτου, ἀναθήματα μὲν Κνιδίων· καλεῖται ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Λέσχη, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα συνιόντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τά τε σπουδαιότερα διελέγοντο καὶ ὁπόσα μυθώδη. —c. 25.

It seems that the Lesche of Delphi had been converted from a club-house into a picture-gallery.

Pausanias proves the antiquity of these places of public resort from the words which Melantho addresses to Ulysses in the Odyssey: (Σ. v. 327.)

Οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὕδειν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἠέ που ἐς λέσχην

We have also the testimony of Hesiod. (Op. v. 491, 499), whose Scholiast shows that they were extremely numerous at Athens, where the poor found shelter and fire in them in the winter.

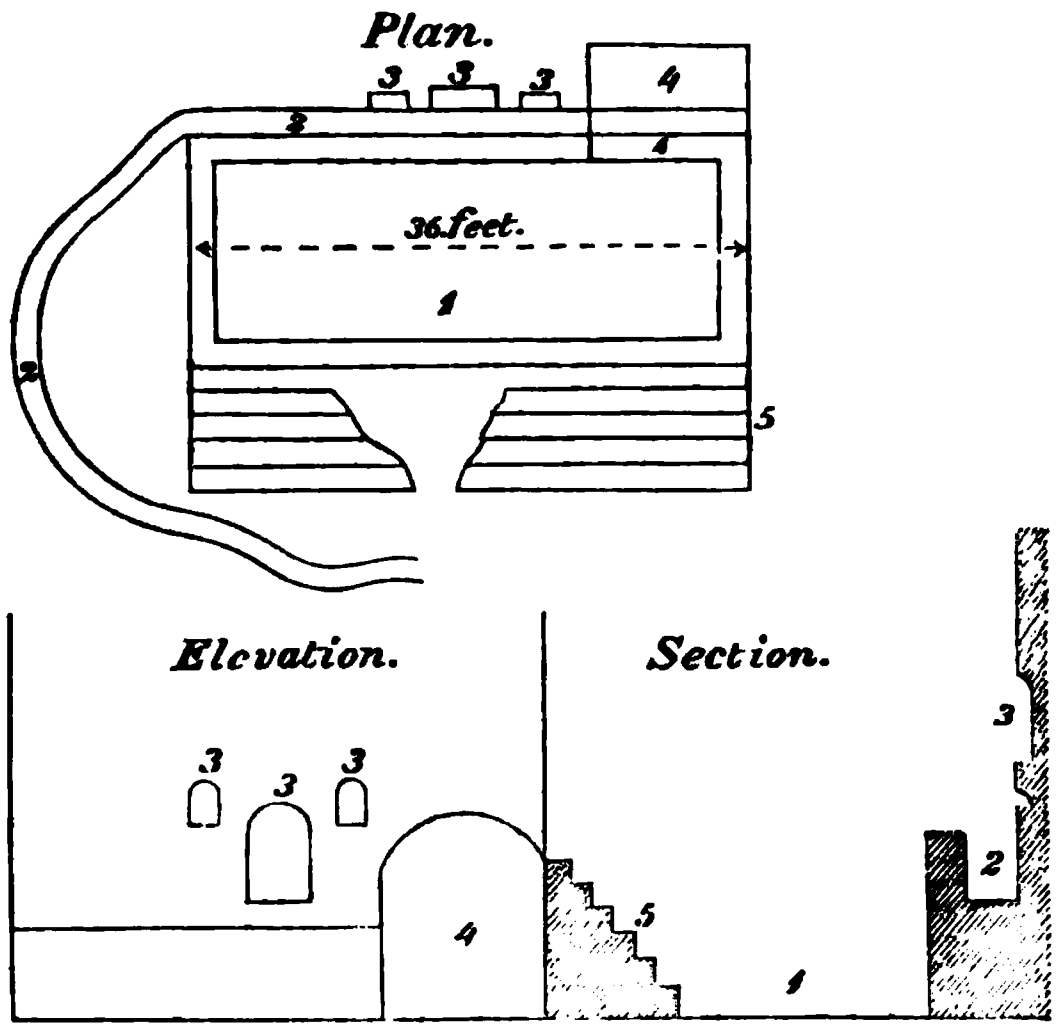
[2] Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θέατρον ἔχεται θέας ἄξιον· ἐπαναβάντι ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου Διονύσου ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα Κνιδίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα· στάδιον δέ σφισιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό ἐστιν.—c. 32.

which, though generally dry, forms in seasons of rain a cascade of about 200 feet in height, falling over a rock which closes the ravine of the Castalia 60 or 70 yards above that fountain. Near the foot of the cascade is a small perennial spring. The *Castalia* itself is a copious pool of very pure and cool water, at the foot of a perpendicular excavation overhung with ivy, saxifrage, and rock plants; around which grow some larger shrubs [1], in front a large fig-tree, and near the road a spreading plane. The commendation which Pausanias bestows on the water, as πιεῖν ἡδύ, is confirmed by the natives, who consider it as lighter, more agreeable and wholesome, than the water of *Cassotis*. The pool is not only kept constantly full by subterraneous supplies, but affords also a small stream flowing out of the basin into the bed of the Arkudhórema, and from thence in a deep channel to the Xeropotámi, or *Pleistus*, unless when the water is diverted for the purpose of irrigating the fields and olives below Kastrí. The *Castalia* is now called the fountain of Ai Iánni, from a small chapel of St. John, standing above one corner of the basin; and the same name is given to the whole course of the rivulet down to the *Pleistus*. The natural pool of the Castalian spring was enlarged, adorned, and made more commodious by the ancients by means of an excavation in the rock, both vertical and horizontal, of which the annexed plan, elevation and section, may give some idea [2].

[1] Dr. Sibthorp had the pleasure of finding here a new species of Daphne, which he named Castaliensis.

[2] For the general topography of Delphi, and the situation of the several buildings, see the plan at the end of this volume.

CASTÁLIA.



1. Castalia. 2. Canal to carry off the superfluous water. 3. Niches. 4. Excavation and chapel of St. John. 5. Steps descending into the basin of Castalia.

The steps seem to show that the subterraneous supply of the spring was not always equal: in summer perhaps not reaching above the lowest steps; but filling the basin in winter, when the channel at the back prevented the water from rising above the upper step. This channel, however, no longer serves its original purpose; the Kastrítes, who chiefly use the basin for washing clothes, having cut an opening through the upper steps, so that the depth of water in the basin can never be so great as it was anciently.

The larger niche may possibly have been destined for a statue of Apollo, and the two smaller for figures of Pan and the nymph Castalia, who

gave name to the fountain. The chapel of St. John may perhaps occupy the place of the heroum of Autonous, which is described by Herodotus as having been at the foot of Mount Hyampeia, near the fountain Castalia[1].

Strabo and Pausanias agree in placing the temple of Apollo in the highest part of Delphi, though it appears from the words of the latter author as already cited, not to have been so high as the stadium, the remains of which are fortunately extant to guide us, nor even so high as the fountain of Cassotis, as the water of that fountain flowed into the temple. It was, however, very near this fountain, for Strabo places the tomb of Neoptolemus, which according to Pausanias was above Cassotis, within the sacred inclosure[2]. It seems evident, therefore, that the sacred temenus or peribolus occupied the exact site of the present village, and this is proved by an inscribed wall forming part of the foundation of a house in the village, which recorded the manumission of slaves, or rather the dedication of them as *ἱερόδουλοι* to Apollo. It cannot be doubted that these records were placed in the sacred inclosure[3]. The remark

[1] Herodot. l. 8, c. 39.

[2] *Δείκνυται δ' ἐν τῷ τεμένει τάφος Νεοπτολέμου.*—Strabo, p. 421. The *τέμενος* and *ἱερὸς περίβολος* were in this instance the same, as appears evident on comparing the words *ἐσελθόντι ἐς τὸ τέμενος* in c. 9 of Pausanias, with *ἱερὸς περίβολος* in chapters 8. 32.

[3] The forms are somewhat different from those of the temple of Sarapis at Chæroneia, but in both, the slaves are chiefly females. At Delphi a *βεβαιωτὴρ*, or security, in conjunction, when the slave found the purchase-money, with the *ἀποδόμενος*, or liberator, became answerable to the *ἱερό-*

of Pausanias that the peribolus was of great extent is illustrated by another inscribed wall below the village, upon which are recorded grants of proxenia, with other privileges to foreign benefactors of Delphi; in some of these it is expressly stated that the record is to be placed in the temple of Apollo. As the distance from this wall to the fountain Kerna is not less than three hundred yards, it becomes probable that the entire inclosure was not less than equal to a square of eight hundred or one thousand feet. The nature of the ground explains the numerous ἔξοδοι, or passages which Pausanias describes in the peribolus; for as the entire site of *Delphi* is a steep declivity, it was of necessity divided into terraces, many remains of the supporting walls of which are still extant in every part of the slope. The temple itself occupied probably the upper part of the village not far below *Cassotis*, standing on

δουλος for the amount in case any one should attempt to treat him or her as a slave. No mention is made in any one of these inscriptions of any reservation of the services of the slave during the life of the owner, or of a right of property in the children of the slave, as occurs in the inscriptions of Chæroneia.

I subjoin in an additional note specimens of the Delphic manumissions, with the addition of copies in the cursive character of a few other inscriptions which I found at Delphi. M. Boeckh, in his excellent work (Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum), has formed a large collection of Delphic inscriptions from various authorities, and among them are almost all I possessed of any interest. A fragment which I found among the fences below the village, shows that the treasury of the temple lent money upon the security of houses and lands. The register of these was of course kept within the hierum.

the higher terrace, below which were others within the peribolus containing the treasuries described by Pausanias, as well as the other monuments and sacred offerings. It is to be supposed that there were steps from one platform to another, besides lateral passages in the transverse direction; and the inscribed walls were perhaps nothing more than the supports of the superior terraces, the inscriptions on which might be very conveniently read from the inferior platforms, and thus became a commodious place of register for the Delphi [1].

As ancient temples in general, but especially those of Apollo, fronted the east, we cannot doubt that the temple of Delphi had that aspect; and the relative situations of the tomb of Neoptolemus, of the fountain Cassotis, and of the temple, as already indicated, will accord with that supposition, Pausanias having remarked that on going out of the temple it was necessary to turn to the left to arrive at the tomb of Neoptolemus, and that the fountain Cassotis occurred in returning to the temple from the stone of Saturn, which was above the tomb of Neoptolemus. As this stone must have been very near the cliffs, it was probably one of those numerous fragments which have fallen from them. Pausanias proceeds to remark that the Lesche stood above Cassotis; and after a long description of the picture of Polygnotus [2], he

[1] Delphi is not the only instance of a Greek city which had no name in ordinary use but the gentile. I find from the inscriptions existing here that a native of the place was Δελφὸς, a woman Δελφή. The people are sometimes οἱ Δελφοὶ and sometimes Δελφοὶ, without the article.

[2] To the right the picture represented the taking of Troy,

then states that the theatre adjoined the sacred peribolus, that on ascending from the latter there was a statue of Bacchus, and that the stadium was in the highest part of the city. Hence there is a great probability that the theatre occupied the ground immediately below the stadium, adjacent to the village on the western side, comprehending perhaps a part of its site, as well because the words of Pausanias tend to that conclusion, as because among the Greeks the theatre and stadium were commonly contiguous to, or not very distant from each other; and that in the present instance there was not elsewhere any space adjacent to the sacred peribolus, sufficient for so

to the left the descent of Ulysses into Hades. In the former the sea-shore was seen in the lower part of the painting, and the ships of Menelaus ready to depart with Helen and the Trojan captives. Above was the taking of Troy, where Neoptolemus alone was represented slaying the Trojans, because the picture had been originally intended for his tomb. The Cassandra in this part of the painting was much admired by ancient critics. (Lucian. Imag.) To the left the river Acheron occupied the lower part with the boat of Charon, the punishment of the unjust, Eurynomus an infernal demon, and Orpheus seated on a hill with other poets near him. Above were Ulysses and the various personages whom he found in the infernal regions, his enemies forming a groupe apart from himself and his friends. Polygnotus had not followed Homer alone in the treatment of his subjects, which Pausanias traced in many circumstances to Lesches, Stesichorus and Archilochus, to the Ἰλιὰς μικρὰ and the Μινυάς. The figures were very numerous, and about one hundred and twenty of them had their names annexed, some of which Pausanias supposed to have been invented by the painter himself.

large a building as we cannot but suppose the theatre of Delphi to have been, except below the modern village, from whence there would have been an ascent of at least five hundred yards from the theatre to the stadium, which on so steep a mountain would have been very inconvenient.

Although Pausanias does not exactly indicate the relative situations of the temple of Minerva Pronæa and of the gymnasium, there seems little doubt, from the tenor of his narrative, that the four temples, the gymnasium, and the Castalia, occurred in succession, or nearly so, in the road which led from the eastern entrance of the city to the temple of Apollo; and as he states the gymnasium to have been about three stades from the river Pleistus, which agrees with the position of the ancient wall supporting the terrace of the monastery of Panaghía, there seems little doubt that these walls indicate the site of the gymnasium. Other foundations immediately above it, probably, belong to the peribolus of the temple of Pronæa, for this temple was a little below, or to the left of the road leading to the Castalia and the temple, but not far from the overhanging rocks, as appears from Herodotus. who relates that the temenus of Phylacus, which Pausanias places near the temple of Pronæa, was above that temple on the road side [1], and who adds, that when the Persians of Xerxes arrived near the temple of Pronæa, large masses of rock fell from the precipices upon the

[1] παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης.—Herodot. l. 8, c. 39.

barbarians, and settled in the temenus of Pronæa, where they still remained in the time of the historian. It is not improbable that the ancient road was to the right of the modern path, the earth and detached rocks having a tendency to accumulate at the foot of the precipices, and the actual traces of an ancient road nearer to the precipices than the modern route, greatly favouring the same opinion. Some other terrace walls about midway between the monastery and the tower near the eastern cemetery, may have been the platforms of the three temples at the entrance of Delphi, of which Pausanias has not given us the names.

One of the most remarkable features in the site of Delphi is the great ridge on the western side, which advances from the rocks of *Parnassus* and terminates abruptly towards the *Pleistus*, which separates that termination from the opposite precipices of Mount *Cirphis*. This western ridge being higher than any part of the site of Delphi, unless it be the ground immediately at the foot of the rocks, is not beneficial to the place, inasmuch as it concentrates the heat, intercepts the imbát, and prevents the western breezes from moderating the heat in summer, which notwithstanding an elevation of twelve or fifteen hundred feet above the sea, is rendered excessive by the reflection of the sun from the great south-wall of cliffs at the back of the site. The Kastrítes accordingly describe the air as heavy[1] in summer, but complain still more of the terrible gales which

[1] *βαρὺς ὁ ἀέρας εἶναι.*

in winter often draw through the *Parnassian* valley.

But though the western range may not improve the climate of *Delphi*, the exclusion of the city from the view of the Crissæan plain and bay which it caused, added greatly to the singularly wild and sequestered nature of the place, so well suited to assist in producing those effects to which all the resources of Grecian art and priestcraft were here directed. Even by preventing the persons in the theoriæ, or processions which landed at Cirrha, from beholding the city at a distance, it contributed to the same objects. There are two roads by which they may have approached: either following the valley of the Pleistus until they passed the straits at the end of the western ridge, when they would have seen the buildings at a great height above them, and rather in too confused and compressed a manner; or by the modern road from Krissó which crosses, in a hollow, the middle of the western ridge, exactly in the position where the magnificent view which then suddenly opened upon them for the first time, was seen in the most advantageous point, and at a distance calculated to produce the most striking effect. By this route, therefore, I have little doubt that the theoriæ approached, and formed a pageant probably not exceeded in magnificence by any of the ceremonies of antiquity, not even the Panathenaic procession to the Parthenon[1].

[1] The admiration and religious awe of those who frequented the great festivals at Delphi were still farther heightened by the effects of the remarkable echo caused by the

Above the hollow way in the western ridge foundations of walls flanked with towers may be traced at intervals along the crest of the ridge as far as the great cliffs, which were themselves a sufficient defence to the north. These are evidently the western walls of Delphi, and they are the more worthy of notice, as history testifies that Delphi was not a fortified city, when Philomelus, the Phocian, seized it in the Sacred War, and suspended the authority of the Amphictyones [1]. Justin again expressly states in his narrative of the attack of the Gauls, in the year B. C. 278, that Delphi was not fortified [2], and Livy almost implies the same in relating an attempt which was made, in the year B.C. 172, by Perseus, to assassinate Eumenes as he approached Delphi in coming from Crissa. The historian states that Eumenes was assaulted by the conspirators on the ascent to Delphi, as he approached the buildings [3], which would hardly have been his mode of

rocks and the theatre-shaped site of Delphi. Media saxi rupes in formam theatri recessit, quamobrem et hominum clamor et si quando accessit tubarum sonus, personantibus et respondentibus inter se rupibus multiplex audiri ampliorque quam editur resonare solet, quæ res majorem majestatis terrorem ignaris rei et admirationem stupentibus plerumque affert. — Justin. l. 24, c. 6.

[1] The historian remarks that he fortified the Ἱερόν.—Diodor. l. 16, c. 25.

[2] Templum et civitatem non muri sed præcipitia nec manu facta sed naturalia præsidia defendunt; prorsus ut incertum sit utrum munimentum loci an majestas Dei plus hìc admirationis habeat.—Justin. ubi sup.

[3] Adscendentibus ad templum a Cirrhâ priusquam perveniretur ad frequentia ædificiis loca.—Liv. l. 42, c. 15.

expression if the town had been walled. Probably therefore the existing walls are of a subsequent date, and were constructed when the sanctity of the place was falling into disrespect, and the Delphi became convinced of the necessity of resorting to more vulgar means of protection. The transaction related by Livy seems to have occurred on the ascent of the western ridge, near the summit, and exactly in the modern road, for this probably coincides with the ancient, there being little doubt that *Crissa* occupied the site of the modern Krissó. There are many sepulchral excavations in the rocks on the outside of the walls on the western side and sori in the cornfields below, many of which are buried in the ground, like those near the eastern entrance of the city. Exactly in the opening of the ridge, one of the excavations consists of a spacious apartment between two sepulchral chambers, at the end of which is a semicircular seat, affording a delightful place of repose in the heat of summer.

On the crest of the same ridge, midway between the road and the foot of the great cliffs, rises a tumulus, which its elevated situation renders a conspicuous object, and on the eastern slope of the ridge, very near the right hand side of the modern road at its entrance into the site of Delphi, stands a small church of St. Elias upon an artificial platform, which is supported by two ancient walls meeting in a right angle, like those at the Panaghía, equally well constructed, and evidently belonging to one of the principal edifices of the city. There is however

no building described by Pausanias in this situation, and although one of the most advantageous in the site, it is comparatively remote from that part of the town which contained the Hierum and its appendages. Possibly it may have been the Pylæa, or palace of the Amphictyones, which was remarked for its magnificence, although in a city noted for the splendour of its edifices [1]. To the eastward of St. Elias, in a lower situation, another Hellenic wall, similar to that which supports the terrace of St. Elias, crosses the slope of the hill towards the ravine of the *Castalian* torrent. This may perhaps have been the southern wall of the city, for its extent on the three other sides being known, the whole circumference will on this supposition agree with the 16 stades which have been assigned to it by Strabo [2].

The prospect from the western ridge is very magnificent. The *Parnassia Nape*, although not so well seen as from Mount *Cirphis*, is all comprehended within the view as far as Arákhova. To the southward the prospect is bounded beyond the *Corinthiac* gulf by the majestic *Cyllene*, to the right of which is seen the gulf of Galaxídhi, and the plain of Sálona, covered with olive trees, and hence much more beautiful than it was anciently, when as Pausanias tells us it was quite naked [3]. Beyond these the great *Locro-Ætolian* range rises

[1] Plutarch (de Pythiæ orac.) who represents Delphi as not less agreeable by its groves and fountains than admirable for its public buildings.

[2] Strabo, p. 418. v. sup. p. 553. n. 1.

[3] Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

to a height in some parts nearly equal to that of *Parnassus*. It is clothed with woods above, adorned below with the picturesque town of Sálona and several of its dependent villages, and extends northward nearly in a direct line towards the great summit of *Œta*, near Neópatra. The most remarkable point in the range, is the same so conspicuous in many parts of *Bœotia* and *Phocis*, and there called Mavrolithári from a village of that name near it, which is 6 hours distant from Neópatra, and 12 from Sálona, nearly in a line from the one to the other.

Of the two summits above the *Castalian* spring, which are divided from each other by the Arkudhórema, and which very much to the convenience of the geographer render the site of *Delphi* recognizable at a great distance, the western is now named Rodhiní [1], and the eastern Flembúko [2]. The ancient names of these celebrated peaks were Nauplia and Hyampeia, and it seems clear from Herodotus that the latter was the eastern, for he says, in describing the heroum of Autonous, that it was under the summit Hyampeia, near the Castalian fountain [3], which is on the eastern side of the Arkudhórema. There was a tradition that the Delphi put Æsop to death by throwing him over the Hyampeia, and that in after ages, from respect to his memory, the Nauplia was made the place of exit for criminals instead of the Hyampeia [4]. This also is in favour of the eastern vertex having

[1] Ῥοδινή.

[2] Φλεμπούκος.

[3] Herodot. l. 8, c. 39.

[4] Plutarch. de scrâ numinum vindictâ.

been the Hyampeia, since it is more probable that the original place of execution should have been the nearest to the extremity of the town, and that it should have been the higher of the two summits, both which particulars are applicable to the eastern summit. It appears that the whole line of cliffs on the northern side was known by the name of *αἱ Φαιδριάδες πέτραι*, for according to Suidas, Æsop was precipitated from the rocks Phædriades[1]; and in the Phocic war, B. C. 354, when Philomelus was attacked by the Locri, it is related by Diodorus that an action occurred near the rocks Phædriades, and that Philomelus having gained the victory, drove many of the enemy over the rocks[2]. It would seem that the Locri had entered the upper region of Parnassus from their own territory, which adjoined the western part of it, and that they had advanced as far as the summit of the cliffs before they were met by Philomelus.

Like the acropolis of Athens, and the sacred inclosure of Eleusis, the Delphic sanctuary is so encumbered by modern habitations, that nothing short of their removal, and the entire clearing of the site from the accumulated rubbish of ages can supply satisfactory particulars of the design or architecture of the temple and its adjunct buildings. In all these celebrated places, so rich formerly in productions of art, the sacrifice would probably be fully compensated by the discoveries. The only relic now remaining at *Delphi*

[1] Suid. in *Αἴσωπος*, *Φαιδριάς*. [2] Diodor. l. 16, c. 28.

which I can suppose to have belonged to the temple of Apollo is a piece of Doric column in the village of Kastrí, having a fluting of about a foot in the chord. According to the usual proportions of the order, such a fluting would require a diameter of about six feet and a half, and will therefore lead to the inference that the temple was a hexastyle, not so broad or so high as that of Olympia, of which the columns were more than seven feet in diameter. This perhaps is nearly what might be presumed, from the temple having been more ancient than that of Olympia, that hexastyle temple and its cotemporary the Parthenon, which was an octastyle of the same dimensions, having been built exactly at the time when power and opulence made the most rapid advances, and when the people of Elis and Athens had the means of indulging their ostentation under the cloak of devotion, so as to execute buildings, exceeding all preceding attempts of the Greeks, in honour of their gods. The last Delphic temple was 50 or 60 years older than the Parthenon, having been built about 510 B. C. in consequence of the destruction by fire in the year 548 B. C. of that which had been built before the Trojan war by Trophonius and Agamedes. The funds for the reconstruction were derived from a general contribution to which even the distant colony of Greeks at Sais in the Delta were parties, and Amasis king of Egypt. The contract for the work was taken by the family of the Alcmyonidæ of Athens, who engaged with the Amphictyones to rebuild the temple, with the stone called Porus,

for the sum of 300 talents, (probably not half the cost of the Parthenon) and gave a noble example of liberality in adding at their own expence a facing of Parian marble, and some other ornaments to which they were not bound by the contract. The architect was Spintharus, a Corinthian [1].

Justin relates, that when the Gauls attacked Delphi, the priests who ascribed their defeat to the immediate interposition of Apollo, declared that they saw him descend into the temple through the open part of the roof (per culminis aperta fastigia [2]). Hence it appears to have been hypæthral, as temples of that magnitude generally were. The aëti contained figures of Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, the setting Sun, Bacchus, and the Thyiades, begun by Praxias, and finished after his death by Androsthenes, both of whom were Athenians. As in the Parthenon, gilded shields were suspended on a part of the entablature: they were the spoils of two very distant nations, but nearly of the same form, those of the Persians had been dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils of Marathon, the Gallic shields by the Ætolians [3]. In the pronaus stood a brazen image of Homer upon a pillar, and on the walls were inscribed sentences written by the Seven men whom the Greeks called the Wise [4]. In the cella [5] were an altar of Neptune, to whom the oracle in the most

[1] Herodot. l. 2, c. 18.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 5.

[2] Justin. l. 24, c. 8.

[3] Pausan. Phocic. c. 19.

[4] *οἱ Σοφοί*.—c. 24.

[5] *ἐν τῷ ναῷ*.

ancient times was said to have belonged, statues of two Fates, with Jupiter and Apollo as their leaders[1], the hearth[2] upon which the priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus, and the iron chair of Pindar, upon which he was said to have sung his hymns to Apollo.

These are the remarks of Pausanias, from whose silence we may infer that the κρατὴρ, or vase of silver, containing 600 amphoræ, the work of Theodorus of Samus, which stood in the angle of the pronaus to the left, in the time of Herodotus[3], had long before been converted into money by Philomelus, Sylla, or some other plunderer, as well as all the other gifts of gold and silver, which the Delphi received from Crœsus, and cheaply repaid by conferring upon him and the Lydians privileges of the same kind as those mentioned in so many existing inscriptions[4]. From a similar cause the golden tripod, dedicated from the spoils of Platæa, which Herodotus describes as having been near the altar of Apollo, no longer remained in the time of Pausanias, who found only, and not in the same place, the twisted serpents which supported the tripod.

It appears from Euripides, in his Ion, the scene of which is laid at Delphi, that two of the representations on the exterior front of the temple were Hercules, attended by Iolaus as shield-bearer, de-

[1] Μοιραγέται.

[2] ἑστία.

[3] Herodot. l. 1, c. 51.

[4] Δελφοὶ ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηΐην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην.—Herodot. l. 1, c. 54.

stroying the Lernæan hydra with his faulchion [1], and Bellerophon on the horse Pegasus, slaying the Chimæra [2]. They were probably on the metopes of the eastern front. The battle of the giants, which the Chorus describes as being upon the walls [3], seems to have been a painting on the wall of the pronaus, perhaps by Aristoclides, who is stated by Pliny to have painted this temple [4]. The figures of the Gigantomachia specified by the Chorus, are Minerva striking Enceladus with her spear, Jupiter destroying Mimas with his lightning, and Bacchus smiting another monster with his thyrsus. The poet has likewise described some pepli, or tapestries, in the temple, which were embroidered with battles and other subjects, like those of the Parthenon [5]. Over the door of the cella was written the word EI, concerning which Plutarch has written so much to so little purpose. As to the adytum, Pausanias tells us nothing, except that few persons entered into the inmost part of the temple [6], but that there existed in it a golden

[1] Ἰδοὺ, τάνδ' ἄθρησον,
Λερναῖον Ὕδραν ἐναίρει
Χρυσέαις ἅρπαις ὁ Διὸς παῖς.
Eurip. Ion. v. 190.

[2] Καὶ μὰν τόνδ' ἄθρησον,
Πτεροῦντος ἔφεδρον ἵππου,
Τὰν πυριπνέουσαν ἐναίρει
Τρισώματον ἀλκάν. v. 201.

[3] Σκέψαι κλόνον ἐν τείχεσι
Λαΐνοισι γιγάντων. v. 206.

[4] Plin. H. N. l. 35, c. 11.

[5] Eurip. Ion. v. 1141.

[6] τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ ἐσωτάτῳ.

statue of Apollo. It would seem, therefore, that the priests still endeavoured to obtain respect by an affectation of mystery, and closed the inner sanctuary against casual visitors and the vulgar. From other writers we learn that it contained a perpetual fire, and a narrow orifice in the ground, which was surrounded by a railing, was shaded with laurel, and surmounted by a tripod. Here was seated the priestess when she uttered the oracular responses, after having bathed in the water of Castalia, and crowned herself with the laurel and masticated some of its leaves [1].

It has generally been supposed that the convulsions of the priestess, which preceded her prophetic words, were caused by a mephitic vapour emanating from a fissure in the rock. Pausanias and Lucian, on the contrary, ascribe it to the water of Cassotis. As such a vapour, if it had existed, would probably still find its way out of the ground in the same place, or near it, it is very possible that there never was such a vapour, though the cavern or aperture in the rock may have been real. The propensity of the Greeks to believe in the marvellous, would easily lead them to add a *πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικὸν* [2] to a place which they were not allowed to see, if the priests thought fit to encourage the idea.

The only buildings within the sacred peribolus, besides the temple, were a portico built by the

[1] Æschyl. Eum. v. 39.—Euripid. Ion. v. 76. 1321.—Lycophr. v. 6.—Diodor. l. 16, c. 26.—Lucian in his accusat.

[2] Strabo, p. 419.

Athenians, and eight θησαυροὶ, or treasuries, similar to those at Olympia[1], where ten of these constructions stood upon a κρηπις, or basement, between the temple of Juno and Mount Cronium. One of the thesauri at Olympia was so large as to contain a colossal statue; at Delphi none seem to have been of such dimensions, but were intended only for the smaller and more valuable offerings, the works of statuary having been on the adjacent platforms of the hierum. The cities which had constructed the treasuries at Delphi were Sicyon, Siphnus[2], Thebes[3], Athens[4], Cnidus, Potidæa, Syracuse[5], and Corinth[6], to which Strabo adds the Italian cities, Spina and Agylla. The same author remarks that wealth is difficult to guard, even though sacred[7]; and agrees with Pausanias in showing that the treasuries at Delphi were all empty, the contents having long before their time been converted into the sinews of war. Nor were sacred offerings, the value of which was derived from the skill of the artists who made them, although less tempting to the vulgar plunderer, exempt from

[1] καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποιήσαντο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρούς.—Pausan. Eliac. post. c. 19.

[2] The god had ordered the Siphnii to send a tenth of the produce of their gold mines to Delphi; the treasury was built accordingly, and the tenth was for some time sent. But the tax was probably too heavy. Pausanias says, that in consequence of the Siphnii having ceased to send it, the sea broke into their mines and destroyed them.—Phocic. c. 11.

[3] The Theban treasury was built after the battle of Leuctra.

[4] The Athenian was built from the spoils of Marathon.

[5] The Syracusan after their defeat of the Athenians.

[6] This treasury once contained the gold presented by the kings of Lydia.

[7] ὁ πλοῦτος δυσφύλακτός ἐστι κἂν ἱερὸς ᾖ.—Strabo, p. 420.

the effects of a more refined species of cupidity. Scarcely any but imperial robbers, however, could indulge a passion for collecting statues at the expence either of Delphi or any of the other more celebrated places in Greece, which were at once the favourite abodes of superstition, and the chief repositories of art, so long as Paganism continued in vogue. Of this we have a strong argument in the catalogue which Pausanias has given us of the collection at Delphi[1], a century after it had been plundered of 500 brazen statues by Nero[2]. With the decline of taste in the third century the passion of collecting gradually ceased among the Romans, which change, as the ancient worship still kept its ground in this part of Greece, had a tendency to preserve the sacred places nearly in the same condition as Pausanias had left them, until Constantine, and one or two of his successors, despoiled them of some of their choicest monuments for the purpose of adorning the new capital, as well as for that of degrading the deities of the old worship, and of holding them up to ridicule[3]. It was not until the imperial decrees were issued against idolatry, at the end of the fourth century, that the Christians could indulge their barbarous zeal in the indiscriminate destruction of the ancient statues. The greater part having been of brass, were then probably melted for the sake of converting them to purposes of vulgar utility. The works in marble, although many of them may have

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 9. See the Additional Note at the end of this volume.

[2] Pausan. Phocic. c. 7.

[3] These motives are stated by Eusebius (in Constant. l. 3, c. 54.) and by Sozomen (l. 2. c. 5.)

been broken, are more likely to have escaped entire destruction; and it is difficult to believe that many valuable remains of sculpture as well as architecture are not still concealed beneath the surface of the ground at *Delphi*. The steepness of the site, and the fragility of the lofty cliffs above it, acted upon by the waters flowing from the higher summits, are constantly operating a change in the soil; fragments of stone and an alluvion of earth descending from above, have a continual tendency to accumulate matter upon the ancient platforms of the city, and to place them lower beneath the surface, of which the stadium is a proof, the upper row of seats only being now above ground. Thus the ancient remains become deeply buried, except where a torrent, taking a new course, suddenly removes a part of the accumulation, and thus occasionally brings some of them to light. It seldom happens that a heavy fall of rain does not produce the discovery of some coins, or other remains of art, particularly among the terraces to the west and to the south of Kastrí.

The length of the stadium of Delphi (as well as it can be determined in such a ruin) is 630 feet. or nearly the same as that of the other stadia of Greece, in all which their ruined condition causes something more than the length of the dromus to be included in the measurement. It seems, therefore, that if there was any such measure as a Pythic stade, longer than the ordinary stade, it was not derived from any excess in the length of the stadium of Delphi. This structure was composed, as Pausanias remarks, of the native rock, which is a brown

limestone, containing veins of white marble; nor do I perceive a vestige of the Pentelic marble with which it was decorated by Herodes.

The cavern on the slope of Mount *Cirphis*, which is so conspicuous from Kastrí, is natural, though the entrance has been squared, and the inside a little enlarged and made regular, in order to form it into a church, of which some remains exist, or originally, perhaps, (and such is the opinion of the priest, my host, and other Kastrítes,) for an ascetic retreat. There is a little verdure before the door, which is said to have been the garden of the hermit. All the rest of the rock is a bare precipice, and the access to the cavern is extremely difficult. It is dedicated to St. Arsale, or Orsale[1], to whom the convent above Daulis is sacred, and whose ἑορτὴ or festival is on Easter Monday.

From Delphi Pausanias conducts his reader to the celebrated cave named Corycium, and from thence continues his route across the upper Parnassus to Tithorea. I visited the cave on my former journey at a season when Parnassus, now enveloped in snow and mist, exhibited under a brilliant atmosphere a delightful scene of arable and pasture, intermixed with forests of pine, fir, and the grandest mountain scenery. The cavern is about seven miles from Delphi, to the north-eastward, and at a nearly equal distance to the north-west of Arákhova; the access from each place is

[1] Ἁγία Ἀρσαλὴ, Ὀρσαλή. Antoninus Liberalis (c. 8) mentions a cavern in Mount Cirphis; but as he describes it as ὑπερμέγεθες, that which is opposite to Kastrí will hardly answer to it.

easy after having surmounted the steep ascent which leads from them both into the upper region of *Parnassus*, as it then crosses the great elevated valley which extends for about sixteen miles in a westerly direction from the foot of the highest summit anciently Lycoreia [1], and now Liákura. From *Delphi* the road to the *Corycium* crosses the *western ridge* just under the *Phædriades Scopuli*, and then immediately ascends by a zigzag path cut in the rock, very steep and rugged, and which retains traces of the ancient route. Just above *Castalia* the road to the Kalývia of Arákhova and to Liákura, probably the ancient road to *Lycoreia* and *Tithorea* branches to the right. Following that to the left which leads to the Μαύρη Τρούπα, as the *Corycium* is now called, we entered a country of pasture interspersed with firs, and peopled with shepherds and their flocks, occasionally passing fields of wheat, barley, and oats, all yet green though it was the 27th of July, and the harvest in the plains of Bœotia had been completed a month before. To the right was a lake fed by the streams from the surrounding mountains, and partly discharged by a subterraneous channel, of which the Emissory is probably the source at the mills of Kastrí. Having arrived at the foot of the moun-

[1] Strabo, p. 418, 423. All the eastern part of the plain belonged probably to a town of *Lycoreia*, of which some remains are found at the village of Liákura. At the southern foot of the mountain, midway between the *Schiste* and *Delphi*, are the walls of another Hellenic town, which agrees with the Æolis of Herodotus (l. 8, c. 35), or equally well with the Cyparissus of Homer (B. 519), Strabo (p. 423), Dicæarchus (v. 80), and Stephanus (in voce).

tain on the northern side of the valley, we ascended more than half way to its summit, when a small triangular entrance presented itself, conducting into the great chamber of the cavern, which is upwards of 200 feet in length, and about 40 high in the middle. Drops of water from the roof had formed large calcareous crystallizations rising at the bottom, and others were suspended from every part of the roof and sides. The inner part of this great hall is rugged and irregular, but after climbing over some rocks, we arrived at another small opening leading into a second chamber, the length of which is near 100 feet, and has a direction nearly at a right angle with that of the outer cavern. In this inner apartment there is again a narrow opening, but inaccessible without a ladder; at the foot of the ascent to it is a small natural chamber. There seems to have been ample space for the Delphi and other Phocians to deposit here their valuable property, and even their families, when they took refuge in Mount Parnassus from the Persians [1]. As Pausanias states that there was "a distance of 60 stades from Delphi to a brazen statue, from whence it was easier to ascend to the cavern on foot than on a horse or mule;" the statue probably stood at the foot of the mountain, the distance from thence to Delphi being nearly that which he mentions. He remarks that the Corycium is larger than many other celebrated caverns which he had seen, and enumerates; and observes, that it is easy to walk into the cave for a

[1] Herodot. l. 8, c. 36.

great distance even without a torch, and that there are springs and drippings from the roof to the bottom in every part of it. The people of Parnassus, he adds, considered the cave sacred to the Corycian nymphs and to Pan [1]. From the cavern we proceeded to Aguriani, distant three hours, in a north-western direction, through a wide valley abounding in springs and rivulets which flow to the torrent of *Lilæa*, and where in the intervals of forests of fir, there was a beautiful variety of corn-fields, and of pastures covered with sheep and goats: on either side rose the secondary summits of Parnassus. At Aguriani, which contained 60 or 70 families, a large stream issued from the foot of the mountain above the village, and flowed through it, turning several mills, and filling some large vats which served for soaking the coarse cloth which the villagers made from the wool of *Parnassus*. In an hour and a half from Aguriani we descended into the northern *Phocic* valley at Paleókastro, or the ruins of *Lilæa*.

[1] *ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ (τὸ ἄντρον) οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρυκίων τε εἶναι Νύμφων καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἡγηνται.* These words of Pausanias are illustrated by the following inscription which Mr. H. Raikes discovered in the cavern soon after my second visit to Delphi: — *Εὔστρατος Δακιδόμου Ἀμβρύσιος συμπεριπόλοις Πανὶ Νύμφαις.* Eustratus, son of Dacidomus of Ambrysus, to Pan and the Nymphs who frequent these places together. It is remarkable that the gentile *Ἀμβρύσιος* in this inscription is *Ἀμβρώσευς* in those found at Dhístomo on the site of *Ambrysus*. The word *συμπεριπόλοις* is explained by the *περιπόλοι* mentioned by Thucydides, and other authors, and who were a kind of local militia. Pausanias observes, that not even on foot was it easy to ascend from the cave to the summit of Parnassus.

CHAPTER XXI.

PHOCIS, LOCRIS, ÆTOLIA.

Departure from *Delphi*—Krissó, *Crissa*—Xeropígadho—*Cirrha*—River *Pleistus*—Sálona, *Amphissa*—Latin inscription—Roads from Sálona—Athýmia, *Myonia*—Lidhoríki—Stenó—Velúkhovo—Rivers Mega, Kókkino, and Mornó—Khan of Paleuxári—Monastery of Varnákova—Magúla—Cross the Mornó—Plain of Pilála—Mount Rígani—'Epakto, *Naupactus*—Ancient geography of *Ætolia* and *Locris*—*Athenian invasion*—*March of the Spartan Eurylochus through Locris*—*Œneon*—*Ægitium*—*Potidania*—*Eupalium*—*Erythræ*—*Crocylium*—*Tichium*—*Hyle*—*Tolophon*—*Phœstum*—*Apidoti*—*Ophionenses*—*Bomi*—*Callium*—*Pyra*—Mount *Corax*—*Eurytanes*.

Feb. 10.—Although the situation of *Delphi* is not very agreeable, nor its lands in general very fertile, its slopes favourable to the cultivation of the olive, its fields on the banks of the *Pleistus*, with the copious springs at the mills, and those of *Castalia* and *Cassotis*, are advantages which will always secure to the place some inhabitants, who will derive some further resources from the ancient fame of the place and its remains of antiquity, which cannot fail to attract casual visitors as long as Greek literature is held in estimation. *Delphi* deserves attention also as a military position which commands the western entrance of one of the most important passes in Greece.

Having passed through the western ridge, and among numerous remains of the ancient cemetery on that side of the city, we descend by a very winding stony road to Krissó, a large village inhabited solely by Greeks, and the residence of the bishop of Sálona; but instead of entering the village turn to the left, and continuing to descend the mountain, arrive in one hour from *Delphi* in the vale of the *Pleistus*, a little above a mill overhung by the rocks and steep side of the hill of Krissó. Below the mill the valley opens into the plain. This is about the situation in which Pausanias describes the Hippodrome of the Pythian games [1], but no vestiges of it are to be perceived.

Twenty minutes farther we cross the *Pleistus* and enter the *Crissæan* plain, which extends to the sea—then advance through a thick wood of olives which shades the banks of the *Pleistus* from hence upwards, as far as the narrows formed by the western ridge of *Delphi*, then passing along the foot of Mount Kutzúra, we arrive in another twenty minutes at Xeropígadho [2], a village situated just under the steep rocks of the mountain. The road by which my servants and baggage came hither from Dhesfína descends the mountain at a gorge a little above the village. Soon afterwards I proceed to the shore of the *Crissæan* Gulf in search of *Cirrha*, turn a projecting point of the mountain,

[1] Ἐς δὲ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν, ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἑξήκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καταβάντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πέδιον ἱππόδρομός τέ ἐστιν, καὶ ἀγῶνα Πύθια ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἱππικόν. —Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

[2] Ξεροπίγαδον, dry well.

which hides Xeropígadho from the sea; and in eight minutes leave in the rocks to the left a great cavern, which, according to my guide, who is an old native of Xeropígadho, is so deep within that a stone thrown into it will descend to the level of the plain, and may be heard to fall into the subterraneous bed of a river of salt water which issues at some distance below from the foot of the mountain. This stream joins the sea at a spot where the shore of the gulf forms an angle, and where stand a mill and a house named Sklirí. This place was a mile to the left, midway from Xeropígadho to Magúla, which is twenty minutes from that village. The name Magúla is applied to a square space, near a mile in circumference, covered with fragments of ancient buildings and wrought stones of Hellenic times. On the beach are the ruins of a tower of the middle ages, but composed chiefly of large quadrangular blocks which are cemented with mortar: near it are a well, a small church, and some remains of an ancient wharf or mole extending some distance into the water. A rising ground towards the centre of the ruins seems to be composed entirely of ancient materials slightly covered with earth; but no remains of ornamental architecture are to be seen, nor any thing in its original place. My conductor says that Krissó once stood here, that these are the ruins of it, and that he had this information from his ancestors. The spot is about half way between Sklirí and the mouth of the *Pleistus*, and seems clearly to be the site of *Cirrha*, the port of *Delphi*, for it is the nearest point of the

coast to *Delphi*, is not far from the mouth of the *Pleistus* [1], is near the foot of Mount *Cirphis* [2], and generally in agreement with the ancient testimonies [3]. Pausanias remarked at Cirrha a temple containing colossal statues of Apollo, Diana, and Latona, of the Attic school, and a fourth of Adrasteia, of smaller size [4]. The rising ground in the middle of the ancient site is probably formed by the substruction and ruins of this building. The distance of Cirrha from Delphi has been variously stated by the ancients. My time distance tends to show the 60 stades of Pausanias to be very near the truth, certainly much more so than the 80 of Strabo, or the 30 of Harpocration [5].

Pausanias has created some doubts on the ancient geography of this part of Phocis, by his remark that Homer, both in the Iliad and in the Hymn to Apollo, applies to Cirrha its more ancient name of Crissa [6]; thus leading to the inference that they were one and the same place, an opinion which may derive some appearance of support from the indiscriminate application by ancient authors of the names Cirrhæan and Crissæan to the surrounding plain. There can be little doubt, how-

[1] Οὗτος ὁ Πλειστὸς ἐπὶ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ κάτεισι θάλασσαν.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 8.

[2] Ὑποπέπτωκε τῇ Κίρφει πόλις ἀρχαῖα Κίρρα ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἱδρυμένη, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνάβασις εἰς Δελφοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά που σταδίων.—Strabo, p. 418.

[3] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 3.—Liv. l. 42, c. 15, 16.

[4] Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

[5] Harpocrat. in Κιρραῖον πεδίον.

[6] Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

ever, that Cirrha and Crissa were different places, and that the latter occupied the exact situation of Krissó, as this existing name would lead us to presume. Krissó, in fact, is accurately described in the Hymn to Apollo as a height well suited to vines, rising above a woody valley at the foot of the steep rocks of the snowy Parnassus, on its western side [1]. In those times Delphi was a ἱερὸν in the Crissæan territory. Crissa was precisely such a site as the founders of Greek cities often chose, being a rocky hill rising above the middle of a fertile plain, at a secure distance from the sea, and near the entrance of two diverging valleys. Cirrha, on the other hand, stood not under Parnassus, but near the foot of Mount Cirphis, on the maritime level, and at the nearest point of the coast to Crissa and Delphi, of which two places it was successively the ἐπίνειον or port. Strabo, who has distinguished Cirrha from Crissa, asserts that the former was destroyed by the Crissæi, and the latter at the end of the first sacred war which the Amphictyones declared against the Crissæi for having occupied the sacred land, ill-treated those who passed through their territory to Delphi, and for having laid excessive taxes on the imports from Sicily and Italy [2]. The principal event

[1] ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνάσσοιο.—Hymn in Apol. v. 269.

Ἵκεο δ' ἐς Κρίσσην ὑπὸ Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα
Κνῆμον πρὸς Ζέφυρον τετραμμένον· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
Πέτρη ὑποκρέμαται· κοιλὴ δ' ὑποδέδρομε βῆσσα
Τρηχεῖα.—v. 282.

Ἵξον δ' ἐς Κρίσσην εὐδείελον ἀμπελόεντα.—v. 438.

[2] Strabo, p. 418.

of this war was the capture of Cirrha, said to have been effected by a stratagem of Solon, who ordered hellebore to be thrown into the aqueduct which conveyed water to the town from the Pleistus [1]. In the last Sacred War, B. C. 340, the same accusation was preferred against the Amphissenses as against the Crissæi of old, and their works for the restoration of Cirrha were destroyed by the Amphictyones [2]. But on both occasions the destruction of Cirrha, like that of many other places in Greece to which history has ascribed a similar calamity, had evidently only a temporary effect; for Pausanias found Cirrha still existing as the port of Delphi, nor can we hesitate in believing that as such it partook in the prosperity of the sacred city during the eight centuries which succeeded the First Sacred War, when Delphi, with scarcely any intermission, enjoyed opulence and celebrity in the highest degree, and the Pythian Games were frequented by every people of Grecian origin. It was quite otherwise with Crissa, which was reduced to insignificance by Delphi at an early period. Xeropígadho is perhaps the site of Craugallium, the inhabitants of which suffered, together with the Cirrhæi, for having cultivated the sacred land in the time of Solon [3].

Having returned to Xeropígadho, we proceed from thence, in two hours, to Sálona; in three

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.

[2] Strabo, p. 419, mentions Crissa as the place restored, but Æschines (c. Ctesiph.) clearly shows that it was the port Cirrha.

[3] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 498. Harpocrat. in Κραναλλίδαι. Didym. ap. Harpocrat. ibid.

minutes cross the *Pleistus*, then, passing an open part of the *Crissæan* plain, arrive, in seven more, on the left bank of the dry river of Sálona: this we follow through a plantation of olives, and cross it a little below the entrance into the valley of Sálona, where the level on the banks of the river is not so much as a mile in breadth, being bounded by a cliff of the mountain of Krissó on the right, and a projection of other rocky mountains to the left. Beyond this strait the valley widens, the road turns more westward, still through olive-groves, and within two miles of Sálona again traverses an open plain.

The castle of Sálona is an extensive ruin of Frank or lower Greek construction, built upon the remains of the walls of an ancient polis; the keep of the castle occupying the acropolis, and the outer walls following nearly those of the town. Remains of two of the Hellenic towers appear on the descent of the hill towards the north, standing upon the summit of a rocky brow which overhangs the modern houses in that part; so that the ancient city appears to have been of no great dimensions, and to have had an aspect towards the mountains. Under the rocks of the castle to the south issues a very copious spring, pouring through a great number of spouts, and forming a principal source of the river. There is another but scanty spring on the slope of the hill behind the castle. The river receives a branch from the north, but the water is consumed in irrigating the lands in the valley, and except after heavy falls of rain no water reaches the *Pleistus*. Sálona contains 300 Turkish and

four or five hundred Greek families; in the villages of the district all are Greeks. According to a rough calculation of the Khodjá-bashi, there are 100,000 ῥίζαις or roots of olive; that is to say, olive-trees in the district, producing each five litres of 1000 drachms on an average, which gives for the whole produce half a million of litres. It is a good year when they export three ship loads. The oil is excellent. They are now gathering the fruit, which is done in the same manner practised at Athens, by thrashing the boughs with a long stick, the effect of which is to beat off a great number of leaves and small branches. They say it cannot do any harm to the ensuing crop, because the trees produce plentifully only once in two years, without reflecting that this savage mode of gathering the fruit may be a principal cause of the failure of crop in the alternate years. Tobacco is grown in the lands of Topólia and Kolovátes, villages belonging to the district of Sálona, in the adjacent part of *Parnassus*.

In one of the churches of Sálona the Latin inscription is still preserved which was published by Spon and Wheler. The construction of the document is not very clear, but the following is evidently the purport of it. Decimus Secundinus, styling himself vir clarus, proconsul, curator, and defender of the Amphissenses, reminds them that he had before ordered the aqueduct to be cleaned out, and the water to be turned into the old cisterns, and desires that it may now be done immediately. He hopes that they will feel grateful to the happy times and his moderation in not having

confiscated the funds intended for the supply of the public water, which he threatens if a similar interception should recur, and now directs that a lapidary inscription should be placed on the cisterns, stating from whence the water was derived, in order that no means should be left of invading the public property. Finally he desires them to remember that all things are to be finished before the tenth day of the calends of January, calls them to the performance of the work, and bids them farewell [1]. The corrupted Latinity of this inscription resembles that of the age of Diocletian. The form of the V. and E, of which the former is constantly Y, and the latter sometimes ϵ, may be attributed to the engraver having been a Greek. The document is chiefly valuable for the word Amfissensium, leaving no doubt that the site is that of Amphissa, which is otherwise liable to question, as Pausanias places Amphissa at a distance of 120 stades from Delphi, and Æschines only at half that number [2]. But as the latter in-

[1] Decim(us) Secundinus V. C. (vir clarus), Proconsul, Curat(or) et Defens(or) Amfissensium salutem. Ut memini non repurgari modo aqueductum, verum etiam induci aquam jusseram, confestim igitur in veteres cisternas aqua ut semper cucurrerat inducatur. Gratias agentes beatitudini temporis et moderationi meehe (meæ), spero, quod fundus qui aquam publicam occupavit publicus non fit: sane si similis interceptio iterum fieri possit: in cisternis ipsis lapideo titulo posito, unde aqua veniat, adscribete, ut nulla invadendi publicum relinquatur occasio. Memores eritis perfacta maneant omnia ante diem decimum kalendarum Januariarum. Vos ad officium nuntiare debere opto. Bene valeatis.

[2] Pausan. Phocic. c. 38.—Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 515.

terval corresponds to the position of Sálona, and not less so the situation of the place in the midst of mountains, which is said to have been the origin of the name Amphissa, we may conclude that the distance in Pausanias is erroneous.

Strabo asserts that Amphissa was a ruin in his time, and that it had been in that state ever since it was destroyed by the Amphictyones after the second Sacred War[1]; in this, however, as in the instance of Cirrha, he is contradicted by history[2], and particularly by Pausanias, who informs us, that when Augustus founded Patræ he ordered all the towns of the Locri Ozolæ to be dependent upon the new Roman colony, except Amphissa, which, as well as Patræ itself and Nicopolis, then received many inhabitants from the declining Ætolian cities; so that we can hardly doubt that when Strabo wrote, which was very soon afterwards, Amphissa was the most populous place in this part of Greece: before the time of Augustus, indeed, there is reason to believe that it had been in a declining state, for when the Amphissenses had received the Ætolian colony, they detached themselves from Locris and called themselves Ætolians, whence it is probable that the inhabitants were then chiefly composed of the latter people.

Pausanias describes Amphissa as being well adorned with public buildings, but he specifies only the tombs of Amphissa and of Andræmon,

[1] Strabo, pp. 419, 426, 427.

[2] In the year 278 B. C., the Amphissenses supplied 400 infantry against the Gauls at Thermopylæ.

and a temple of Minerva in the citadel, containing an upright statue of the goddess, which although of archaic workmanship, was not in his opinion so old as the Amphissenses pretended, who asserted that it had been brought from Troy by Thoas. On the contrary, Pausanias was persuaded that it was less ancient than a statue which he had seen at Ephesus, made by Rhœcus of Samus, who with Theodorus of the same island invented the art of casting brazen figures, and who lived about the year 700 B. C.

Between Sálona and the pass which separates its plain from that of *Crissa* lie the villages Kuski, St. George, Sergúla, and Sirnakáki, in that order on the slope of the hill which bounds the western side of the valley. This slope is crowned by a rocky brow, in which, between the two last mentioned villages, are cavities called the Portes[1], said to be haunted by dæmons. Above the rocky brow there is a plain of considerable extent, which reaches to the great steeps of the snowy fir-clad summit commonly known by the name of 'Elato[2]; in the middle of this elevated plain stands Aghía Thymía, or Athymía, a small village distant an hour and a half from Sálona, in the road to Galaxídhi, which passes near Kuski. At Athymía are considerable remains of the walls of a Hellenic town, which seems to be the Myonia of Pausanias, described by him as a small inland polis 30 stades from Amphissa, in a lofty position, having a grove and an altar sacred to the gods called Meilichii,

[1] Πόρταις.

[2] στὸν Ἔλατον.

and above the town a temple of Neptune, which had been deprived of its statue[1]. The roads leading from Sálona besides those of *Delphi* and *Myonia*, are, 1. Lidhoríki, 2. a pass not less important than the *Parnassia Nape*, as it conducts to the head of the *Maliac* gulf, and to *Thessaly*. This route ascends a small valley which branches to the north-north-east of that of Sálona, and is watered by a stream which, united with other torrents from the adjacent mountains, joins the river of Sálona. At the extremity of the valley the road mounts the side of *Parnassus* by a steep zig-zag well-paved road, enters a ravine which separates *Parnassus* from the *Locro-Ætolian* range, and descends by a similar ravine to Graviá, the ancient Cytinium.

The nearest point of the Gulf to Sálona is a harbour named Larnáki, beyond which is a cape called Tríporu, separating Larnáki from the bay of Galaxídhi. In a line between Tríporu and the opposite cape near Skliri are two small islands, and close to Galaxídhi is the much larger one of St. George. Larnáki is the skala of Sálona, where its oil is embarked, but the port is frequented only by small vessels, Galaxídhi being the best harbour in this bay, and at present the most frequented in the whole *Corinthiac* gulf. The town is situated on a peninsula, possesses forty ships, and as many coasting boats, and for several years was rapidly increasing in houses and population, until it was checked by the oppression of Alý Pashá, which

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 38.

has driven many of its most industrious inhabitants to Vostítza and Patra.

Some remains of Hellenic walls at Galaxídhi show that it occupies the site of an ancient city, probably Œantheia, which from several authors appears to have been the chief town on this part of the coast of Locris[1]; and from Pausanias to have been the only maritime city in Locris remaining in his time, except Naupactus[2], both these places having probably owed that advantage to the same conveniences of situation and harbour to which the present superiority of 'Epakto and Galaxídhi may be attributed. According to Polybius, Œantheia was opposite to Ægeira, in Achaia[3], which is perfectly suitable to Galaxídhi, with reference to the site of *Ægeira* at Vlogoká. Of Œantheia, Pausanias relates only that it stood on the sea-coast of Locris, and that above the town there was a grove of pine and cypress, containing a temple of Diana, the walls of which were adorned with paintings, almost obliterated by the effects of time. If *Œantheia* was at Galaxídhi, Larnáki, where some Hellenic remains are reported to exist, is probably the site of Chalæum, noticed as a town of Locris by Hecatæus[4] and Thucydides[5]; placed by Ptolemy on the coast between Œantheia of Locris, and Crissa of Phocis[6], and by Pliny at only seven

[1] Hecatæus et Hellanicus ap. Stephan. in Οἰάνθη.—Polyb. l. 4, c. 57; l. 5, c. 17.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.—Mela. l. 2, c. 3.—Polyæn. l. 8, c. 46.

[2] Pausan. Phocic. c. 38.

[3] Polyb. l. 4, c. 57.

[4] Ap. Stephan. in Χάλαιον.

[5] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 101.

[6] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 15.

miles from Delphi [1], which, although considerably too little for the distance of Larnáki from Kastrí, favours at least the supposition that it was in some part of the *Crissæan* bay, not far from *Delphi.* Pliny had perhaps confounded Chalæum with Cirrha, which was about 7 miles from Delphi.

Feb. 11.—This afternoon I make another attempt to ascertain the site of the Hippodrome of the Pythian Games, which, according to Pausanias, was at the foot of the mountain going from Delphi to Cirrha, and I find in a small retired level, called Komára, immediately below Krissó, and inclosed between two projections of its hill, on one of which stands a small church, some ancient squared blocks in the fields, and near them on the foot of the rocks a ruin of small stones and mortar. This κόλπος or bay of the plain which is separated only by the south-eastern of the two projections from the vale of the *Pleistus*, and just at its entrance, leading to *Delphi*, seems to have been admirably adapted to the Hippodrome, as the sides of the hills would accommodate an immense number of spectators; the site is very low and now marshy, but as the Pythian Games were celebrated in the summer, this characteristic of the place was no objection. It is probable that the hippodromes of Greece, like our race-courses, were seldom much indebted

[1] Proximi Ætolis Locri Ozolæ . . . . Ultra Cirrhæi Phocidis campi, oppidum Cirrha, portus Chalæon a quo VII. M. P. introrsus liberum oppidum Delphi.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 3.

to art, and that for this reason little or no remains of them are to be found.

Feb. 12.—From Sálona to Lidhoríki: we set out at 8.15, and immediately ascend the steep mountain at the back of the town, by a winding craggy road. At 9.50 enter the region of firs and snow, and at 10.25 reach the crest of the ridge, where the road passes through a hollow between two of the highest peaks. The view from hence comprehends all the summits of *Ætolia*; the chain of *Locris* and *Doris*, of which this ridge forms one of the links; *Parnassus*, divided from it by the pass of *Cytinium*, and to the right of *Parnassus*, *Helicon*, and the *Oneia* of *Megaris*. Below us is seen the plain of *Amphissa*, and a part of the *Crissæan* Gulf. The pass leads into a narrow vale between fir-clad summits, along which, after a delay of a quarter of an hour, our road proceeds, and then descends by a rocky path to the small village of Karútes, where we arrive at noon precisely. We here come in sight of a deep valley, watered by a river which has its rise in the summit of Mavrolithári, and joins the sea not far eastward of 'Epakto, where it has the name of Mormós or Mornós. Beyond the vale are seen other high mountains, having a direction nearly parallel to these, and comprehending the district of Krávari. Karútes, lying on a frequented dervéni, which takes its name from this place, suffers greatly from Albanian soldiers: the name of Alý Pashá begins again to be mentioned with dread and hatred, and in consequence of his oppressive system, numerous families are continually leaving these parts for the Moréa. In the

church is a fragment of an inscription, in which the following letters only are distinguishable :

ΦΟΙΔΕΛΦΟΝΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝ . . . ΚΑΙ . . .

From Karútes there are two roads to Lidhoríki : one descends a réma below the village, and makes the circuit of the head of a valley in which a torrent flows to Lidhoríki, and from thence to the Mornó ; the other passes over a ridge of the mountains, and descends directly upon that town, which is closely surrounded by lofty hills covered with trees. We take the latter route, leaving Karútes at 12.55, arriving at the top of the ridge at 1.30, and at Lidhoríki[1] at 2.45. The descent is by a steep path through firs, and afterwards over cultivated slopes equally steep.

At Lidhoríki I am lodged in the house of the Voívoda Ferát Agá, who is son of the Diván Efféndi of Alý Pashá, and has thirty or forty dirty ill-clothed Albanians in his service, who as usual are rather troublesome by their inquisitive curiosity, though not uncivil. The Agá's house is in the true Albanian fashion, dirty and comfortless ; but he hospitably resigns to me his only tolerable apartment, where he joins me at the supper which he provides. He states that there are not more than a hundred and twenty houses in the town, all Turkish except about fifteen or twenty ; and that there are upwards of forty villages in the district, all Greek.

One hour from hence, towards Malandrína, he

[1] *Λοιδωρίκιον.*

describes some ruins of a Hellenic castle, at the village of Paradhísia [1], and another at a place called Polypórtu, on the sea shore, half an hour below Petrinítza or Vetronítza, which is four hours distant from Lidhoríki. In Trazónia, an island off the coast, are some remains of the same kind as those found in the islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Aspra Spítia, probably Christian and Monastic. Half an hour beyond Paradhísia are seen some remains of foundations, and there are others at a khan and church on the outside of the town of Malandrína. Both these seem, by the description of Ferát Agá, to be Hellenic. The river which near 'Epakto bears the name of Mornó, is here more commonly called Méga, or the Great; it rises on the southern face of the highest summit of *Œta*, flows along the eastern side of Mount Vardhúsi in a deep valley included between that summit and those called Sykiá and Kióna, which form the chain extending northward from Sálona and Lidhoríki, and are separated from *Parnassus* by the pass of *Cytinium*. After receiving two other streams near Lidhoríki, the Méga passes through a narrow strait, and from thence traverses a region which, though entirely mountainous, is by no means uncultivated; after which it again passes through a narrow opening in the mountains, much longer than the former, and bordered by very lofty precipices, and then, after crossing a narrow maritime plain, joins the sea at the distance of one hour to the eastward of 'Epakto.

[1] Παραδίσια.

On the western side of Mount Vardhúsi originates the Fidhári or *Evenus*, the course of which is at first westerly, dividing the district of Karpenísi from that of Krávari: afterwards south-west, dividing Apókuro from Krávari, and at length issuing from the mountains into the paralian plain of Bokhóri at Kurtagá, the site of *Calydon*, where it divides Kárlili from Venétiko. From Krávari the *Evenus* receives many streams, but its most distant source, like that of the Mornó, is in the highest summits of Mount *Œta*.

Feb. 13.—Proceeding from Lidhoríki this morning at eight, we follow a torrent which flows through the town, and which, increased by another collected in the ravines to the south of Lidhoríki, unites with the Mega half an hour below the town. This river then passes through the Stenó, or strait already mentioned, which is a short rocky gorge formed by the projections of the two mountains, where the river is crossed by a bridge of a single arch, founded at either end on the rocks. Having sent my baggage horses by the direct route across the bridge to the right bank of the Mega, I turn off to the right of the road to examine a Paleókastro standing on the point which forms the right bank of the Stenó. At 8.45, ford the Mega; which according to my Lidhorikiote guide, has its sources partly in Mount Dremtja, probably Τρέμτζα, which adjoins Mount Katavóthra, but is supplied also from the summits near Mavrolithári.

At the foot of the hill of the Paleó-kastro, we cross the river Velúkhi by a bridge. This stream, which joins the Mega just below the place where we crossed it, issues from the mountain at less than

a mile above the Paleókastro, and is so copious in times of rain, that together with the Mega it overflows the whole valley. The Velúkhi, from this circumstance, seems to be the emissory of a katavóthra. The ancient city, which was of considerable extent, occupied all the north-eastern face of the hill looking towards the valley of the Mega. Its walls, which are of the third order, are traceable in the whole circumference, and remain, to a considerable height, in the lower part of the site: on the summit of the hill are the ruins of a modern castle. The position is the extreme point of the range of Vardhúsi, between which and another parallel but lower mountain, called Vlakho-vúni, flows the Kókkino, or Red river, a stream nearly as large as the Mega, and which joins it immediately below the Stenó. Thus the city was defended by two large streams on the east, a third on the west, and a fourth flowing through a rocky opening on the south.

On the bank of the Velúkhi are a khan and some mills; the place is called Velúkhovo[1], and the ruins Xuriá[2].

The sons of Alý Pashá sometimes come here in summer to make keif[3], that is, to feast and be merry, when it is happy for the villages around if they are not called upon to contribute something more than mere provisions.

From the Paleó-kastro I proceed to rejoin my baggage at the end of the Stenó, and then crossing the Kókkino at 9.50, descend a narrow valley grown with kalambókki, and at 10.25 enter a ravine between woody hills, where the Mornó, increased to a large river by the junction of the Kókkino, flows along the bottom with great rapidity. Having forded it at 11.20, we continue our route on the left bank, through a forest of oak, ilex, and prinári, in which we cross many streams rushing from the mountains on the left to join the main river. At 12, a lofty peaked mountain, which gives rise to one of these tributaries, is three miles on the left; on the other side of it is the town of Malandrína. The road now recedes from the river, mounts the hills, which are steep, uncultivated, and covered with small meagre oaks[4], and be-

[1] Names of Bulgaric origin, derived from a word meaning *white*. Mount *Tymphrestus* was undoubtedly named Velúkhi, from its being generally covered with snow; the river from the colour of the waters in times of rain.

[2] Ξουριὰς τὸ κάστρον, a common name in Greece for ancient ruins.

[3] ἐδὼ κάμνουν τὸ κέφι στὸ καλοκαίρι.

[4] δένδρα.

comes so extremely bad that the wretched menzíl horses of Lidhoríki are unable to keep up with the walk of the Albanian escort, which the Vóivoda insisted upon my taking, though he would not allow that any robbers dared to make their ap pearance in his district. At 1.50, after a very tedious ascent, we arrive at the khan of Paleuxári, so called from a village of that name situated not far below it, and of which the cultivated grounds descend in the form of terraces to the bank of the Mornó. A similar slope rises from the opposite bank of the river, to a lofty ridge in the district of Krávari, which unites Vlakho-vuni with the summits terminating in the maritime peaks opposite to Patra.

The general direction of our route from Lidhoríki is towards the great opening before alluded to, through which the Mornó passes to the sea-coast, and which separates the termination of the mountains we are following, from the south-eastern end of another mountain called Makrývoro. The summit of Mount Kakí-skala, opposite Patra, appears through the opening. The only village in sight is Vetolísta, not far from the left bank of a large branch of the Mornó, which descending from Mount Makrývoro in a direction at first eastward, and then southward, forms in the latter part of its course the boundary of Krávari and Lidhoríki. Below the junction of this stream with the Mornó, the Mornó itself is the boundary of the two districts, as far as the gorge at the end of Makrývoro. Above Vetolísta, the boundary is about midway between the summits of Mounts Vlakhovúni and

Dúrdjova[1], which last is midway between the former and Makrývoro. Quitting the khan at 2.40, we continue to pass through oak forests and rugged muddy paths until 3.30, when we arrive at a ridge from whence the road begins to descend towards the sea-coast, and from whence there is an interesting view of the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth, with its two castles, and the coast of the Moréa as far as Cape *Araxus* and the sea near Khlomútzi. On the descent, at an hour and a half short of the maritime plain, the day is so advanced that it becomes necessary to consider where we shall halt for the night, 'Epakto being too distant, and there being no intermediate place on the road, except a ξηροχάνι, or dry khan, that is to say, where no persons are in attendance, and, what is more important, where no provisions can be obtained for the cattle. After a debate of twenty minutes, it is resolved to go to the monastery of Varnákova, which is situated on the summit of a steep ridge, among the oak forests to the right. A Turk, who owns most of the horses, consents, with great reluctance, to this movement, as increasing our distance. He is overruled, however, by the Albanian soldiers, and after mounting through the forest, and over some steep hills, among which we pass by a zevgaláti, or farm of the Monastery, we arrive at the latter at 6.15: my baggage half an hour after.

Admittance is refused on the plea of orders given by the Vóivoda himself not to open the doors after

[1] Τούρτζοβα.

sunset. Another conference, therefore, arises on this question, which the fears of the monks, the national love of argument, and the inconvenience of parleying through the door, render very long, but above all, the difficulty of making them understand the nature of such anomalous characters as myself and attendants, no such having ever before been seen in these mountains. At length some of my escort being well known to the Albanian garrison within, the doors are opened, after a delay of an hour and a half, and not before I had spread my mattress on the ground, prepared to pass the night on the outside.

Between monks and Albanian soldiers the house is well filled: to the latter it affords good quarters, and a convenient post for their operations against the thieves, who are thus completely deprived of the assistance of the monks, formerly one of their best resources.

The monastic establishment amounts to thirty, of whom more than half are cosmics. In their savage and dirty appearance they rival their Albanian garrison, though it would seem that the finances of the monastery are not in a bad state, as they are now engaged in building a new church.

Feb. 14.—Varnákova stands in the midst of a forest of small oaks, in a very lofty situation. Its cultivated fields, mixed with pasture and woodland, occupy the declivities of the mountain as far as the river Mornó, beyond which there is a large metókhi similarly surrounded. These, with threshing floors and magazines dispersed among the fields, form an agreeable scene, and show that the monks

have hitherto been enabled to cultivate their lands, notwithstanding the robbers who infest these mountains. But Alý Pashá and his agents are much greater enemies to such property than the kleftes. The monks assert, that Ferát Agá has lately robbed them of three tjiftlíks and nine purses of money. They point out the situation of a Hellenic ruin a little below the junction of the stream which descends from Mount Makrývoro and passes near Vetolísta. Between this point and Paleuxári is Lykokhóri, belonging to Ferát Agá.

Having returned to the Zevgaláti, we proceed from thence into the high road at a spot half an hour in advanee of the place where we left it yesterday evening. Here, at 8.45, on the summit of the ridge to the right, and just opposite to the Zevgaláti, are the remains of a Hellenic fortress. Towards the sea the hill presents a steep rocky precipice, but in the opposite direction, or that of the Zevgaláti, falls gently to a small torrent. The slope is entirely covered with the fragments of buildings, among which are some wrought stones, and the summit of the height retains considerable vestiges of an acropolis. The masonry is of that ruder sort which is often found in the mountainous regions and small towns of Greece, the stones being smaller, narrower, and less carefully wrought than was customary in the better kinds of Hellenic masonry. In descending from this ridge towards the sea coast, Mount Trikorfú is a conspicuous object on the left: our path, which is steep and rugged, passes through a woody uncultivated tract.

At 9.25 we again arrive at a place where are

many squared stones, and a little farther some other similar indications of an ancient site, but as the form of the ground does not resemble that of a polis, I am inclined to think that there was nothing here but a fortress, dependent, perhaps, upon the larger place which occupied the commanding position on the summit of the pass. At 10.15 we reach the foot of the mountain, at a place called Magúla, where is some cultivated land around a khan which has been lately built by the Vóivoda of Lidhoríki, and is hence named the Khan of Ferát Agá. It stands on the edge of a narrow plain two miles long, bounded by the mountains we have descended, towards the north; and on the opposite side by a range of lower heights, beyond which is a maritime plain, forming part of the territory of 'Epakto. On the highest of the latter hills, and on the last towards the river Mornó, stands a Hellenic castle.

At 11.20 we pursue our route down the plain: at 11.38 cross a stream, the source of which, named Ambla, is at the foot of the mountain hard by, and is said never to fail in summer. After being joined by a torrent, which is dry in that season, though now containing water, the united stream flows out of the plain through a gorge to our right, and then crosses the maritime plain to the Mornó. At 11.48 we arrive at the foot of the height, upon which the Paleókastro stands: its walls were of the third species of masonry, and it occupied only the round summit of the hill.

At 12.15 we enter the plain here called Pilála, and which, under different names, extends from

'Epakto nearly as far as the foot of Mount Trikorfú : at 12.28 recross the Ambla, just before its junction with the Mornó, and at 12.32 begin to ford that river just at its issue from the great ravine already described as being at the eastern end of Mount Makrývoro. The opening is about two miles in length, and affords no passage, but along the bed of the river ; and as this consists of a wide extent of gravel separated by many streams, which in seasons of rain unite into one, the river when in that state can neither be crossed nor the ravine passed longitudinally ; at present there is no difficulty in passing in either direction. Below the opening the river spreads to a great breadth, and in crossing the plain bends towards 'Epakto, joining the sea at about two miles from that town. At a mile from its mouth, on the left bank, stands the village of Malámata. We are ten minutes in fording the several streams and intermediate strips of gravel, after which we pass along the foot of Mount Rígani, a lofty summit forming a part of the mass of Makrývoro, and rising immediately above 'Epakto. As the name Rígani is of Hellenic derivation, and derived from the plant origanum, this perhaps was the ancient appellation of the mountain, though it nowhere occurs in history. A little eastward of 'Epakto a plentiful source of water issues from the mountain, turns mills, waters gardens, and then joins the sea. We enter the gate of the fortress at 1.50. Our horses are so nearly at the extent of their powers, that our pace has been slower than it was yesterday.

Naupactus, though chiefly deriving its import-

ance in the meridian ages of Hellenic history from its harbour at the entrance of the Corinthiac Gulf, was indebted probably for its earliest foundation to its strong hill, fertile plains, and copious supply of running water. The plain on the western side of the town, which extends to Mount Kakiskála, is about a mile in width in the part near the town. It is covered with olives and corn-fields, together with some vineyards. Pilála to the eastward is bare, but produces maize, cotton, and a few vines, which, as usual among the continental Greeks, are in low marshy situations, though experience constantly shows that good wine is grown only on the hills. But such situations require more labour than the plains; the latter yield larger fruit and more plentiful crops, and there is no sufficient demand in Greece for the wine of higher price, which would be the produce of the heights.

The fortress and town occupy the south-eastern and southern sides of a hill which is one of the roots of Mount Rígani, and reaches down to the sea, separating the plain of Pilála from that towards the castle of Rúmili and Mount Kakiskála. The place is fortified in the manner which was common among the ancients in positions similar to that of 'Epakto, that is to say, it occupies a triangular slope with a citadel at the apex, and one or more cross walls on the slope, dividing it into subordinate inclosures. At 'Epakto there are no less than five inclosures between the summit and the sea, with gates of communication from the one to the other, and a side gate on the west leading

out of the fortress from the second inclosure on the descent. It is not improbable that the modern walls follow exactly the ancient plan of the fortress, for in many parts they stand upon Hellenic foundations, and even retain large pieces of the ancient masonry amidst the modern work. The present town occupies only the lowest inclosure; in the middle of which is the small harbour which made so great a figure in ancient history: it is now choked with rubbish, and is incapable of receiving even the larger sort of boats which navigate the gulf.

'Epakto contains within its walls about 400 Turkish families, and 30 of Jews. The Turks live in ruinous houses in misery and poverty, too proud to work, and by their insolence and oppression preventing the Greeks from settling here. The latter, as usual in the fortified towns of Turkey, are not permitted to reside within the walls; their houses form a suburb on either side, in each of which are about 100 houses, but not more than half of them are now inhabited. The Greeks are employed only in cultivating the gardens and the orange and lemon plantations, which would flourish here by means of the plentiful supply of water, if the lawless, hungry attendants of the Pashá did not destroy and consume every thing before it comes to maturity. Such is the misery of the place that W., the same medical practitioner whom I left last year at Marathonísi, and who has transferred his services from the Maniátes to the Pashá of 'Epakto, complains that neither herbs, nor oil, nor wine, are to be bought

here, or nearer than Patra; and that he pays 24 parás an oke for the flesh of an old goat, while 20 is the price of the best mutton in the latter town.

Feb. 15.—I visit Musa Pashá, and his Kiayá, who is also Hasnadár; the Kiayá first, according to custom. Musa was governor of Saloníki, and was sent here as a kind of exile. He is chiefly supported by contributions from the neighbouring districts, and even from Vostítza, and some other places in the Moréa. The Pashalík formerly included all the country as far as the Sanjáks of Artá and 'Egripo, and thus comprehended the greater part of *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Locris*. But Alý Pashá has reduced it to little beyond the walls of this town. Musa is of a Larissæan family, and has 150 purses a year in land in the Mollalík. 'Epakto brings him in as much more; but the demands of the Porte, and the presents which he is obliged to make there, render him so poor, that, according to the expression of my informant, his piláv is made with oil for want of butter. His servants, not without the connivance of their master, lately stole some fire-wood which had been prepared at Psathó-pyrgo by Mr. S., our consul at Patra, to be embarked for Malta; the quantity taken has sufficed for the whole winter consumption of the Pashá's hamâm and kitchen. He is now endeavouring to accumulate a sufficiency of purses to purchase the Pashalík of the Moréa for the next year. His money must be ready for the approaching Bairám, when the list of governors in office is presented to the Sultán, who declares

the changes at the Kurbán Bairám seventy days after the former. The Porte has lately demanded from Musa between forty and fifty thousand piastres' worth of corn to be sent to Constantinople, allowing, according to custom, a price to the growers, for which they can hardly raise it. The Pashá, as usual with Turks in adversity, is very humble and civil. Like the generality of those in high station, both he and his Kiayá have some pretensions to science, the Kiayá talks geography and politics, the Pashá medicine.

The richest Turkish proprietor in 'Epakto is Adém Bey, whose father was Pashá; he has upwards of 150 purses a year, and has the character of a Φιλόξενος, spending his income in hospitality. He has lately built a house here which, although little better than a *Frank* barn in workmanship and materials, is considered as something extraordinary; but building is very costly in Greece, as well on account of the high price of mechanical labour, as because plank, glass, nails, every thing but the stone and mortar, comes from Trieste and Fiume. A tolerable house cannot be built under 10,000 piastres, which, although not more than £.600 sterling, is a large sum for this poor country.

Feb. 16.—Embark at 'Epakto for the Moréa Castle[1].

The route which I have just followed from Sálona to 'Epakto was chiefly undertaken with a view to illustrate a part of the history of Thucydides, which contains, with the exception of a passage

[1] For the sequel, see *Travels in the Morea*, vol. ii. ch. 15.

in Livy, and a few words by the geographical writers, almost all that the ancients have left us, descriptive of the interior of Locris and Ætolia. In the summer of the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, Demosthenes, commander of the Athenian fleet, being then at Leucas, resolved upon an invasion of Ætolia; and in the autumn of the same year, a body of Lacedæmonian allies, under the Spartan Eurylochus, marched from Delphi through Locris to Naupactus, from whence they proceeded to Calydon [1]. The ultimate object of the expedition of Demosthenes was the same as that which he again attempted without success in the eighth year of the war, when it led to the battle of Delium, being no less than to subjugate, or at least to gain over to the Athenian cause, the whole of Bœotia. The Messenians of Naupactus recommended him to begin by invading the Apodoti, then to reduce the Ophionenses, and lastly the Eurytanes. He expected to derive great assistance from the Locri, in consequence of their knowledge of the country, and because they resembled the Ætolians in their armour and mode of fighting. They were to join him when he had made some progress in the interior of Ætolia, after which it was his intention to pass through Locris to Cytinium in Doris, and then to enter Phocis, where he thought that the cities, if not inclined to assist him, might be easily forced to do so. Having effected these objects he would be enabled to attempt Bœotia in concert with the Athenians acting on the Attic

[1] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 94. 100.

frontier of Bœotia. The scheme failed, because the Ætolians, like the Bœotians in the eighth year of the war, had obtained information of his design, but his first disappointment occurred before he had quitted the coast of Acarnania, the people of which province, offended with him for having favoured the Messenians of Naupactus by the expedition into Ætolia instead of attending to their own wishes of besieging Leucas when he was lying before it with his fleet, refused to join him with their forces. He nevertheless proceeded to Naupactus, and with an army composed only of Messenians of Naupactus, of 300 Athenian epibatæ from his own ships, and a body of Cephallenes and Zacynthii, began his march into Ætolia from Œneon of Locris [1].

Setting out at the dawn of day from the temple of Jupiter Nemeius, where his troops had passed the night, he marched to Potidania [2], which he captured the same day: on the second he took Crocylium, on the third Tichium. Not having yet been joined by the Locri Ozolæ, of whose light-armed and javelin-men he was greatly in need [3],

[1] Thucydides does not state where Demosthenes landed; it might even be inferred that the landing was at Sollium in Acarnania, where he met the Acarnanians and received their refusal; but this is very unlikely. He probably landed either at Naupactus or at Œneon itself, which Stephanus, referring to this passage in Thucydides, describes as a *harbour* of Locris.

[2] c. 96. This Æolic form of Posidonia would seem to show that a colony of Æolic race had settled here, probably from Elis. The country comprehending Calydon, and Pleuron were named Æolis from the same cause.—Thucyd. l. 3, c. 102. — Strabo, p. 465.— Hesych. in *Αἰολικὸν θέαμα*.

[3] *ψιλῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν*.— Thucyd. l. 3, c. 97.

he halted at Tichium, and sent his booty to Eupalium, in Locris, intending to retire upon Naupactus, and from thence to take a new departure against the Ophionenses, if they should not previously have submitted [1]. Having been persuaded, however, by the Messenians to continue his proceedings against the Ætolian towns without waiting for the Locri, he captured Ægitium, a town in a mountainous situation, 80 stades from the sea. But the inhabitants, who had retired and posted themselves on the neighbouring hills, having been joined by a large force of Ætolians, and even by the Ophionenses of Bomi and Callium, who dwelt towards the Maliac gulf [2], they attacked the Athenians incessantly on every side. When by their superiority in missiles they had exhausted the arrows of the bowmen of Demosthenes, they harassed his hoplitæ, who being unable to close with them, were forced at length to retreat in disorder. Their Messenian guide having been killed, some fell into narrow ravines, where they were overtaken by the Ætolians and slain; others took refuge in a wood which the enemy set fire to; the survivors, with great difficulty, reached Œneon and the sea [3]. Of the Athenian hoplitæ, 120 were slain, with Procles one of the commanders. Demosthenes received his dead under truce, retired

[1] *ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο συγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας, στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον.*—c. 96.

[2] *οἱ ἔσχατοι Ὀφιονέων, οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς, ἐβοήθησαν.*

[3] *μόλις τε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθεν περ καὶ ὡρμήθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον.*—c. 98.

to Naupactus, and remained there while the ships returned to Athens.

Before this event the Ætolians had sent an embassy to Sparta, to desire the assistance of the Lacedæmonians against Naupactus, and a force was in consequence collected towards the autumn at Delphi, under Eurylochus and two other Spartans, consisting of 3000 hoplitæ of the allies of Sparta, among whom were 500 of Heracleia Trachinia, which city had been lately founded or rather re-established by a Lacedæmonian colony. The Locri Ozolæ, although they had been so recently united with the Athenians, not only consented to the march of Eurylochus through Locris, but even delivered hostages to him, the people of Amphissa being the first to set the example, fearful of a joint attack in case of refusal, from the Lacedæmonians and from the Phocenses, who were their enemies. Their example was followed by the neighbouring town of Myonia which commanded the entrance into Locris[1], then by Ipnus, Messapia, Triteia, Chalæum, Tolophon, Hessus or Essus, Œanthe, Olpæ, and Hyle[2]. All these places sent their forces to Eurylochus as he advanced, except the two last; Hyle even refused to give securities until Polis, one of its dependencies, had been taken. The hostages

[1] *ταύτῃ γὰρ δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς.*—c. 101.

[2] For the orthography of most of the towns of the Ozolæ, see Stephanus in *Ἴπνος, Τρίτεια, Χάλαιον, Τολοφών, Ἴσσος, Οἰάνθη, Ὕλη, Εὐπυλία, Οἰνεών*. There cannot be a question that *Ὑαῖοι*, or *Ὑϊαῖοι*, in our copies of Thucydides, ought to be *Ὑλαῖοι*, which Stephanus shows to have been the gentile of this Hyle.

having been sent to Cytinium in Doris, Eurylochus marched through Locris, took Œneon and Eupalium, two towns of the Locri which had not before submitted, and entered the Naupactia, where he was joined by the Ætolians. He then made himself master of Molycrium, and of an unwalled suburb of Naupactus, and would have taken the city itself had not Demosthenes opportunely prevailed upon the Acarnanes to send thither 1000 hoplitæ by sea. Having failed in his principal design, Eurylochus marched forward to Calydon, Pleuron, and Proschium, from whence he dismissed the Ætolians, and where he remained with his other forces at the persuasion of the Ambraciotæ, for the purpose of assisting them against Amphilochia.

There is reason to believe that the territory of Œneon bordered immediately upon that of Naupactus. Thucydides remarks that the Nemeium of Œneon, from whence Demosthenes commenced his march, was the place where the poet Hesiod was said to have been killed; and Pausanias, in speaking of the sepulchre of Hesiod, at Orchomenus in Bœotia, asserts that his bones had been brought thither from the Naupactia [1]. It might be presumed indeed, that Œneon was distant from the eastern frontier, from its having refused to join the other cities of Locris, and resisted Eurylochus until he marched against it. The river Mornó therefore probably separated the territory of *Œneon* from the *Naupactia*; *Œneon* stood per-

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 31. 38.—Procl. in vitâ Hesiod.

haps at Magúla, or near the fountain Ambla, and the paleó kastro may have been the fortified enclosure of the *Nemeium*.

The ancient city on the summit of the ridge, near the zevgaláti of Varnákova, was probably *Ægitium*, for those remains are at the distance from the sea, mentioned by the historian, and they are on the side of the Mornó, which his narrative seems also to require, since had Ægitium been to the westward of the difficult straits, through which that river emerges into the maritime plain, it would have been much easier for the routed Athenians to have retreated upon Naupactus than upon Œneon. It could not well have been *Potidania*, for that town was near Eupalium, as appears from Livy, in the narrative which he gives on the authority of Polybius, of a descent made upon this coast by Philip, son of Demetrius, in the year B.C. 207 [1]. And that Eupalium was near the sea, and the chief town of Locris, intermediate between Œantheia and Naupactus, seems evident from the two historians compared with Strabo [2]. On the other

[1] Inde navibus acceptis ab Achæis (erant autem tres quadriremes et biremes totidem) Anticyram trajecit; inde quadriremibus septem et lembis viginti amplius, quos ut adjungeret Carthaginiensium classi, miserat in Corinthium sinum, profectus ad Erythras Ætolorum, quæ prope Eupalium sunt, exscensionem fecit. Haud fefellit Ætolos: nam hominum, quod aut in agris aut in propinquis castellis Potidaniæ atque Apolloniæ fuit, in silvas montesque refugit. Pecora, quæ inter festinationem abigi nequierant, sunt direpta et in naves compulsa. Cum his ceterâque prædâ . . quum Corinthum petisset, &c. — Liv. l. 28, c. 8.

[2] Ἡ δὲ Ἄμφισσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις ἵδρυται τοῦ Κρισσαίου

hand, that it was towards the western extremity of Locris, seems evident from its having resisted Eurylochus together with Œneon, from its having been chosen by Demosthenes as the place of deposit for his plunder, from its having been in the hands of the Ætolians when their power was greatest, and when they naturally became masters of this narrow western extremity of Locris, which comprehended only the territory of a few maritime towns; as well as from Strabo, who describes Ætolia Epictetus as bordering upon Locris near Naupactus and Eupalium. *Eupalium*, therefore, I conceive, stood in the plain of Marathiá, opposite to the islands Trisónia or Trazónia, where some ruins of an ancient city still exist on the eastern side of the plain, at no great distance from the sea. *Erythræ* was probably its harbour. *Potidania* seems to have bordered on Eupalium, towards the interior. *Crocylium* and *Tichium* were fortresses still farther in the same direction, probably in the valley of the Mornó, where the ruins near Lykokhóri may correspond to one of them. That valley having a direction nearly parallel to the sea-coast, was speedily attained from *Potidania*, and was conveniently situated for that retreat upon Naupactus, which Demosthenes had intended before his attack of Ægitium.

The ruins at Velúkhovo seem to be those of the

πεδίου . . . . καὶ Οἰάνθεια καὶ Εὐπάλιον Λοκρῶν εἰσιν. Ὁ δὲ παράπλους πᾶς ὁ Λοκρικὸς μικρὸν ὑπερβάλλει τῶν διακοσίων σταδίων.—Strabo, p. 427.

Ἐπίκτητον δὲ (τὴν Αἰτωλίαν) τὴν τοῖς Λοκροῖς συνάπτουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ Ναύπακτόν τε καὶ Εὐπάλιον—p. 450.

frontier town of the *Locri*, towards Ætolia and Doris, which latter district separated the Western Locri, or Ozolæ, from the Eastern or Epicnemidii [1]. The following reasons favour the opinion, that it was *Hyle*. 1. *Hyle* is a name very appropriate to such a wild country as that around Velúkhovo, and which was probably in early times still more of a forest than it is at present. 2. The resistance of Hyle to Eurylochus, until he had taken its dependent fortress Polis, and his having found it expedient to obtain hostages from Hyle, before he commenced his march through Locris, are strong indications of the importance of Hyle, as well as that it was near Amphissa and the Phocian frontier. 3. The Mornó being the only stream worthy of notice on the coast between the *Evenus* and the *Crissæan* Gulf, can alone correspond to the *Hylæthus*, or *Hylætus*, noticed by Dicæarchus as a river in this part of the country, and which probably derived its name from Hyle [2]. Dicæarchus is undoubtedly adverse to this supposition, inasmuch as he places a great harbour and the city Tolophon between Naupactus and the Hylæ-

[1] Strabo, p. 425, 427.

[2] Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἡ Λοκρὶς καλουμένη
Ἐν ᾗ πόλις Ναύπακτος, εἶθ' ὑποκείμενος
Λιμὴν μέγας, πόλις τε Τολοφών· μετὰ δὲ τὴν
Τολοφῶνα ποταμός ἐσθ' Ὕλαιθος [*al.* Ὕλαιτος] λεγόμενος.
Τοῦτον δὲ ῥεῖν λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰτωλίας.
Ὁ πᾶς δὲ παράπλους οὐδ' ὅλης ἐσθ' ἡμέρας.
Οὗτοι κατοικοῦσιν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
Αἰτωλίας, Λέλεγες τὸ πρὶν κεκλημένοι.—Dicæarch. v. 64.

Hylæthus was originally perhaps Hylæus in the Æolic form, that is to say, with a digamma separating the vowels.

thus, which, if this river be identified with the Mornó, is incredible in so short a distance: on the other hand, his remark that the Hylæthus was said to flow from Ætolia, implies a large river having distant sources, and thus accords with the Mornó, which, with the exception of its most eastern branch, originating in *Doris*, has its sources entirely in *Ætolia*, whereas no stream to the eastward of the Mornó can have any part of its course in *Ætolia*. If we suppose *Hyle* to have stood at Velúkhovo, where the chief branches of the river collect into one great stream, nothing is more likely than that the river should have taken its name from the town which stood at that remarkable confluence. *Polis* may, perhaps, have occupied the site of Karútes, which commanded the pass leading from *Amphissa* to the supposed site of *Hyle*, and where I found a fragment of a Greek inscription.

If the ruins on the eastern side of the plain opposite to the islands Trazónia are those of *Eupalium*, *Tolophon* having been the other most important town on or near the *Locrian* coast, probably occupied the valley of Kiselí, that being the district of greatest capability next to the plain around the supposed *Eupalium*. There are two other places on this part of the *Locrian* coast, where I have undoubted information of the existence of Hellenic remains. One of these is at Víthari, at a short distance from the sea on the western side of Cape Andhromákhi, the other named Polypórtu is on the shore below Vetronítza, on the eastern side of Cape Psaromýti. Of the latter it is difficult to offer any conjecture, and possibly it may only have been the

port or maritime fortress of *Tolophon*, the place being only an hour distant from Kiselí. As to the remains at Víthari there is some reason to believe that they mark the site of *Phæstus*, for the port of Apollo Phæstius, so called apparently from a temple of Apollo which stood there, seems from Pliny to have been near Œantheia, and as Phæstus although included by the same writer among the towns of the interior[1], is not one of the Locrian cities enumerated by Thucydides, we may infer that it was no more than a subordinate place of the district of *Œantheia*. This accords with the ruins at Víthari, which are those of a fortress of no great extent. The port of *Apollo* was probably very near Cape Andhromákhi. *Triteia* being described by Stephanus as between Phocis and the Locri Ozolæ[2], would seem to have been not far from *Delphi* and *Amphissa*, on the edge, perhaps, of the plain of Sálona. There still remain among the Locrian cities named by Thucydides, some of which the positions are unaccounted for, namely, Messapia, Hessus and Olpæ, to which may be added from Pliny, Argyna and Calamissus. *Olpæ*, being a name generally attached to a pass, or commanding elevation, may have been at Pendórnia, which commands the pass leading

[1] Proximi Ætolis Locri, qui cognominantur Ozolæ, immunes. Oppidum Œanthe. Portus Apollinis Phæstii, sinus Crissæus. Intus oppida Argyna, Eupalia, Phæstum, Calamissus. Ultra Cirrhæi Phocidis campi, oppidum Cirrha, portus Chalæon, a quo VII. M.P. introrsus liberum oppidum Delphi.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 3.

[2] μεταξὺ Φωκίδος καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν. Stephan. in Τρίτεια.

from Athymía or *Myonia* to Víthari, over the mountains which terminate in Cape Andhromákhi, and where I am informed that some Hellenic remains are observable[1]. Paradhísia and Malandrína are probably the sites of two of the other ancient towns just named. I have before alluded to an *Anticyra* of *Locris*, which was not far to the eastward of Naupactus, and situated so near the shore, that Lævinus battered the walls from his ships. It is not improbable that Klima, where some Hellenic vestiges exist, was the site of that town, and that the lake which now separates Klima from the sea, may, as in many similar places on the coast of Greece, have been an harbour or navigable bay.

The part of Ætolia which Demosthenes invaded was the Eastern portion of the province denominated Epictetus or the acquired; ancient Ætolia, according to Strabo, having comprehended only the maritime country from the Achelous to the Evenus, together with the fertile interior plain containing Stratus and Trichonium[2]. The three principal tribes of Ætolia Epictetus, were the Apodoti, the Ophienses, or Ophionenses, and the Eurytanes. It is evident from Thucydides, that

[1] My information on the situation of the Hellenic remains on the coast of western *Locris*, I have lately been enabled to correct by the kindness of George Finlay, Esq. who has travelled by land from Sálona to 'Epakto by the coast road. Víthari is written Dhídhavra in the map accompanying "Travels in the Moréa;" I am not certain which is the correct sound.

[2] Strabo, p. 450.

the Apodoti bordered upon Locris, and the Ophienses on the Œtæi, Ænianes, and Dryopes; the Eurytanes therefore were situated to the northward of the great Ætolian plain, having been surrounded on the other sides by the Aperantes, Agræi, Athamanes, Dolopes, Dryopes, and Ophienses [1]. The *Eurytanes* thus possessed the great central summit anciently called Panætolicum and now Viéna, with the greater part of Vlokhó, and all the country watered by the tributaries of the *Achelous* which descend from the range of *Panætolicum*, from *Tymphrestus*, which was itself in *Dryopis* [2], and from the mountains of 'Agrafa. The extent of country thus occupied by them, and its position in the centre of the continent, accord perfectly with Thucydides, from whom it appears that they were the most numerous, least known, and most uncivilized of the Ætolian tribes.

Many remains still exist of the towns of *Ætolia Epictetus*, but very few of their names are to be found in history. In the country of the Apodoti were those mentioned by Thucydidés. In that of the Ophienses, Bomi and Callium are the only two known from history. Agrinium, Thestia, and Thermus seem to have belonged to Eurytania, and Strabo informs us that Œchalia was a city in the same division of Ætolia [3]. It is very possible that a careful examination of the country might ascertain the exact site of all these places. Bomi was

[1] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 94, et seq. Strabo, p. 450, 451.

[2] Strabo, p. 433.

[3] Strabo, p. 448.

situated near the sources of the Evenus[1], and Callium, not far to the south-westward of *Hypata* of the *Æniane*s, now Neópatra, as seems evident from a comparison of Thucydides with the narrative given by Pausanias of the expedition of the Gauls against Callium, when they were encamped before Thermopylæ, and whence there remains little doubt that Callium was the same place as the Callipolis of Livy.

That historian relates that in the year B. C. 191, when Manius Acilius Glabrio had defeated Antiochus at Thermopylæ and taken Heracleia, he offered sacrifices to Hercules on that summit of Œta which was called Pyra from being the spot where Hercules was said to have destroyed himself on a burning pile of wood; and that from Pyra the consul moved forward to Corax, a very high mountain lying between Callipolis and Naupactus[2], which he crossed with great difficulty and loss of beasts of burthen. His route was probably by the vale of the Vistrítza into that of the Kókkino, over the ridges which connect Velúkhi with Vardhúsi, but very near the latter mountain, which is thus identified with *Corax*. From the vale of the Kókkino, the consul followed doubtless that of the Mornó towards *Naupactus*.

[1] *ὁ δ' Εὔηνος ποταμὸς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Βωμιέων, τῶν ἐν Ὀφιεῦσιν.* Strabo, p. 451.— *Βωμοὶ, λόφοι Αἰτωλίας, οἱ κατοικοῦντες Βωμιεῖς.* — Stephan. in voce.

[2] Inter Callipolim et Naupactum. Liv. l. 36, c. 30. These words are exactly taken from Polybius, as appears from Stephanus in *Κόραξ*. *Κόραξ, ὄρος μεταξὺ Καλλιπόλεως καὶ Ναυπάκτου. Πολύβιος εἰκοστῷ.*

The Romans found the passage of Mount Corax so difficult even with the advantage of an advanced body to clear the way, that Acilius did not venture to repeat the experiment, when, in the following year, the Ætolians, who had offered no opposition on the former occasion, occupied the mountain in the expectation that the Romans would return to the siege of Naupactus by the same route; instead of which Acilius, after having taken Lamia, crossed Mount Œta from Heracleia and marched to *Amphissa*[1], evidently by the modern post road from Zitúni to Sálona, through the pass of *Cytinium*.

I shall here take the opportunity of remarking, that Fídharo, or Fidhári, the modern name of the *Evenus*, being derived from φίδι, the Romaic form of ὄφις, is evidently a vestige of Ὀφιεῖς, the ancient people in whose territory the river originated.

It would be in vain to attempt a more accurate chorography of *Ætolia*, so little having been known of this country or its people by the ancient authors, whose works have reached us. Nothing can more forcibly show the scanty knowledge which the Athenians had obtained of the interior of Ætolia in the time of Thucydides, than his remark that the Eurytanes spoke a language scarcely intelligible, and *were reported* to feed upon raw flesh[2]. Though cruel, treacherous, and rapacious, like the Ætolians in general, the Eurytanes contributed greatly to the power of that confederacy which for many

[1] Liv. l. 37, c. 4, *et seq.*

[2] μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσὶν, ὡς λέγονται.—Thucyd. l. 3, c. 94.

years had a leading influence in the affairs of Greece, and even checked the ambition of Rome. To the formation of the Ætolians into a single body moved by a national council, it is probable that the magnificent position of Thermus in the country of the Eurytanes, mainly contributed—strong in itself, central with regard to the whole province, and conveniently situated for commanding both the fertile plains of old Ætolia and the rude mountains of the Epictetus.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note I.

Chapter XI.—Page 101.

Inscriptions at Dhavlía *(Daulis)*.

1.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ τὸ β', Γναίῳ Πεδανίῳ Φούσκῳ Σαλεινάτορι ὑπάτοις, πρὸ θ' Κ. Νουενβρίων, ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, Ζώπυρος Ἀριστίωνος καὶ Παρμένων Ζωπύρου, οἱ ἔγδικοι τῆς Δαυλιέων πόλεως ἐμαρτυροποιήσαντο ἀπόφασιν ἀντιγεγράφθαι τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Τ. Φλαουΐου Εὐβούλου τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην. Τ. Φλαούϊος Εὔβουλος, ὁ δοθεὶς κριτὴς καὶ ὁριστὴς ὑπὸ Καισίου Μαξίμου ἀνθυπάτου καὶ τηρηθεὶς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Σεουήρου ἀνθυπάτου μεταξὺ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος καὶ Παρμένωνος τοῦ Ζωπύρου καὶ Μεμμίου Ἀντιόχου περὶ χώρας ἀμφισβητουμένης ἀκούσ(ας) ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐφ' ὅσον ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοψίαν ἐλθὼν, κελεύσαντός με ἀποφῆνασθαι Κλωδίου Γρανιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου, κρείνω καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται. Ἀγροῦ Δρυππίου ὃν ἠγόρασε παρὰ τῶν Κλέας κληρονόμων Μέμμιος Ἀντίοχος, καταλαβόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπί με κομισθέντων γραμμάτων προσήκειν Ἀντιόχῳ πλέθρα Φωκικὰ υλέ, ὅσα ἂν εὑρεθῇ πλείω τούτων κρείνω εἶναι τῆς Δαυλιέων πόλεως. Ὁμοίως ἀγροῦ Εὐξυλείας πλέθρα υλ' κρείνω εἶναι Ἀντιόχου, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως. Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς μετρήσεως κρείνω γενέσθαι τῆς χώρας ὅθεν ἂν βούληται Ἀντίοχος ἐν ἑκατέρων τῶν ἀγρῶν Δρυππίῳ καὶ Εὐξυλείᾳ, ἐν δὲ Πλατάνῳ καὶ Μοσχοτομέαις μία ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀρχὴ τῆς μετρήσεως ἔσται, μετρουμένων ἀπὸ τῆς δοθείσης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἑφεξῆς, μὴ ἐλλογουμένων ταῖς μετρήσεσιν ἁπάσαις μήτε ῥεί-

θρων μήτε ὅσα τραχέα ὄντα καὶ μὴ δυνάμενα γεωργεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ δέκα σφύρας ἐστίν. Παρῆσαν· Τ. Φλαούϊος Εὔβουλος ἀπεφηνάμην καὶ ἐσφράγισμαι. Λ. Μέστριος Σώκλαρος, Κλεομένης Κλεομένους, Νείκων Συμφόρου, Λαμπρίας Νείκωνος, Ζώπυρος Ἀντιπάτρου, Σωσίβιος Δράκωνος, Νείκων Ἀλεξάνδρου, Λέων Θεοδότου, Κάλλων Φύλακος, Κάσσιος Μαρτιανοῦ. Ψηφίσματι τῆς πόλεως.

2.

Ὁδὸς δὲ ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχαγέτην ἕξει πλάτος καλάμους δύο· τὰ δὲ σημεῖα καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς μετρήσεως ἐνχαράξουσι κοινῇ ἐντὸς τῆς εἰκάδος τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς, ἡμῶν ὅταν ἐνχαραχθῶσι ἐπελευσομένων αὐτούς. Περὶ ἀγροῦ Δρυπτίου κατὰ τὴν προκομισθεῖσαν χεῖρα ὑπὸ Σεραπιάδος Ζωπύρου τοῦ ἐγδίκου καὶ τῶν περὶ Φίλωνα Σωσικράτους καὶ Δάμωνα Ζωπύρου ἀρχόντων κρείνομεν, εἴ τι λείπει τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐκ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τῆς Εὐβούλου τετρακοσίων τριάκοντα πέντε πλέθρων, τούτου ἔχειν ἀπαίτησιν Σεραπιάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Δαυλιέων πόλεως. Παρῆσαν· Κούρριος Αὐτόβουλος κέκρικα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐσφράγισα, Νικήφορος Λυκομήδους κέκρικα, Ἀγασίας Τείμωνος κέκρικα, Π. Αἴλιος Δαμόξενος ἐσφράγισα τετάρτην. Εἰσίδ(οτος) πέμπτην. Μητρόδωρος Ἀπολλοδότου Ἀντικυρεύς. Νικάρετος Πίστου Τιθορεὺς, Τύραννος Τυράννου ἐσφράγισμαι. Ἀκίνδυνος Καλλικράτους Τιθορεύς. Σεξ. Κορνήλιος Ἀσίοχος. Εὔνους Ἐπαφρᾶ. Καλλιγένης Κλεονείκου ἐσφράγικα Τιθορεύς.

Note II.

Chapter XI.—Page 114.

The following are the forms of liberation in the inscription of the church at Kápurna *(Chæroneia)*. In the original the iota is omitted in the termination of the dative cases.

1.

Ἄρχοντος Ζωΐλου τοῦ Εὐάνδρου, μηνὸς . . . . . Διονύσιος Σιμίου καὶ Παρθένα Ἀριστονίκου ἀφιᾶσι τὴν ἰδίαν δούλην Ἑρμαίαν ἐλευθέραν, ἱερὰν τῷ Σαράπι, παραμείνασαν Παρθένᾳ ἕως ἂν ζῇ ἀνενκλήτως, μὴ προσήκουσαν μηθένι μηθέν, τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενοι διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

2.

Ἄρχοντος Διοκλέους τοῦ Σιμμίου, μηνὸς Ὁμολωΐου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, Δεξίππα Ἀθανίου, παρόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Σαμίχου τοῦ

Φιλοξένου, ἀνατίθησι τὰς ἰδίας δούλας Καλλίδα καὶ Πύθιν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Καλλίδος παιδάριον, ᾧ ὄνομα Νίκων, ἱερουὺς τῷ Σεράπιδι, παραμείναντας Δεξίππᾳ Εὐβούλου, τῇ κατὰ φύσιν μου μάμμῃ, πάντα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον ἀνενκλήτως· τὰ δὲ γεννηθέντα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς παραμονῆς χρόνῳ ἔστωσαν δοῦλα Δεξίππας τῆς Ἀθανίου· τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιουμένη διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

3.

Ἄρχοντος Εὐάνδρου, μηνὸς Ἀλαλκομενήου τριακάδι, Ἀγαθοκλῆς Εὐάνδρου ἀνατίθησι τοὺς ἰδίους δούλους Ζώσιμον καὶ Εὔμωνα ἱεροὺς τοῦ Σεράπιδος, παραμείναντας ἀνενκλήτως ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου Βουκατίᾳ, τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

4.

Μηνὸς Ἀλαλκομενείου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, Κηφισοδώρα Κράτωνος παρόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ πατρὸς Κράτωνος ἀφίησι τὴν ἰδίαν δούλην Εὐαμερίδα ἱερὰν Σεραπίδος, ποιουμένη τὴν ἀνάθεσιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

5.

Ἄρχοντος Ἀντίγωνος, μηνὸς Προστατηρίου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, Μίλων Ἱππίνου καὶ Τηλεμαχὶς Εὐβούλου ἀνατιθέασιν τὰ ἴδια δουλικὰ κοράσια Ἀλεξάνδραν καὶ Θαυμάσταν ἱερὰς τῷ Σαράπει, μηθενὶ μηθὲν προσηκούσας, παραμεινάσας δὲ Μίλωνι καὶ Τηλεμαχίδι, ἑκατέροις ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν ἀνεγκλήτως, τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενοι διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

6.

Ἄρχοντος Φιλοξένου, μηνὸς Ἀλαλκομενείου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, Ἀλέξων Ῥοδίωνος ἀνατίθησι τὴν ἰδίαν δούλην Διονυσίαν ἱερὰν τῷ Σαράπι, παραμείνασαν ἑαυτῷ ἀνενκλήτως πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

7.

Ἄρχοντος Καφισίου, μηνὸς Βουκατίου τριακάδι, Κράτων Ἀμινίου καὶ Εὐγίτα Νικαρέτου, συναρεστούντων καὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ἀνατιθέασιν τὸ δουλικὸν αὐτῶν κοράσιον Σωσίχαν ἱερὸν τῷ Σεράπι, παραμείνασαν Κράτωνι καὶ Εὐγίτᾳ ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν ἀνενκλήτως, τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενοι διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

Note III.

Chapter XII.—Page 154.

Orchomenian Inscriptions.

1.

Θυνάρχω ἄρχοντος, μεῖνος Θειλουθίω, Ἀρχίαρος Εὐμείλω ταμίας Εὐβώλυ Ἀρχεδάμω Φωκεῖι χρίος ἀπέδωκα ἀπὸ τᾶς σουγγράφω πεδὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων κὴ τῶν κατοπτάων, ἀνελόμενος τὰς σουγγράφως τὰς κιμένας παρ' Εὔφρονα κὴ Φιδίαν κὴ Πασίκλειν κὴ Τιμόμειλον Φωκεῖας κὴ Δαμοτέλειν Λυσιδάμω κὴ Διωνύσιον Καφισοδώρω Χηρωνεῖα καττὸ ψάφισμα τῶ δάμω. — Δραχμὰς 16163.

Θυνάρχω ἄρχοντος, μεῖνος Ἀλαλκομενίω, Fάρνων Πολυκλεῖος ταμίας ἀπέδωκε Εὐβώλυ Ἀρχεδάμω Φωκεῖι ἀπὸ τᾶς σουγγράφω τὸ κατάλυπον καττὸ ψάφισμα τῶ δάμω, ἀνελόμενος τὰς σουγγράφως τὰς κιμένας πὰρ Σώφιλον κὴ Εὔφρονα Φωκεῖας κὴ πὰρ Διωνύσιον Καφισοδώρω Χηρωνεῖα κὴ Λυσίδαμον Δαμοτέλιος πεδὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων κὴ τῶν κατοπτάων.—Δραχμὰς 5823, ὄβολον 1½.

Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἐρχομενῦ Θυνάρχω, μεῖνος Ἀλαλκομενίω, ἐν δὲ Fελατίη Μενοίταο Ἀρχελάω, μεῖνος πράτω, ὁμολογία Εὐβώλυ Fελατιήϋ κὴ τῃ πόλι Ἐρχομενίων· Ἐπιδεὶ κεκόμιστη Εὔβωλος πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος τὸ δάνειον ἅπαν καττὰς ὁμολογίας τὰς τεθεῖσας Θυνάρχω ἄρχοντος, μεῖνος Θειλουθίω, κὴ οὔτ' ὀφείλετη αὐτῦ ἔτι οὐθὲν πὰρ τὰν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέχι πάντα περὶ πάντος, κὴ ἀποδεδόανθι τῃ πόλι τὺ ἔχοντες τὰς ὁμολογίας, εἶμεν ποτιδεδομένον χρόνον Εὐβώλυ ἐπινομίας Fέτια πέτταρα βούεσσι σὺν ἵππυς διακατίης Fίκατι, προβάτυς σὺν ἤγυς χειλίης. ἄρχι τῶ χρόνω ὁ ἐνιαντὸς ὁ μετὰ Θύναρχον ἄρχοντα Ἐρχομενίυς. ἀπογραφέσθη δὲ Εὔβωλον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον πὰρ τὸν ταμίαν κὴ τὸν νομώναν τά τε καύματα τῶν προβάτων κὴ τᾶν ἤγων κὴ τᾶν βούων κὴ τᾶν ἵππων, κὴ κά τινα ἄσαμα ἴωνθι, κὴ τὸ πλεῖθος. μεὶ ἀπογραφέσθω δὲ πλίονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῃ σουγχωρείσι. ἢ δέ κά τις πράττη τὸ ἐννόμιον Εὔβωλον, ὀφειλέτω ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἐρχομενίων ἀργυρίω μνᾶς πετταράκοντα Εὐβώλυ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαντὸν, κὴ τόκον φερέτω δράχμας δούω τᾶς μνᾶς ἑκάστας κατὰ μεῖνα ἕκαστον, κὴ ἔμπρακτος ἔστω Εὐβώλυ ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἐρχομενίων - - - -

2.

Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν τῆς Χαρίτεσσι καττὰμ μαντεῖαν τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἄρχοντος Σαμίαο Ἰσμεινιάταο Θειβήω, ἀφεδριατευόντων Μελάννιος Νικοκλεῖος Ἐρχομενίω, Ἠσχρίωνος Θερσανδρίχω Κορωνεῖος, Ἀρνοκλεῖος Ἀντιοχίδαο Ἀνθαδονίω, Ἀρίστωνος Μεννίδαο Θεσπιεῖος, Πραξιτέλιος Ἀριστοκλίδαο Θειβήω, Θιομνάστω Ἑρμαΐχω Ταναγρήω, Πούθωνος Καλλιγίτονος Ὠρωπίω, γραμματεύοντος Διοκλεῖος Διοφάντω Πλαταεῖος, μαντενομένω Δινίαο Ἐρωτίωνος Θεσπιεῖος, θιοπροπίοντος . . . . Εὐμειλίδαο Ἐρχομενίω, ἰαρατεύοντος Λαμπρίαο . . . . . ὀτω Ἐρχομενίω.

3.

Μύριχος Πολυκράτιος, Ἰαρώνυμος Διογίτονος, ἄνδρεσσι χορηγείσαντες νικάσαντες Διωνύσῳ ἀνέθεικαν, Τίμωνος ἄρχοντος, αὐλίοντος Κλεινίαο, ᾄδοντος Ἀλκισθένιος.

4.

Ἀλεύας Νίκωνος, Καφισόδωρος Ἀγλαοφαΐδαο, ἄνδρεσσι χορηγίοντες νικάσαντες Διωνύσῳ ἀνεθέταν, Ἀθανίαο ἄρχοντος, αὐλίοντος Κλεινίαο, ᾄδοντος Κράτωνος.

5.

Θίος τιούχαν ἀγαθάν. Ἀλεύαο ἄρχοντος ἔδοξε τῦ δάμυ Ἐρχομενίων, Ἀγέδικον Δαφίταο Ἠολεῖα ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας πρόξενον εἶμεν κὴ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλιος Ἐρχομενίων κὴ αὐτὸν κὴ ἐγγόνως, κὴ εἶμεν αὐτῦ γᾶς κὴ Fυκίας ἔπασιν, κὴ ἀσφαλίαν κὴ ἀτελίαν κὴ ἀσυλίαν κὴ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν κὴ πολέμω κὴ ἰράνας ἰώσας, κὴ τὰ ἄλλα ὁπόττα τῦς ἄλλυς προξένυς κὴ εὐεργέτης.

6.

Μνασίνω ἄρχοντος, ἀγωνοθετίοντος τῶν Χαριτεισίων Εὐάριος τῶ Πάντωνος, τύδε ἐνίκωσαν τὰ Χαριτείσια· σαλπίγκτας Φιλῖνος Φιλίνω Ἀθανεῖος, κάρυξ Εἰρώδας Σωκράτιος Θειβεῖος, ποείτας Μήστωρ Μήστορος Φωκαιεὺς, ῥαψάFυδος Κράτων Κλίωνος Θειβεῖος, αὐλείτας Περιγένεις Ἡρακλίδαο Κυζικηνὸς, αὐλάFυδος Δαμήνετος Γλαύκω Ἀργῖος, κιθαρίστας Ἀγέλοχος Ἀσκλαπιογένιος Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μυρίνας, κιθαράFυδος Δαμάτριος Ἀμαλωΐω Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μυρίνας, τραγάFυδος Ἀσκλαπιόδωρος Πυθέαο Ταραντῖνος, κωμάFυδος Νικόστρατος Φιλοστράτω Θειβεῖος, τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμάFυδος Εὔαρχος Εἰροδότω Κορωνεύς.

7.

Οἵδε ἑνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Χαριτησίων· σαλπιστὴς Μῆνις Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου, κήρυξ Ζώϊλος Ζωΐλου Πάφιος, ῥαψῳδὸς Νουμήνιος Νουμηνίου Ἀθηναῖος, ποιητὴς ἐπῶν Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος, αὐλητὴς Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπολλοδότου Κρὴς, αὐλῳδὸς Ῥόδιππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος, κιθαριστὴς Φανίας Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Φανίου Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Κύμης, κιθαρῳδὸς Δημήτριος Παρμενίσκου Καλχηδόνιος, τραγῳδὸς Ἱπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος, κωμῳδὸς Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος, ποιητὴς Σατύρων Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος, ὑποκριτὴς Δωρόθεος Δωροθέου Ταραντῖνος, ποιητὴς τραγῳδιῶν Σοφοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος, ὑποκριτὴς Καβίριχος Θεοδώρου Θηβαῖος, ποιητὴς κωμῳδιῶν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος, ὑποκριτὴς Ἄτταλος Ἀττάλου Ἀθηναῖος. Οἵδε ἑνίκων τὸν νεμητὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὁμολωΐων· παῖδας αὐλητὰς Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος, παῖδας ἡγεμόνας Στρατῖνος Εὐνίκου Θηβαῖος, ἄνδρας αὐλητὰς Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος, ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας Ῥόδιππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος, τραγῳδὸς Ἱπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος, κωμῳδὸς Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος, τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμῳδιῶν ποιητὴς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος.

Note IV.

Chapter XV.—Page 296.

Inscription at Kardhítza *(Acræphium)*.

. . . . . τῶν δαπανημάτων. . . . . .
. . . . . λινων κα . . ον . . . . . .
. . . . . τῇ ἑορτῇ . . . . . .
. . λει καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἀγων . . . . . .
. . . κη . . πασιν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἀπο . . . . . .
ρων . . ην τειμὴν ταύτην ἠρίστισε . . . . . .
ἀπ' ἐκθέματος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ μηδ . . . . . .
ενοι . . . των . . . οὐδὲ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων . . .
σιν ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολειτῶν δούλοις . . . . . .
ηθυς . . . ων . . την ἀρχὴν την μεγίστην οὐ διέλιπεν . . . .
. . . ψυχίαν . . . Σεβαστοῖς . . . οινης
μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιτελῶν τὸν λεγόμενον πα . . .
. . ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ὑπερβαλλόντων δαπανημάτων, καὶ ἃ
δι . . . ειωτο οὐ μόνον παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς περὶς

πόλεσιν θαυμάζεσθαι. τοῦ τε μεγίστου καὶ σώζοντος ἡμῶν τὴν χώραν χώματος παραλελειμμένης τῆς κονιάσεως, ὅλον ἐπισκευασθῆναι καὶ κονιασθῆναι μόνος προενόησεν, προσμείνας καὶ κατωρθώσατο, ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλια δηνάρια οὔσης τῆς ἐπισκευῆς ἰς δώδεκα σταδίους. ἤδη δὲ τὸ μεγαλόφρον τῆς γνώμης ἐκτείνας καὶ ἰς τὸ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνος, πρεσβίας αἰτουμένης πρὸς τὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πανελλήνων συνεδρίῳ ἐν Ἄργει, πολλῶν τε συνεληλυθότων εὐσχημόνων καὶ πρώτων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ πάντων ἀρνουμένων καὶ ἐπικαλουμένων πάντα, ἐν ἐλάσσονι θέμενος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, προθυμότατα ἐπεδέξατο τὴν πρεσβίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνους, προσθεὶς τῷ εὐγενεῖ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ ἀδώριαν πρέσβευσιν. θαυμάσιος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιωθὶς ἐν τοῖς Πανέλλησιν τειμὰς ἔλαβεν, μαρτυρούμενος καὶ διὰ τῆς πεμφθίσης ἐπιστολῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. τελέσας δὲ τὴν πρεσβείαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τὸ ἀπόκριμα ἐνενκὼν παρὰ . . . . . τειμὰς ἔλαβεν μετὰ τῶν συνπρεσβευτῶν, τό τε κοινὸν Παμβοιωτῶν συνέδριον ὑπομιμνησκόμενον τὴν αὐτεπάγγελτον χάριν καὶ εὔνοιαν, τειμὰς ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτῷ τὰς πρεπούσας, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. ἔπιτα δὲ καὶ αἱ . . . . . πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι εὐχάριστον πρα . . . . αι καὶ αὐταὶ . . . . μασιν . . . καὶ πολιτείᾳ καὶ εἰκόνων ἀναστάσει τειμῆσαι αὐτόν. ὑπερεβάλλετο δὲ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πάντας τοὺς . . . . . ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ φιλόδοξον καὶ φιλάγαθον ταῖς ἐπαλλήλοις δαπάναις, εἷς φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐεργέτης νομιζόμενος. ἐγλελοιπότος γὰρ ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη τοῦ τῶν Πτωΐων ἀγῶνος, κατασταθὶς ἀγωνοθέτης προθυμότατα ἐπεδέξατο, φιλοδοξήσας τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν μεγάλων Πτωΐων καὶ Καισαρήων, κτιστὴς ἄνωθεν γενόμενος, ἀναλαβών τε τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως ἐπιτελεῖ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖα, ἑστιῶν ἄρχοντας καὶ συνέδρους κατ' ἔτος πεντάκις μεγαλομερέσι δίπνοις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀριστίζων ἐπὶ πενταετίαν, μηδεμίαν ὑπέρθεσιν ποιησάμενος ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις μήτε θυσίας μήτε δαπάνης μηδέποτε. ἐπιστάντος δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῷ ἕκτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τὸ ἐπὶ πόλεως διάδομα ἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἑορτὴν ἔδωκεν, πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ ἐκτημένοις διδοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον κόφινον σείτου καὶ οἴνου ἡμίναν· τὰς δὲ πατρίους πομπὰς μεγάλας καὶ τὴν τῶν συρτῶν πάτριον ὄρχησιν θεοσεβῶς ἐπετέλεσεν, ταυροθυτήσας τε τοῖς Θεοῖς καὶ Σεβαστοῖς κρεαδοσίας καὶ ἄριστα καὶ γλυκισμοὺς καὶ δῖπνα οὐ διέλιπεν ποιῶν, καὶ κατὰ τάξις ἀπὸ εἰκάδος μέχρι τριακάδος πρὸς ἔνπασι τοῖς

ἀρίστοις παῖδας τοὺς τῶν πολειτῶν καὶ δούλους ἐνηλίκους, τάς τε γυναῖκας τῶν πολειτῶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Νωτί . α ἠρίστισεν καὶ παρθένους καὶ δούλας. οὐ παρέλιπεν δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς σκηνίτας καὶ συνκοσμοῦντας τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἠρίστισεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐκθέματος κατ' ἰδίαν, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν προτέρων ἐποίησεν, μηδένα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας βουλόμενος ἄμοιρον γενέσθαι, ἔν τε ταῖς γεινομέναις θεωρίαις τοῦ θυμελικοῦ πάντας τοὺς θεωμένους καὶ τοὺς συνελθόντας ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐγλύκισεν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πέμματά τε ἐποίησεν μεγάλα καὶ πολυτελῆ, ὡς διάκονστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς περὶς πόλεσιν τὰ δαπανήματα αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἔν τε τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος μετὰ τὸ πάνδημον δῖπνον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνωθεν πάλιν ποιούμενος τῆς δαπάνης κατὰ τρίκλεινον διαδόματα ἔδωκεν ἕνδεκα δηναρίων, καὶ κεραμαῖον οἴνου παλαιοῦ καὶ δηνάρια ἓξ ἰς ἐπόψημα τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς δαπάνης. μετὰ δὲ τὴν πάντων τούτων συντέλειαν καταβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πανδημεὶ ἀπήντησαν οἱ πολεῖται, πᾶσαν φιλοτειμίαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν δεικνύμενοι. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ταυροθυτήσας Διὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως παραχρῆμα εἱστίασεν τοὺς συνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν. ὅθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοὺς μεγαλοψύχους καὶ φιλοπάτριδας ταῖς προσηκούσαις τειμαῖς τε καὶ δωρεαῖς προσῆκόν ἐστιν κοσμουμένους μαρτυρῖσθαι. δι' ἃ δὴ πάντα ἔδοξεν τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὸν προειρημένον ἄνδρα Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐφ' ᾗ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἔσχηκεν ἐκτενεῖ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνος μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, συνκοσμῶν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ εἰκόνι τελείᾳ γραπτῇ ἀγαθῇ, τούς τε μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθησομένους ἀγωνοθέτας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτελεσθησομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἰς προεδρίαν, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργέτας, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν οὕτως συντελουμένων ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν εὐχάριστος φαίνηται πρὸς τυὺς εὐεργέτας, πολλοί τε ζηλωταὶ γείνωνται τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μαρτυρουμένων τῶν πρώτων. στῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ ἓ ἀγάλματα, ἕνα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωΐου, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ εἰκόνας ὁμοίως ἐπιχρύσους, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιουμένων τήνδε· Ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἄριστα πολειτευσάμενον ἐτείμησεν. ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τυῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωΐου καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

Note V.

Chapter XX.—Page 558.

Inscriptions on a Wall at Kastrí *(Delphi)*.

1.

Ἄρχοντος Πύῤῥου, μηνὸς Ἡραπίου, βουλευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἐξάμηνον Μικκύλου, Κλέωνος, γραμματεύοντος δὲ τᾶς βουλᾶς Θεοτίμου, ἀπέδοτο Πρᾶτον Πλιστάρχου, συνευδοκεόντων καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτᾶς Αἰακίδα καὶ Χαιρεφάνεος, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα γυναικεῖον, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀπολλωνία, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν πέντε· καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχοντι πᾶσαν· καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Ἀπολλωνία τὰν ὠνὰν τῷ θεῷ, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλευθέρα εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ποιοῦσα ἃ κα θέλῃ καὶ ἀποτρέχουσα οἷς κα θέλῃ. βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Κλέων Διονυσίου. εἰ δέ τις ἅπτοιτο Ἀπολλωνίας ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, βέβαιον παρεχόντω τὰν ὠνὰν τῷ θεῷ ἃ τε ἀποδομένα καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτήρ· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέχοισαν, ἔκτιμοι ἐόντω μνᾶν τριάκοντα Σελεύκῳ Σελεύκου, ἂν Σέλευκος θέλῃ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ παρατυχὼν κύριος ἔστω συλέων Ἀπολλωνίαν ὡς ἐλευθέραν ἐοῦσαν, ἀζάμιος ἐὼν καὶ ἀνυπόδικος πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας. μάρτυροι οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχίων, Ἄθαμβος, καὶ ἰδιῶται Δικάτας, Καλλίας, Ἐχέφυλος.

2.

Ἄρχοντος Νικοδάμου, μηνὸς Ἀπελλητίου, βουλευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἐξάμηνον Πολύωνος, Δάμωνος, γραμματεύοντος δὲ τᾶς βουλᾶς Κλεώνδα, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Ξένων Ἀριστοβούλου, συνευδοκεούσης καὶ Κλεοῦς καὶ Αἰνησίου τοῦ πατρος, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα γυναικεῖον οἰκογενὲς, ᾧ ὄνομα Σώτηρις, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων· καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχει πᾶσαν· καθὼς ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν Σώτηριν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιοῦσαν ὅ κα θέλῃ, καὶ ἀποτρέχουσαν οἷς κα θέλῃ. βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος Πάτρων Ἀριστοβούλου. εἰ δέ τις ἐφάπτοιτο Σωτήριος ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, βεβαίαν παρεχόντω τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν ὅ τε ἀποδόμενος Ξένων καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ Πάτρων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντω συλέοντες Σώτηριν ὡς ἐλευθέραν ἐοῦσαν, ἀζάμιοι ἐόντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας. μάρτυροι οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Πάτρων, Πύῤῥιος, καὶ τῶν ἰδιώτων Πολύανδρος Νίκιος, Κλέων, Ἀριστόβουλος, Δαμόστρατος, Εὐθύδαμος.

3.

Ἄρχοντος Στρατάγου, μηνὸς Ποκίου, ὡς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἄγοντι, ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ ἄρχοντος Πυῤῥία, μηνὸς Ἡρακλείου, ἀπέδοτο Δικαία, συνευδοκεόντων καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτᾶς Δωροθέου καὶ Ἀριστομάχου, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα γυναικεῖον, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀρχὼ, τὸ γένος οἰκογενὲς, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τριῶν πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν, καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Ἀρχὼ τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα χρόνον. βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον Ἀμινίας Ταλεκλέος Ἀμφισσεύς. μάρτυροι Ναύξεινος, Καλλίστρατος, Δεξίθεος, Δαμόξενος Ἀμφισσεῖς, καὶ . . . . . Δρωπίδας . . . . . .

4.

Ἄρχοντος Ἀβρομάχου, μηνὸς Ἡρακλείου, βουλενόντων τὰν δευτέραν ἐξάμηνον Καλλία τοῦ Δίωνος, Νικοστράτου τοῦ Εὐδώρου, γραμματεύοντος δὲ τᾶς βουλᾶς Εὐάνδρου, ἀπέδοτο Ξένων Δημητρίου, συνευδοκέοντος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλέωνος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα γυναικεῖον, ᾧ ὄνομα Πίστα, τὸ γένος ἐνδογενῆ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν πέντε· καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχοντι πᾶσαν· καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Πίστα τὰν ὠνὰν τῷ θεῷ, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλευθέρα εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιοῦσα ὅ κα θέλῃ καὶ ἀποτρέχουσα οἷς κα θέλῃ. βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος Πάτρων Ἀριστοβούλου. εἰ δέ τις ἐφάπτοιτο Πίστας ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, βέβαιον παρεχόντω τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν ὅ τε ἀποδόμενος Ξένων καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ Πάτρων· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέχοισαν βέβαιον, πρακτίμιοι ἐόντω κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντω συλέοντες Πίσταν ὡς ἐλευθέραν ἐοῦσαν, ἀζάμιοι ἐόντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας. μάρτυροι οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος . . . . . ἰδιῶται δέ . . . .

5.

Ἄρχοντος Καλλικράτεος, μηνὸς Βυσίου, βουλευόντων τὰν δευτέραν ἐξάμηνον . . . τοῦ . . κράτεος, Ἀμύντα τοῦ Εὐδώρου, γραμματεύοντος δὲ τᾶς βουλᾶς Καλλιγένεος τοῦ Δαμοκράτεος, ἀπέδοτο Σώτας Χαριξένου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, ᾧ ὄνομα Σάτυρος, τὸ γένος οἰκοθεν, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων, καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχει πᾶσαν Σώτας· καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Σάτυρος τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιῶν ὅ κα θέλῃ. βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Καλλιγένης Δαμοκράτευς. εἰ δέ τις ἅπτοιτο Σατύρου ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, βέβαιον

παρεχέτω τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνάν· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέχοι βέβαιον, πρακτίμιος ἔστω Καλλιγένης Σατύρῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντω συλέοντες τὸν Σάτυρον ὡς ἐλεύθερον ἐόντα, ἀζάμιοι ἐόντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας· μάρτυροι οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἄθαμβος, Ἀβρόμαχος, ἰδιωτᾶν Κλεύδαμος Καλλιγένεος, Ξενοκράτης Στησιμένεος, Δαμοκράτης . . .

The four following are on a large block of marble in the village of Kastrí.

6.

. . . Νικοδάμου ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνημονούντων Αἰτωλῶν . . . . . Γέλωνος, Δικαιάρχου, Στρατάγου, Κρωβύλου . . . . . Δελφῶν, Ἀριστοκράτους, Ἄνδρωνος, Βοιωτῶν, Φλειν . . . . . ας ὑπηρετῶν τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι ἐν Πυλαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς . . . . . νος χρόνον πολὺν τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἀνενκλήτως . . . . . ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς Πυθίοις ἐπαινέσαι . . . . . Λαμιῆ οἰκοῦντα ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ καὶ στεφανῶσαι δάφνης στεφάνῳ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ προδικίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἀσυλίαν, προεδρίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, τὸν δὲ γραμματέα ἀναγράψαι τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι καί τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς ἐν τῷ νέῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

7.

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ἀριστάνδρῳ Ἀριστοκλέους Ἱστιαίει, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις· ἄρχυντος Ἀνδροτίμου, βουλευόντων Κλευμάντιος Εὐδίκου, Ἀριστίωνος Νικοδάμου.

8.

Ἐπὶ Πραοτοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνημονούντων Αἰτωλῶν Δαμοτίμου Ἀνδρέα, Λευκία Δίωνος, ... Μνησία Θευδότου, Κλεοκύδου Χιοῦ, Δελφῶν . . . . . δου Εὐθυδίτου, Βοιωτῶν Ἡροδάμου . . . . . ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι . . . . . διατέλει χρείας παρεχόμενος τοῖς τε ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις . . . . ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσιν ἐπαινέσαι τε Καλλεώνι . . . . . δάφνης στεφάνῳ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ

καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προδικίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν (καὶ προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶ)σιν οἷς τιθέασιν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

9.

Ἐπὶ Πραοτοῦ ἄρχοντος ἱερομνημονούντων Αἰτωλῶν Λα . . . μέως . . . . νος, . . . στωνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου, . ριχι . . . . . Ἀλέξωνος, . . . χου Φιλορ . . νου, Λημώνακτος Χιοῦ, Δελφῶν Ἀρα . . ιν . . . . Φωκεων, Καλλικράτους, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι Ἐπειδὴ Καλλικλῆς (Καλλικλέους Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ) κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων διατέλει χρείας παρεχόμενος τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ Πανέλλησιν ἄγων ἀνενκλήτως, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσιν ἐπαινέσαι τε Καλλικλέα Καλλικλέους Ἀθηναῖον οἰκοῦντα ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ καὶ στεφανῶσαι δάφνης στεφάνῳ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προδικίαν ἀσφάλειαν ἀσυλίαν ἀτέλειαν καὶ προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς τιθέασιν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

10. At *Delphi.*

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Φιλίππῳ Ἀπολλωνίου Καλυμνίῳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁπόσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις. ἄρχοντος Δαμοκράτεος, βουλευόντων Ἀγίωνος, Ἀριστομάχου, Εὐδώρου, Ἀλεξάρχου.

11. At *Delphi.*

Λούκιον Μάριον Νέπωτα Αἰγιαλεινὸν, τετειμημένον ἀπὸ τῆς Κορινθίων βουλῆς τειμαῖς βουλευτικαῖς καὶ ἀγορανομικαῖς, Λούκιος Μάριος Νέπως πατὴρ, Κορίνθιος, καὶ Ἰουλία Αἰγιαλὴ, Δελφὴ, τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ.

12. At *Delphi*, at the end of a fragment much defaced, but throughout of the same tenor, except that in the place of τᾶς οἰκίας is often seen τοῦ χωρίου.

Ἰσοκράτης τᾶς Καλλιγένεος οἰκίας, στατῆρας πέντε, δραχμὰν, ὀδελοὺς τρεῖς.

Ξενόδαμος, τᾶς Μένωνος καὶ Διωνάκα οἰκίας, στατῆρας δύο, δραχμὰν, ὀδελὸν, ἡμιοδέλιον, χαλκέους τέτορας.

Ἐχιναῖος τᾶς Διωνάκα οἰκίας, στατῆρας δέκα ἕνα.

Χαιρόλας, τᾶς Πεισία τοῦ Φλειακος οἰκήας, στατῆρας τρεῖς, δραχμάν.

13. At *Delphi.*

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Τιβ. Κλ. *Πολυκράτειαν Ναυσικάαν τὴν κρατίστην καὶ ἀρχιέρειαν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,* Τιβ. Κλ. *Πολυκράτους ἀρχιερέως καὶ Ἑλλαδάρχου διὰ βίου τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ* Τιβ. Κλ. *Διογενείας ἀρχιερείας τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν θυγατέρα, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν.*

Note to Chapter XX. p. 576.

The following enumeration of the *ἀναθήματα* which Pausanias found most worthy of notice in the sacred inclosure of Delphi cannot be uninteresting to the admirers of ancient art[1]. At the entrance of the temenus of Apollo was a brazen bull by Theopropus of Ægina, dedicated by the Corcyræi in consequence of a successful fishery of tunnies, the tenth of the profits of which paid the expence of this offering and of another sent to Olympia. Next were the dedications of the Tegeatæ, after having beaten and taken the Lacedæmonians, who marched against them[2], consisting of statues of Apollo, Victory, Calisto, Arcas, his four sons, and his grandson Erasus, son of Triphylus. The artists were Pausanias of Apollonia, Dædalus of Sicyon, Antiphanes of Argos, and Samolas an Arcadian. Opposite to these works were some offerings of the Lacedæmonians from the spoils of the Athenians (near Ephesus); namely, the Dioscuri, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, Lysander crowned by Neptune, Abas the *μάντις* of Lysander, and Hermon of Megara, his pilot. The last was made by Theocosmus of Megara, the others by Antiphanes of Argos, by Pison of Calauria, and by Athenodorus and Damias, both of Clitor. Behind these statues were those of twenty-eight companions of Lysander at Ægospotami, only three of which represented Lacedæmonians, the remainder being the figures of citizens of the allied states and islands : the artists were Tisandrus, the Sicyonians Alypus and Canachus, and Patrocles of Crotona. Here also was the brazen horse called Durius, made by Antiphanes of Argos, and dedicated by the Argives for the doubtful affair of Thyrea. Below it were the offerings of the Athenians from the tenth of the spoils of Marathon, consisting of Minerva, Apollo,

[1] Pausan. Phocic. c. 9. et seq.

[2] Not long after the death of Lycurgus.—Herodot. l. 1. c. 66. Pausan. Lacon. c. 7.

Miltiades, seven of the Eponymi of the Athenian tribes, Codrus, Theseus, and Phyleus, all which had been made by Phidias, and stood upon an inscribed basis. Antigonus, his son Demetrius, and Ptolemy had been afterwards added. Near the horse Durius were some other dedications of the Argives, works of Hypatodorus and Aristogiton, namely, six of the chiefs of the first expedition against Thebes, Alitherses, and the car of Amphiaraus conducted by his charioteer Baton. They had been presented in consequence of the victory of the Argives and Athenians over the Lacedæmonians at Œnoe of Argolis; so likewise had statues of the seven Epigoni; opposite to which were Danaus, Lynceus, and all the posterity of Danaus to Perseus and Hercules, except the daughters of Danaus, of whom was Hypermnestra alone; these had been offered when the Argives, in concert with Epaminondas, founded Messene. Near them were some figures of brazen horses and female captives, by Ageladas of Argos, dedicated by the Tarentines on the occasion of their victory over the Messapii. These were near the treasury of the Sicyonii. So likewise was an equestrian statue of Triopas, founder of Cnidus, dedicated by the Cnidii, together with images of Latona, Apollo, and Diana, discharging their arrows against Tityus. Near the treasury of the Siphnii were some statues presented by the Liparæi for a naval victory over the Tyrrheni; near the treasury of the Athenians was a brazen goat, consecrated by the people of Cleone in consequence of the cessation of a plague: and here also was a portico built by the Athenians from the spoils of the enemy in the Peloponnesian war, and which they had adorned with prows of vessels and shields of brass. Near this portico was the rock upon which Herophile the sibyl stood when she chanted her prophecies. Then a bison's head in brass, presented by Dropion, son of Deon (Audoleon?) king of the Pæones; and opposite to it a man armed with a thorax and covered with a mantle, dedicated by the Andrii, and representing Andreus their founder. Next were statues of Apollo, Minerva, and Diana, consecrated by the Phocenses for their first victory over the Thessalian cavalry: a car, containing a statue of Ammon, presented by the Cyrenæi; Apollo holding a stag by the Macedonians of Dium, and Achilles on a horse, with Patroclus running beside him, by the Pharsalii. Near the Corinthian treasury was a statue of Hercules offered by the The-

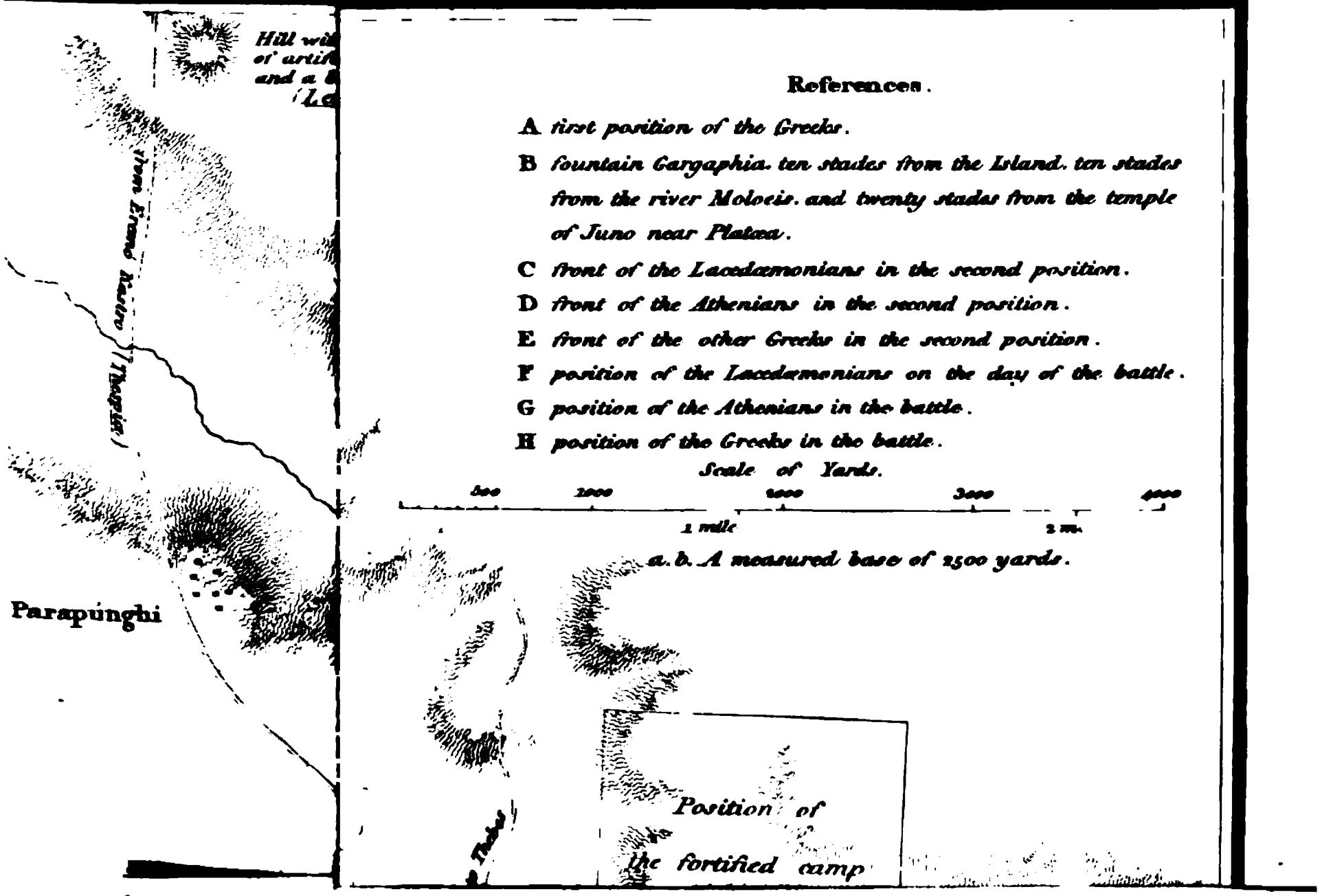
bans at the end of the Phocic war, and then a dedication of the Phocians, consisting of Apollo, and Tellias the prophet, with Rhœus and Daiphanes, who commanded the Phocians in their second victory over the Thessalians, and figures of the local heroes of Phocis; all these were the works of Aristomedon of Argos, (see Phocic. c. 1). Next occurred a Jupiter in brass, and an Ægina, presented by the Phliasii; an Apollo in brass, by the people of Mantineia; and then Apollo and Hercules holding the tripod, Latona and Diana endeavouring to pacify Apollo, and Minerva Hercules. This also was an offering of the Phocians on the occasion just mentioned. The Minerva and Diana were the work of Chionis of Corinth, the others of Diyllus and Amyclæus of the same place. Of the dedication of the Greeks after the battle of Platæa, consisting of a golden tripod upon a brazen serpent, the latter only remained, the gold having been taken away by the Phocian generals in the Sacred War. Here was an offering of the Tarentines, from a tenth of the spoils of the Peucetii, consisting of men both on horse and foot, among whom were Opis, king of the Iapyges, lying dead, with the Lacedæmonian heroes, Taras and Phalanthus, standing beside the body, and a dolphin near the latter, signifying that Phalanthus had been shipwrecked and saved by a dolphin. Certain hatchets, dedicated by Periclytus, had reference to the history of his native island Tenedus. Here was also a statue of Apollo, offered by the Greeks after their victory at Artemisium and Salamis. Near the great altar was a brazen wolf, consecrated by the Delphi, then a gilded statue of Phryne by Praxiteles, dedicated by Phryne herself; then two statues of Apollo, one of which was presented by the Epidaurii of Argolis after the defeat of the Medes, the other by the Megarenses, for their victory over the Athenians near Nisæa: an ox, which the Platæenses offered after the battle of Platæa; two statues of Apollo, one of which was dedicated by the people of Heracleia in Pontus, the other by the Amphictyones from the fine imposed upon the Phocenses for having cultivated the sacred land. The latter was 35 cubits high, and was surnamed Sitalcas. Next were the offerings of the Ætolians after their defeat of the Gauls, consisting of the statues of several of their commanders on that occasion, together with those of Diana and Minerva, with two of Apollo; and a dedication of the Pheræi when they had put to flight the Athenian cavalry, con-

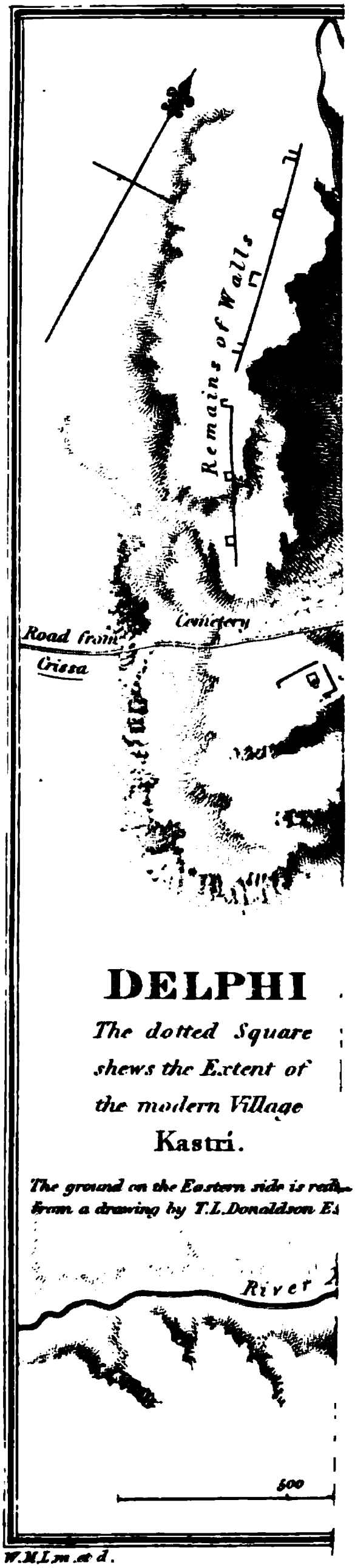
sisting of a statue of Apollo together with that of the leaders of the Pheræan cavalry on horseback. An armed and gilded Minerva under a brazen palm-tree bearing fruit, and an owl were presented by the Athenians, when on the same day they gained a battle by land, and another with their ships on the Eurymedon. Here was a car, dedicated by the Cyrenæi, bearing Battus their founder crowned by Libya, with Cyrene as the charioteer; the artist was Amphion of Gnossus in Crete. Near this anathema was an Apollo, produced like the one before mentioned from a fine imposed upon the people of Phocis by the Amphictyones. Of the Lydian dedications there remained only the iron stand of the vase presented by Halyattes, made by Glaucus of Chius, who invented the art of cementing iron (*σιδήρου κόλλησις*). That which the Delphi named the navel of the earth was formed of white marble. Near it were statues of Hermione, by Calamis, and of Eurydamus, general of the Ætolians, against the Gauls; the former dedicated by the Lacedæmonians, the latter by the Ætolians. A brazen goat suckling two infants, Philacides and Philandrus, was presented by the people of Elyrus, a town in the mountains of Crete. There were also a brazen ox, consecrated by the Carystii of Eubœa after the defeat of the Medes; statues of Apollo and Diana and of some of the Ætolian commanders, presented by the Ætolians when they had defeated their neighbours the Acarnanes; 20 statues of Apollo, sent by the Liparæi for having taken as many Tyrrhene triremes, and a small Apollo dedicated by Echecratides of Larissa, and said to have been the earliest offering made to the god of Delphi. Next occurred a brazen image of Sardus, sent by the people of the island Sardo: a horse presented by Callias, an Athenian, who had enriched himself in the Persian war: a Minerva, dedicated by the Achæans when they took the city of Phana in Ætolia: an Apollo by the Rhodians of Lindus: an ass by the Ambraciotæ, in memory of an accident which had enabled them to defeat the Molossi; and the representation of a sacrifice and procession in bronze, which the Orneatæ of Argolis had sent as a compromise for the execution of a vow, by which, when oppressed by the Sicyonii, they had bound themselves to perform daily processions and sacrifices at Delphi, if they should succeed in driving the enemy from their land. Hercules destroying the hydra, in iron, the work and

dedication of Tisagoras, was much admired on account of the difficulty of executing works of statuary in that metal. Here also were a lion in brass, presented by the Phocians of Elateia, when, by the aid of Olympiodorus of Athens, they had defended their city against Cassandrus king of Macedonia: an Apollo, dedicated by the Massaliotæ for a victory over the Carthaginians: a trophy and an armed female representing Ætolia, sent by the Ætolians when they had avenged upon the Gauls the atrocities which these had committed upon the people of Callium: a gilded statue of Gorgias of Leontium, dedicated by himself, and that of Scyllis, a celebrated diver of Scione, which, together with the image of his daughter Cyane, had been presented by the Amphictyones because Scyllis and Cyane had performed good service to Greece against the fleet of Xerxes by means of their art. But the statue of Cyane no longer remained, having been carried away by Nero[1]. Here was also a brazen head, sent by the Methymnæi, in imitation of one made of olive-wood which they had drawn out of the sea in their fishing-nets, and had been instructed by the Pythia to worship under the name of Bacchus Κεφαλλῆν.

[1] It would seem by the silence of Pausanias, that among the statues carried away were a celebrated groupe mentioned by Plutarch and Pliny, which represented Alexander hunting a lion, and Craterus coming to his assistance, the works of Lysippus and Leocrates, and dedicated by Craterus.—Plutarch. in Alexand.—Plin. H. N. l. 34, c. 8; nor does he notice the statue of twelve cubits holding the prow of a galley, dedicated by the Greeks for their naval victories over the Persians, or the gilded statue of Alexander the First of Macedonia, which stood near it, (Herodot. l. 8, c. 122.): all these had probably been among those taken by Nero.

END OF VOL. II.


Hill wit
of artif
and a
Le
thon Erano Rastro
Thespiæ
Parapunghi
References.
A first position of the Greeks.
B fountain Gargaphia. ten stades from the Island. ten stades from the river Moloeis. and twenty stades from the temple of Juno near Platea.
C front of the Lacedæmonians in the second position.
D front of the Athenians in the second position.
E front of the other Greeks in the second position.
F position of the Lacedæmonians on the day of the battle.
G position of the Athenians in the battle.
H position of the Greeks in the battle.
Scale of Yards.
500
2000
1000
3000
4000
1 mile
2 m.
a. b. A measured base of 2500 yards.
Position of
the fortified camp
Thebes



DELPHI

The dotted Square shews the Extent of the modern Village

Kastri.

The ground on the Eastern side is reduced from a drawing by T.L.Donaldson Esq.

W.M.Leake del.

N.º 18. At Neópatra. (a Fragment.)

.....ΩΙΥΠΑΤΑΙΟΙΕΔΟΣΑΝΠΡΟΞΕ
ΝΟΜΙΑΝΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙ
ΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΠΑΝΤΑΟΣΑΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ .....ΑΙΣΕΛΑΟΥ
.....ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΣΦΑΙΝΙΟΥ

.....ΛΕΩΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ .....
ΤΩΝΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝΕΔΩΚΕΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝΣΩΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΩΦΙΛΕΟΥΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΙ***ΥΟΙΤΑΣΠΡΟΞΕΝ...
.....ΚΑΙΑΡΧΟΣΑΚΡΙΩΝΟΣΠΥΡΡΙΑΣΚΑΛΛ .....
.....ΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΡΧΙ .....

N.º 19. At Neópatra. (a Fragment.)

ΚΛΕΩ
ΞΕΝΩ
ΔΙΩΝ

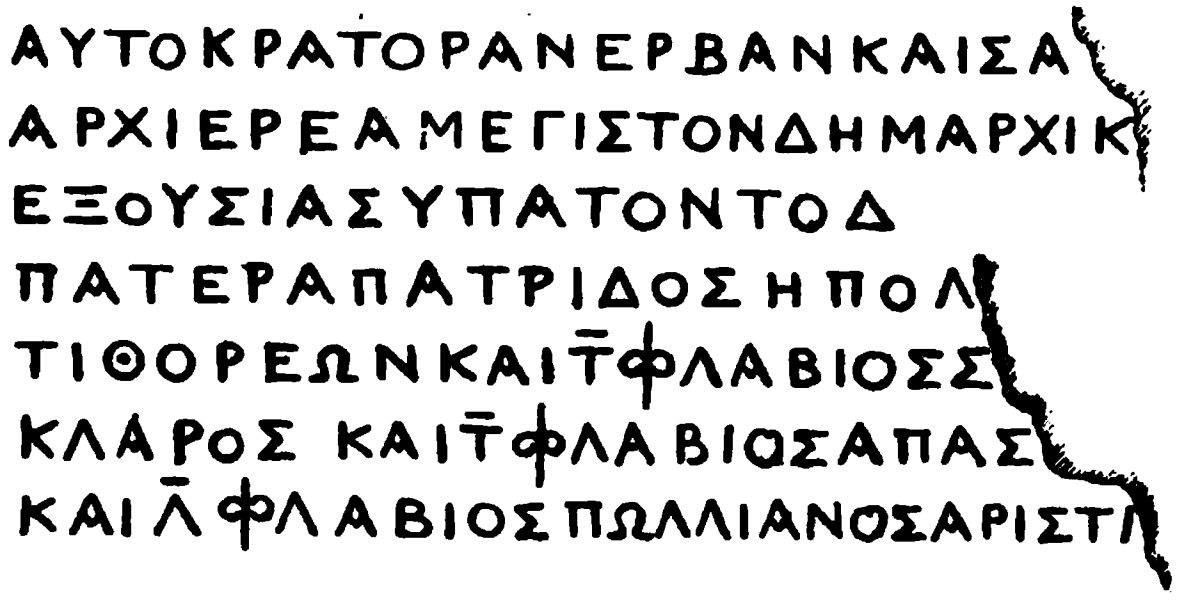
N.º 20. At Dhadhi.

Ψ Κ Δ

Μ̄ΟΥΛΔΑΜΑCΙΠΠ
ΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΟΥ
ΓΑΛΟΥΘΕΟΥΔΙΟΝΥCΟ
ΤΟΝΒΟΙΩΤΑΡΧΗΝΠΑ
ΤΡΟCΒΟΙΩΤΑΡΧΟΥ
ΓωΝΟΘΕΤΗΝΦΩΚΑΡ
ΧΗΝΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΑΘΕ
ΗΚΟΛΟΝΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΑ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΑCΑΛΛΑC
ΠΑCΑCΕΝΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ
ΤΕΛΕCΑΝΤΑΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΙ
ΑCΚΙΝΤΥΛΙΑΠΛΟΥΤΑ
ΧΗΗΓΥΝΗΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝ
ΑΝΔΡΑΕΥΝΟΙΑCΚΑΙΑΡΕ
ΤΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝΔΙΟΝΥ
CΟΥΕΝΤΕΜΕΝΕΙ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°. 21. At Velitza.



N°. 22. At Velitza.

ΑΡΧΕΒΟΥΛΑ
ΕΥΝΙΚΙΔΑΣ

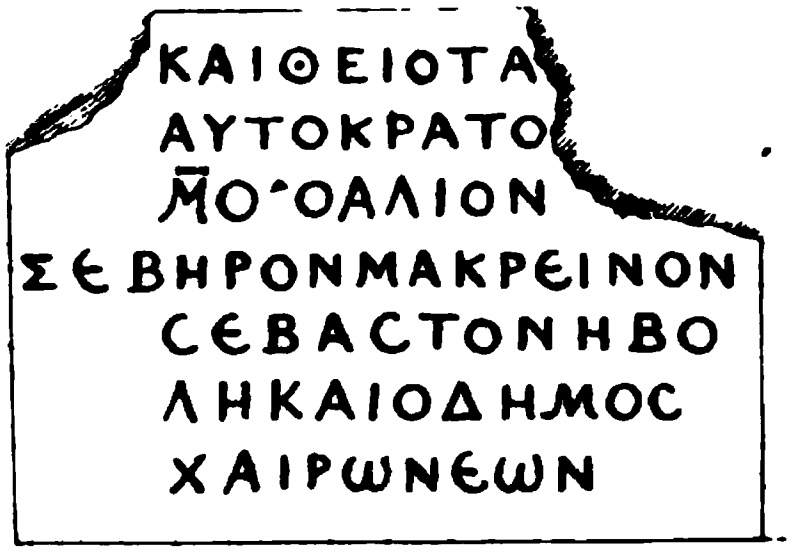
N°. 23. In the Castle of Dhavlia.

ΕΓΙΓΑΤΡΩΙ
ΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ
ΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

N°. 24. At Káputna, on the Rock above the Theatre.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
ΔΑΦΝΑΦΟΡΙΩ
ΑΡΤΑΜΙΔΟΣ
ΞΟΩΔΙΝΑΣ

N°. 25. At Káputna.



N°. 26. At Káputna. (on a small Sarcophagus.

·ΑΜ·ΤΡΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΝΦΙΛΟΣΟ
ΦΟΝΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΝΦΛΑΒΙΟΣΑΥΤΟΒΟΥ
ΛΟΣ ΤΟΝΠΡΟΣΜΗΤΡΟΣΠΑΠΠΟΝ

N°. 27. At Káputna. (a Fragment in the Church.)

ΩΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°28. At Connein.

Η ΒΟΥΛΗΚ
Ο Δ .....
ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΝΛ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑ
ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΗΣ
ΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝ

N°29. At Livadhia.

ΗΡΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΙ
ΚΑΙΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΛΕΒΑΔΕΩΝ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΥ
ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΣΑΣΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΟΥΣΗΣΤΗΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
ΑΥΤΟΥΠΑΡΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΣΟΝΑΣΙΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ

N°30. In the Yard of a Mosque, at Livadhia - in 15 Lines.

ΧΑΡΟΠΙΝΩΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣΛΕΒΑΔΕΙ.ΟΙΣΔΕΚΑ
ΟΤΤΙΟΣ.ΙΚΑΤΙΓΕΤΙΕΣΑΠΕΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ .....

in the 14th. Line is ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ

N°31. At Livadhia: in the same place.

ΤΟΙΓΓΟΤΗΛΕΒΑΔΕΙΗ.Ν· ΝΕΘΙΑΝΤΡΕΦΩΝΙΟΙ
ΝΙΚΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΙΓΓΑΣΙΗΓΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑΙΓΓΑΡΧΙΟΝΤΟΣ
ΔΕΞΙΓΓΩΣΑΥΚΡΑΤΕΙΩΓΙΛΑΡΧΙΟΝΤΩΝΜΥΤΩΝΟΣ
ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΩΕΓΙΤΙΜΩΣΑΥΚΡΑΤΕΙΩ.

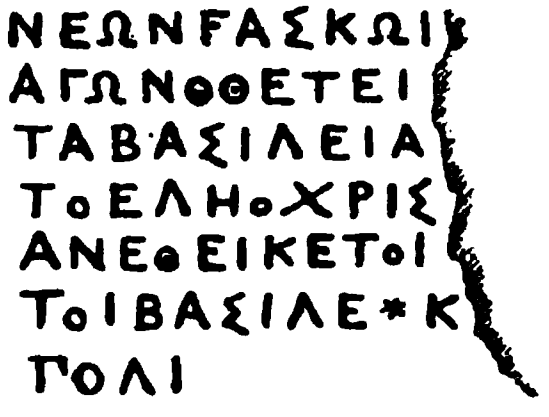
J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°.32. At Livadhia. (in the same place as 30 & 31.)

ΟΞΕΤΗΠΟΛΙΛΕΒΑΔΕΙ
...ΑΝ.Ο.....ΤΟ...ΡΕΦΩ.....
....ΡΟ.....ΡΙΩΝΟ....
ΔΕΚΑΔΡΑΧΜΑ.....Υ.ΑΣΔΕΚΑΚ .
ΚΗΟΣΤΙΣ. ΕΙΚΑΤΑΒΕΒΑΩΝΑΝΤΙΘΕ
ΟΝΔΕΚΑΔΡΑΧΜΑΩΝΕΙΛΥΤΑΣΔΕΚΑ...
ΜΕΝΑΥΤΩ·ΕΝΤΡΙΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ·ΥΝΤΑ·ΓΓ
ΚΑΙ·ΚΕΔΟΝΩΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ.ΚΑΤΑΒΑ....
·ΟΝΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΑΝΕΘΕΙΚΕ...ΤΗΣ
ΑΡΜΟΙΒΛΕΟΙ... ΚΑΤ.....ΕΝΙ..ΔΑΣΔΑΜ
ΑΠΕΛΛΑΝΕΥΣΚΑΤΑ...ΑΝΕΘ....ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩ
ΡΙΣΜΝΑΣΤΗ..ΜΑΧΟΣ.ΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ.ΩΡ.ΕΥ
ΕΚΚΥΤΕΝΙΟΥΤΡ.ϕΩΝΙΩΙΕΝΤΟΝΟ...ΥΡΟΜ
Δ..ΚΟΥΣΔΥΟ.....ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΠΕΝ
ΤΕ.ΑΙΣΙΩΝ.....ΙΟΣΤΡΙ
ΔΡΑΧΜ.....ΠΕΝΤΕ
..ΑΜΡ.Δ.....ΟΣ.Α..
ΚΟΝΕΥΑΝΟΙΔΑΣ.....ΟΣΛΟ.ΟΣ
ΕΒΔΟΜΕΙΚΟΝΤΑΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ.....ΙΔΑΣ
ΔΑΜΕΑΤΗΝ.....ΑΝΔΡΙΩ
ΕΥΑΝΟΙΔΑΣ.....ΕΙΚΟΝ
ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ.....ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩ
.....ΠΥ..ΙΝΙΚΟΣΦΙΛΟ
ΚΡΑΤΕΙΟΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΗΟΣΔΕΚΑΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣ
ΠΥΘΩΝΙΚΟΣΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕ.....
ΔΕΚΑΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣΠΟΥΘΟΝΙΚΟΣΤΑΝΑ
ΓΡΗΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΟ ΣΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ.....
.....ΡΟΥ.....
ΠΕΝΤΕΣΤΑ.....ΚΑΛ.....
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣΧΑΛΚΙ.....
ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΑΔΑΣΞΗΝΟΔΟΤΩ
ΤΕΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣ
ΕΥΑΝΟΙΔΑΣ
ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩΝ
ΑΓΛΑΟΣ

There are several Lines more, but a few letters only at the beginning of each are preserved.

N°.33. At Livadhia.



J. Netherclift Lithog

N.º 34. On the Rock at the foot of the Castle hill of Livadhia, near the Cavern called that of Trophonius, in large letters.

ЄΥΒΟ ΑC

. . . . . ΚΟΒΟ

N.º 35. At Skripú: (in the Church.)

Κ V D I L L E

N.º 36. At Skripú: (in the Church.)

ΕΓΙΒΑΚΕVFΑΙ

ΕΠΙΔΕΨϟΟΝΙ

N.º 37. At Skripú: (in the Monastery.)

. . . . . ΡΩΝΔΑΟΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
Α . . ΜΕΙΔΙΑΓΡΑΨΕΙ . . . . . ΚΑΚΟ
ΙΤ . . Κ . . ΝΑΠΟ . . . . . ΔΙΠΛΑΣΙΑΝ
ΑΝΕΙΣ . . ΣΙΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΠΑΡΕΙ
ΑΝΠΟΛ . . . ΑΡΧΟ . . ΥΠΕΡΤΑΑΠΟ
ΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΙΔΑΣΕΥΚΡΑΤΙ
ΔΑΟΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ
ΤΙΜΟΜΕΙΛΟΣΚΑΦΙΣΙΩΝΟΣ
ΣΟΥΝΔΙΚΟΣΞΕΝΟΚΛΙΔΑ
ΜΝΑΣΙ . . ΝΩΦΗΔΙΜΟΣΦΙΛΟΜΕΙ
ΩΑΓΕΙΣΙΛΑΟΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΜΑΤΡ
ΚΛΙΔΑΣΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΝΩΕΙΣΓΟΡΕ
ΝΑΣ . . ΟΣΘΙΟΓΙΤΟΝΟΣΕΥΡΟΥ
ΦΑΩΝΔΑΜΟΤΕΛΙΟΣΚΑΛΟ Δ
ΔΑΣΦΙΛΟΜΕΙΛΩΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ
ΜΕΓΑΛΙΑΟΤΟΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΝ . ΑΡ
ΝΑΣΙΜΟΝΘΙΟΓΙΤΟΝΟΣ
ΚΤΕΙΣΙΑΟΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΒΟΙΩΤΥΣ
ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΥΣΔΕΚΑΡΑΙΧΩΕΡ
ΜΑΙΩΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΙΟΝΤΩΝΑΝ
ΤΙΓΕΝΙΔΑΟΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΟ
ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ
ΤΙΜΟΜΕΙΛΩΚΑΦΙΣΙΩΝΟΣ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΔΔΟΝΤΟΣΤΥ
ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΥΣΛΙΩΝΟΥΣΙΩ
ΚΑΛΛΙΜΕΛΙΟΣΤΥ . . ΡΑΤΟΝ
ΕΣΤΡΟΤΕΥΑΟΗΔΕΕ . ΝΑΟΑ
ΝΙΑΟΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΧΙΟΝΙΟΣ
ΚΑΙΑΡΕΤΟΣΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩΛΙΟΥ
ΣΙΑΣΟΝΤΟΥΝΠΙΩΝΟΣ
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ
ΟΙΩ . ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΟΜΟΛΕΙΧΟ . . .
ΣΤΕΝΙΔΑΟΟΞΟΥΜΑΧΟΣΛΟΥΚΩ
ΝΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΩΝΔΑΣΜΥΡΙΧΩ

32 lines follow, much defaced.

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N.° 38 At Tálanda: (in the Church yard of S.t Theodore)

. . . ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΣΙΑΟΠ
ΔΗΜΟΣΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ. ΚΑΙΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΟ
ΑΙΟΝΚΕΣΤΙΟΝΟ . . . ΤΙΑΣΕΙΟΥΙΛΙΟΝΤΟΝ
ΣΕΙΣΑ ΤΟΥΣΟ ΟΙΣ

N.° 39 At Tálanda (in the Church yard of S.t Pandeléimona)

ΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΔΑΜΟ
ΠΟΥΝΤΙΟΙΕΔΩΚΑΝ
ΙΩΝΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙ. ΚΓ
ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΥΤ
ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΕΡΟΔΑΜ.
ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣΝΙΚΟ

N.° 40. At Thebes, on a Sarcophagus, in the Church of S.t Luke

CΚΗΝΟCΜΕΝΓ ... ΟΥCΙ
ΤΕΙΜΩΝΤΕCΚΛ ... ΔΩ
ΨΥΧΗΔΕCΤΟΔΙ ... ΟΝ
ΝΗΔΥΜΟCΙΤΑ ... ΩC
ΟΥΚΗΜΗΝΕΜΠ ... ΗΘΗΝ
ΕΙCΟΛΙΓΩΝΕΤΕ
ΟΥΚΑΝΕΔΡΑCΤC ... ΑΧΕΝΤΙC
ΜΟΙΡΗCΤΑΥΤΗΝ
ΤΑΥΤΕΠΕΓΡΑΨ
ΑΙΜΝΗCΤΟΝΕΧ

On the

ΜΑΡΜΑΡΕΗΛΙΘΟCΙΜΙΦΕΡΩΔΕΝΓΑCΤΕΡΙΦΩΤΑ
ΝΗΔΥΜΟΝΥΠΝΟΝΕΧΟΝΤΑΚΑ. ΕΝ . . . CΙΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ
ΟΝΔΗΜΟCΧΡΥCΩCΤΕΦΑΝΩ. . . ΙΜΗ. . . .
ΒΟΥΛΗΤΑΥΤΟΝΕΠΡΑΞΕΠΑΡΗ. . . . . ΟΙC .
ΚΕΙΤΑΙCΩΜΑΛΕΟΝΤΟCΑΙ . . . . . .
ΖΩCΙΜΟCΥΙΟCΕΓΡΑΨΕΤΟΓΑΡΓ . . . . . .
ΕΜΠΝΟΥΝΦΘΕΝΓΟΜΕΝΗΝΑΔΕΩC . . . C. CCΙΔΗΡΩ
ΟCΤΙCΔΑΝΤΟΛΜΑΘΕCΘΑΙΝΕΚΥΝΕΙCΕΜΕΝΗΔΥΝ
ΧΩΡΙCΤΟΥΠΑΙΔΟCΠΑΤΕΡΟCΟ. ΕΧΩΚΑΤΑΓΑCΤΡΟC
ΔΩCΕΙΤΗΤΕΠΟΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ . . ΜΥΡΙΑ

ΠΛΗΡΗCΟΦΟΡΤΟCΕCΤΙΜΟΙΚΑΛΩCΕΧΕΙ ~ ΚΕΙΤΑΙΓΑΡΝΗΔΥΝΕΙC
ΕΜΗΝΟΝΗΔΥΜΟCΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΕΠΑΙΔΟCΠΑΙCΓΕΓΩCΟΝΗΔΥ
ΜΟCΤΡΙΤΟCΔΕΠΑΙΔΟCΝΥΝΠΑΤΗΡΟΖΩCΙΜΟC ΜΥCΙΝΘΕ
ΩΝΤΙCΜΟΙΔΟΤΩΚΑΙCΙΝΦΥCΙΝ ~ ΗΝ · ΑΡΕΙΓΗΤΙCΕΙCΑΝΟΙΖΙΝ
ΤΗΝΕΜΗΝΜΗΤΕΛΠΙΔΩΝΟΝΑΙΤΟΜΗΤΕΚΝΩΝCΠΟΡΑ. ΛΛ
. ΕΓ. ΕΝC. ΟΛΟΙ . . ΠΛΗΡΕΙΖΟΝΓΕΝΟC

N.° 41. At Thebes, in the wall of a house.

ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΠΕΡΙΤΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣ . . ΤΕΧΝΙΤΩΝΤΩΝ
ΕΝΘΗΒΑΙΣΔΙΟΚΛΗΝΤΙΜΟ
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ
ΤΗΣΕΝΒ · · ΜΕΩΙΔΙΟΚΛΗΝ . . .
. . . . . .

N.° 42. At Thebes, on the steps of the Eastern Tower.

ΝΤΩΝΕΙΣΙΣΘ
ΠΙΕΡΙΑΝΣΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΝ
ΙΕΥΙΙΠΠΟΥΤΟΜΠΡΟΞΕΝΟ
ΕΑΥΤΩΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΗΝΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΙΣΤΕΤΟΥΣ
ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΣ ΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ

N.° 43. At Thebes, at the Church of St. Demetrius, without the Walls.

Ε Π Ι
ΣΑΚΟΥΝΔΑΗΡΩΙΔΙ
ΙΕΡΑΦΟΡΟϹ
ΝΕΙΚΑΙΩΑΡΙϹΤΩΝΟϹΖΩ
ΑΚΑΙΦΡΟΝΟΥϹΑΤΗΝΑΝΘΗΔΟ
ΙΑΝΛΗΝΟΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙϹΕ
ΜΟΙϹΜΗΠΡΟϹΗΚΕΙΝΜΗΔΕΑΛ
ΛΩΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΑΝΔΕΤΙϹΒΙΑϹΑΜΕΝΟϹ
ΝΟΙΞΗΗΜΙΑΝΗΜΟΥΤΑΙϹΡΑΑΠΟΤΕ
. . . . ΤΗΕΙϹΙΔΗΝΑΡΙΑΕΠΤΑΚΟϹΙ

N.° 44. At Thebes

. . ΑΛΛΟΙΣΦΑΥ . .
. . ΤΕΙΝΟΣΔΟΓΜΑ . .
ΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥ
ΔΗΜΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΑΠΟ
ΛΕΙΤΕΥΣΑΜΕ
ΝΟΝ

N.° 45. At Thebes: in the Church of St. George.

ΛΥΣΙΓΓΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΙΩΝΟΣ
ΥΓΑΤΟΔΩΡΟΣΒΡΕΙΚΙΔΛ
ΟΣΤΡΟΤΙΟΣ
ΟΚΟΜΟΛΩ
ΟΙΟΤΙΟΣ
ΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΙΟΣ
ΓΓΙΔΑΟ
ΙΣΜΗΝΙΗΟΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΗΟΣ
ΝΕΙΣΧΑΡΕΙΤΙΔΑΟ
ΔΕΞΙΓΓΟΣ ΜΝΑΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΕΙΣΝΙΚΙΗΟΣ
ΜΩΝΦΙΛΙΓΓΙΟΣ
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

A small Column stands here.

Netherclift Lithog.

N°. 46. At Thebes: in the great Tower.

ΔΙΟΝΛΕ . . .
ΑΡΜΕΝΕΙΔΟΥΦΙ
ΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝΤ
ΗΣΑΝΤΑΠΛΕΟΝΑ
ΤΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΩΝΜΟΥΣ
ΠΑΤΕΡΑΨΗΦΙΣΑΜΕΝ
ΔΗΜΟ

N°. 47. At Thebes.

ΕΠΙ
ΧΑΡΕΑΑΡΧΙΑ
ΤΡΩΗΡΩΙ

N°. 48. At Kandhitza: in the Church of St George.

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ
ΗΡΩΣ

N°. 49. At Kandhitza: in the Village.

ΣΦΙ . . . ΝΑΙΓΙΡΑ

Below a Bend in profile, with shoulders covered with a mantle slightly delineated on the stone.

N°. 50. At Kandhitza: in the Church of St George.
In Two Fragments.

Frag. 1.

ΑΝΤΙΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΟΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝ
ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΥΙΟΥ
ΜΑΙΟΥΤΩΝΤΡΙΕΤΗΡΩΝΣΩΤΗΡΙΩΝΠΡΩ
ΑΠΟΤΟΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΔΕΤΟ
ΟΣΤΟΥΣΩΤΗΡΟΣΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΡΑ
ΜΟΝΟΥΟΙΔΕΕΝΙΚΩΝ
ΣΑΛΠΙΣΤΗΣ
ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣΔΕΞΩΝΟΣΚΟΡΩΝΕΥΣ
ΚΗΡΥΞ
ΦΙΛΟΚΛΗΣΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΕΝΚΩΜΙΩΙ ΛΟΓΙΚΩΙ
ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΣΚΑΦΙΣΟΤΙΜΟΥΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΕΥΣ
ΕΠΩΝΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ
ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΣΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΥΘΕΣΠΙΕΥΣ
ΡΑΨΩΙΔΟΣ

Frag. 2.

ΩΣΙΜΕΝΗΣΣΩΣΙΚ
ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ
ΕΡΟΚΛΗΣΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣΟΠΟΥΝ
ΚΙΘΑΡΩ . . . . . ΕΡΟΣ
Π . . . ΤΗ . . . . . ΡΩΝ
ΓΟΡΓΙΠΠΟΣΠΥ . . . ΟΥΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΥΣ
ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΣ
ΚΛΕΩΝΚΡΑΤΩΝΟΣΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΚΩΜΩΔΩΝΙΕΡΟΣ
ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΩΝ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣΚΩΜΩΔΙΩΝ
ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΣΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΘΕΣΠΙΕΥΣ
ΤΟΝΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ
ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΣΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΘΕΣΠΙΕΥΣ
ΤΟΝΟΠΛΙΤΗΝΑ.ΟΤΟΥΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥ
ΥΜΠΙΧΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΙ·ΟΥΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΠΑΙΟΥ

N.º 51. At Kardhitza: in the Church of St. George.

ΝΔΡΟΥΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΟΝ
ΝΟΥΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΕΥΣ
ΝΙΚΙΟΝ
ΝΔΡΟΥΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΔΟΛΙΧΟΝ
ΟΥΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΕΥΣ
ΔΟΛΙΧΟΝ
ΑΚΡΑΙΦΙΕΥΣ
ΑΛΑΙΟΝ
ΑΜΙΠΠΟΥΑΚΡΑ
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ

N.º 52. At Kardhitza: in the Village.

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΓΑΜΗΣΤΟΡΑ
ΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ
ΗΡΩΑ

N.º 53. At Kardhitza: in the Church of St. George.

Ε Π Ι
ΝΙΚΟΛΛΩΡΑΚΙΡΙΩ
ΝΟΛΛΕΣΙΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΑ

N.º 54. At Kardhitza: in the Church of St. George.

ΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΙ . . ΡΟ
ΤΟΥΣΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΣΑΝΑΤΕΘΕΙΚ
ΤΩΤΕΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΤΩΠΤΩΙΩ . . Π
ΑΙΣΕΙΣΚΑΘΙΣΤΙΑΣΙΝΕΙΣ.ΑΠΤΩΙΑ.ΑΠΕΝ
ΕΤΕΙΡΑ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΑΤΤΙΚΟΥΔΡΑΧΜΑΣΔΙΣΧΙ
ΛΙΑΣ ΔΕΔΟΓΜΕΝΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΣΥΝΕΔΡΟΙΣ.Α
ΩΤΟΥΣΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥΣΤΟΙΣΕΠΙΛΑΦΙ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ . . . . . ΠΡΟΕΙΡΗ . . .

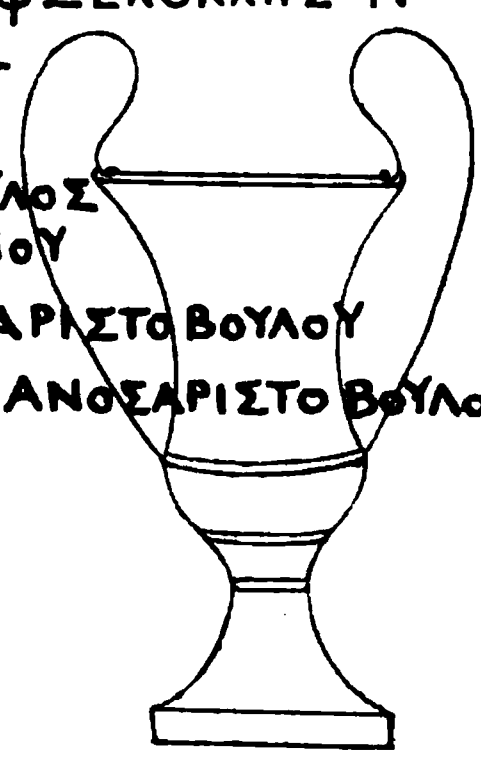
About 36 lines more, almost obliterated.

N.º 55. At Menidhi: in a Church.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ

N.º 56. At Menidhi: on a Slab of white Marble.

ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣΠΡΕ ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ
ΦΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ Ν Θ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΣΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΕΡΕ
ΕΥΠΟ.ΡΟCΙΕΡΕ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟCΕΥΠΟΡΟΥ
ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥΡΟC
ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ
ΦΟΙΒΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ
ΖΩΣΙΜΙΑΝΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ



J. Netherclift

N°57. At Athens:
On a square Stele, at the Bishop's door.

. . . . ΝΟΝΕΥΚΛΕΑΝΑ . ΡΙΚΛΕ . ΕΡΙΤΟΝ

On the other Side, nearly complete.

ΤΟΙΩΝΔΕΑΝΔΡΩΝΕΗΠΟΛΙΣΟΠΟΤΑΝΑΥΤ
ΧΟΡΟΙΣΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΝΤΗΝΙΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΝΕΔΟΣ

N°58. At Athens:
In the Wall of the Metropolitan Church:

. . . . . .

ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΚ . ΕΙΔΗΜΟΣΜΕΙΔΩΝΟΣΠΛΩΘΕΥΣ
ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣΑΝΔΡΩΝΕΝΙΚΑ
. ΕΝΕΤΕΛΗΣΜΕΝΗΤΟΣΑΝΑΓΥΡΑΣΙΟΣΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ
ΑΡΑΤΟΣΑΡΓΗΙΟΣΒΥΛΗΣ
ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

N°59. At Athens.

. ΑΙΑΜΕΝΕΙΣΦΑΟΣΗΡΕΣΙΒΥΡΤΙ . ΓΑΙΑΔΕΚΕΥ
ΟΕΙΣΩΜΑΓΝΟΗΝΔΕΑΙΘΗΡΕΛΑΒΕΝΓΑΛΙΝΟΣΓΕ
ΡΕΔΩΚΕΝΓΑΤΡΙΔΕΣΩΙΚΑΙΜΗΤΡΙΛΙΓΩΝΛΥΓΑ
Σ . ΓΑΝΑΝΚΗΣΩΙΧΟΥΑΝΑΡΓΑΣΘΕΙΣΕΓΤΑΕΤΗΓ
. . ΟΝΩΝ

N°61. At Sykámino: in a Church.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ
ΖΩΙΛΟΥ
ΩΡΩΠΙΟΣ

J. Nathaniel Lithog.

ΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΟΜΩΛΩΙΩΤΡΙΣΚΗΔΕΚΑΤΗΕΠΕΨΑΦΙΔΔΕ
ΟΥΡΡΑΝΔΡΟΣΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΙΟΣΕΛΕΞΕΔΕΔΟΧΘΗΤΥΔΑΜΥΠΡΟΞΕ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΕΙΩΝΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΝΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ
ΤΟΝΚΗΕΣΓΟΝΩΣΚΗΕΙΜΕΝΑΥΤΥΣΓΑΣΚΗΓΥΚΙΑΣΕΠΠΑ
ΛΙΑΝΚΗΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΚΗΑΣΟΥΛΙΑΝΚΗΠΟΛΕΜΩΚΗΙΡΑΝΑΣ
ΑΓΑΝΚΗΚΑΤΑΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝΚΑΘΑΠΕΡΚΗΤΥΣΑΛΛΥΣΠΡΟ
ΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ

ΑΜΙΝΟΚΛΕΙΟΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΕΠΕΨΑΦΙΔΔΕΟΡΣΙΜ
ΕΛΕΞΕΔΕΔΟΧΘΗΤΥΔ
ΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΕ
ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΙΑΔΥΤΟΝΚΗΕΣ
ΚΙΑΣΕΠΠΑΣΙΝΚΗΓΙΣΟ
ΚΗΚΑΤΑΓΑΝΚΗΚΑΤΑΘ
ΙΩΣΑΣΚΗΤΑΛΛΑ
ΝΥΣΚΗΕΥΕΡ

ΤΩΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΑΛΛΑΛΚΟ
ΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣΘΙΟΔΩΡΟ
ΗΜΕΝΑΥΤΥΠΟ
ΑΛΚΙΔΕ
ΕΥΕΡ

N°62. At Oropo.

ΧΡΩΤΑΡΙΟΝ
ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥ

N°63. At Oropo.

ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΩΣ
ΧΑΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

N°64. At Oropo.

ΑΓΑΘΩΝ
ΑΜΙΝΙΟΥ

N°65. In a Chapel, near Skimatári.

ΔΑΜΩ

N°66. In a Tower between Grimadha & Skimatári.

ΒΙΟΤΤΟΣ

N°. 67. In the same Tower, on black marble.

ΗΙΓΓΑΡΤΙΑ

N°68. At Skimatári, in a Church.

ΕΠΙΛΑΙΔΙ

N°69. At the same place.

ΕΓΕΙΡΙΧΑ

N°70. In the Wall of a Tower, now a Church near Tanagra.

ΕΙΚΟΝΑΤΗΝΔΕΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΦΟΡΥΣΤΑΣ
ΠΑΙΣΟΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΚΗΡΥΞΝΙΚΗΣΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ
ΑΓΩΝΑ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΥΣΤΕΑΘΛΟΦΟΡΟ.Σ
ΓΤΑΝΟΙΣΓΟΣΙΝΕΙΛΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΣ
ΕΥΟΛΒΟΥΔΕΓΑΤΡΑΣΑΣΤΥΚΑΛΟΝΣΤΕΦΑΝΟ
ΚΑΦΙΣΙΑΣΕΓΟΕΙΣΕ

ΓΡΩΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΜΕΙΝΟΣΙΓΓΟΔΡΟΜΙΩΓΡΟΤΡΙΑΚΑΔΙΕΓΕΨΑΦΙΔΔΕ
ΟΣΜΝΑΣΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΙΧΟΣΔΩΡΟΘΙΩΕΛΕΞΕΔΕΔΟΧΘΗΤΥΔΑΜΥ
ΟΝΕΙΜΕΝΚΗΞΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝΤΑΣΓΟΛΙΟΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΕΙΩΝΔΙΟΥΣΚΟΡΙΔΑ
ΩΑΘ.ΝΕΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΚΗΕΞΓΟΝΩΣΚΗΕΙΜΕΝΑΥΤΥΣΓΑΣΚΗΓΥ
ΣΙΝΚΗΓΙΣΟΤΕΛΙΑΝΚΗΑΣΦΑΛΙΑΝΚΗΑΣΟΥΛΙΑΝΚΗΓΟΛΕΜΩ
ΣΑΣΚΗΚΑΤΑΓΑΝΚΗΚΑΤΑΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝΚΗΤΑΛΛΑΓΑΝΤΑ
ΞΑΛΛΥΣ ΓΡΟΞΕΝΥ

N°71. In the ruined Chapel of Paraskevi on a block of black Marble.

ΑΕΨΡΟΝΔΑΑΕΛΙΤ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΕ

N°72. Lying before a Church of Paraghia, near Vlakho;- on a cubical Stone, the letters large, & rudely but deeply cut.

ΕΠΙΓΛΑΥ
ΞΑΨ

ft. in.
1. 7

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N.º 73. At Eremókastro; at the Church of S.t Kharálambos.

ΤΦΛ ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΝΤΟΝ
ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΝΤΑΜΙΕΨ
ΣΑΝΤΑΑΣΙΑΣΤΡΙ
ΒΟΥΝΟΝΠΡΑΙΤΟΡΑ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΨΣΑΝΤΑΚΨ
ΠΡΟΨΑΝΘΨΠΑΤΕΨ
ΣΑΝΤΑΛΨΚΙΑΣΠΑΝ
ΦΨΛΙΑΣΗΠΑΤΡΙΣΤΟ
ΕΨΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

N.º 74. At Lefka; in a ruined Church.

ΒΑϹ . . . . . ΜΟΙΩ
ΤΡΕΧΕΙϹΓΝΩΡΙϹΕΝΑ
. . . ΑΡΟΥΔΕΝΠΟΛΛΕϹ
. ΧΡΗϹΑΜΗΝΑΝΘΕϹΙΠ
ΡΟΔΙΝΟΙϹϹΤΕΦΑΝΟΙϹΧΡΗ
ΜΕΝΟϹΚΑΤΕΝΕΤΡΥΦΗϹ
ΛΟΥϹΕΜΥΡΙϹΕΤΟΥΤΟ·ΠΡΕΠΕ
ϹΟΠΑΥΤΑϹΟΙΔΕ·ΠΡΟΔΩΝΟ
ΧΡΗϹΤΟϹϹΤΑΚΑΙΓΕΛϹΟΝΤΟΥ
ΤΟΓΕΠΡΩΤΕ

N.º 75; At Lefka; in a ruined Church.

ΜΓΟΡΙΣ
ΕΠΙ
ΧΑΡΙΚΛΕΩ
ΗΡΩΙ

J. Netherclift Lithog:

N°.76. At Lefka; on a piece of Architrave, in large letters.

Ο Θ Ε Ι Ω Ν Τ Ο Λ

N°.77. At Lefka; in a ruined Church.

													Σ		
												Ο	Ι		
											Σ	Ι	Λ		
										Ι	Ο	Ν	Α		
									Σ	Α	Θ	Η	Ν		
								Ο	Δ	Η	Α	Τ	Ο		
							Σ	Ι	Ι	Λ	Θ	Ο	Σ		
						Ο	Δ	Ι	Ν	Η	Ν	Ι	Ι		
					Χ	Ι	Ι	Ν	Ο	Ν	Ι	Σ	Ν		
				Μ	Ι	Δ	Α	Ο	Ι	Α	Η	Ι	Ι		
			Ρ	Α	Ε	Λ	Η	Τ	Σ	Ν	Τ	Σ	Σ		
		Υ	Χ	Α	Ι	Η	Α	Ι	Ο	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι		
	Μ	Α	Ι	Τ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν		
Α	Ρ	Χ	Α	Ι	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι		
	Ο	Ρ	Α	Ν	Ν	Ι	Ι	Ι							

N°.78. At Eremókastro, at the Church of St. Kharálambos, in a wall, outside.

ΕΠΙ *A warrior on horse-* ΗΡΩ
ΔΙΟ *back with the horse's* ΑΓΑ
ΝΥCΙ *left foot upon an* Θ
Ω *Altar.* Ω

N°.79. In the wall of the same Church, outside.

ΕΦΙΓΓΟΣ

N°. 81. In the Church of the Metókhi of St. Nicolas, on a Cippus.

ΕΠΙ
. ΥΚΑΡΠΩC

N°.82. In the yard of the Church of St. Blasius at New Panaghia.

N°. 80. In the Church of the Metókhi of St. Nicolas, on a column of coarse white Marble.

. ΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΟΣΤΩΝ
ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΩΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝΜΟΥΣΕΙ
. ΝΑΥΡΗ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗ
. ΝΟΥΤΟΥΣΩΤΗΡΙ
ΧΟΥ. ΕΠΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΥΡΗ. ΜΟΥΣΕΡΩΤΟΣ 7
ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΥΝΤΟΣΑΥΡΗ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΕΠΙΚΤΑ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΒΑ
ΝΟΥ 7 ΕΝΕΙΚ. ΝΟΙΔΕ
ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΗΣΠΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΣΣΕΡΑ
ΠΙΩΝΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΞ ΜΑΥΡΗ
ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΟΣΡΑΨΩ
ΔΟΣΜΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΚΑΙΡΟΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙ
ΟΣ ΠΥΘΙΚΟΣΑΥΛΗΤΗΣΜΑΥΡΗ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ
ΠΥΘΙΚΟΣΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΛΟΥ
ΓΑΙΟΣΑΙΛΙΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΚΥΚΛΙΟΣΑΥΛΗΤΗΣΜΑΥΡΗ
ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΣΝΕΜΕΣΙΑΝΟΣΑΝ
ΤΙΓΕΝΙΔΗΣ ΚΟΛΩΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ
ΤΡΑΓΩΔΟΣΜΑΥΦΙΔΙΟΣΑΡΤΕ
ΜΙΔΩΡΟΣΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣ ΚΩΜΩΔΟΣ
ΜΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΟΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΚΙΘΑΡΩΔΟΣΜΑΥΡΗ ΑΛΕΞΑΝ
ΔΡΟΣΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΥΣ
ΧΟΡΟΥΠΟΛΕΙΤΙΚΟΥΑΥΡΗ ΖΩΣΙ
ΜΙΑΝΟΣΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣΘΕΣΠΙΕΥΣ
ΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΜΑΥΡΗ ΣΕΠΤΙ
ΜΙΟΣ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑΝΟΣΑΝΤΙΓΕ
ΝΙΔΗΣ ΚΟΛΩΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°. 83. In the yard of the Church of St. Blasius, at New Panaghia; on a heroic Monument.

ΙΙΗΡΟΙΣΣΗΠΑΡΑ
ΚΟΝΟΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ
ΝΟΣΤΟΥΠΑΡΑΜ
. . .

N°. 84. In the Wall of the same Church.

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΑ

N°. 85. At Tatezá, in the Church; on a plain Sepulchral Stone.

. . . . ΔΙΝΟϟ

N°. 87. At Xeronomi; in a ruined Church, on a heroic Monument.

ΕΠΙΘΕΟΓΙΤΟΥΗΡΕΩΙ

N°. 86. At the same place; on a similar Stone.

ΛΕΥ.ΙΝΑϟ

N°. 88. At the same place, on a plain Sepulchral Stone.

ΑΡΙΣΣΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ

N°. 89. At the same place, on a similar Stone.

ΝΙΚΟΜΑΥΟΣ

N°. 90. At the same place, on a similar Stone.

ΦRΓϟϟΕ

N°. 91. At Kakósia; on a large block in a ruined Church.

ΗΝΜΕΒΡΑΧΑΣΕΙΔΡΥΣΕΠΟΛΗΙ
ΛΙΟΥΤΟΝΦΙΛΑΕΘΛΟΝΑΓΑΝ
ΜΕΤΕΚΝΩΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΕΙΜΗΝ
ΤΟΥΣΤΩΔΕΚΛΕΟΣΘΕΟΘΕΝ

N°. 93. At Kakósia; in the wall of a private House.

ΘΕΟΙΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙΣΚΑΙ
ΛΕΙΤΟΝΟΙΚΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΔ
ΣΟΝΤΙΒΚΛΟΥΡΒΑΝΟΣΚ
ΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΚΛΦΙΛΩΝΙΧΑ
ΤΕΚΝΑΟΥΡΒΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΟ
ΓΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ · ΕΠΟ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°.92. At Kakósia : on a Pedestal in a private House.

ΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΥΝΕΙΚΙΟΥΒΟΙΩΤΑΡΧΟΥΛΠΟΓΟΝΟΙ

ΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΝΠΑΡΑ
ΜΟΝΟΝΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΥ
ΒΡΑΧΑΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΙΑ
ΝΟΥΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΑϹ
ΑΡΕϹΚΟΥϹΗϹΥΙΟΝ
ΕΓΓΟΝΟΝΜΟΥΛΠΙ
ΟΥΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥΚΑΙ
ΚΟΡΑΝΗϹΠΑΥΛΗϹ
ΟΙΑΔΕΛΦΟΙΟΥΛΠΙΟΙ
ΒΡΑΧΑϹΠΑΥΛΑΥΓΕΙΑ

Ψ Β Κ ΑΙΔ

N°.94. In the same wall as N°.93, on a long narrow Stone; the inscription apparently complete.

ΙΔΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΑΘΑΝΑ

N°.95. In the wall of the Church of S^t. Luke, on a portion of an architrave.

ΘΕΟΙϹϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΙϹΚΑΙΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΗΝΚΡΗΝΗΝΚΑΤΑΠ
ΕΠΟΙΚΙΟΝΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗϹΚΑΙΕΥΜΑΡΙΔΑϹ
ΚΑΙΤΗΝΤΟΥΥΔΑΤΟϹΕΙϹΑΓ

N°.96. At Aspra Spitia.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟϹΚΑΛΛΙϹΤΡΑΤΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟϹΔΕΤΟΥϹΥ.....
...ΟΥ....ΙΑΕΝΕ...Ω...ΚΛΗ..ΛΙΕΔΟΞΕΤΑΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩ.....
ΤΙΚΥΡΕ...ΔΟΜΕΙΗΡΑΚΛΕΟ ΙΞΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΑΜΒΡΥΣΣΙΩ....
..ΤΩΙ.........ΡΟΞ.....ΛΙΑΝΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΠΡΟΔΙ....
..ΠΟΛΙ..ΑΝ..........ΚΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΤΙΜ.....
.ΙΤΟΙΣΑΛ..ΙΣΠ.....ΡΓΕΤΑΙΣΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΥΠΑΡΧ...
...ΥΟΙΤΑΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΣΑ....ΛΑΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣΞΕΝΟΚΡ..

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΚΑΛ..........ΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥΑΝΤΙ....
ΤΟΥΕΝΕΝ.ΟΜ..........ΕΙΤ ΑΝΤΙΚ.....
ΝΕΥΘΥ
ΥΛΙΑΝ
ΙΤΑΛΛΑΤΙΜ
Α.ΧΕΙΕΓΓΥ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°.97. At the Monastery of Kastrí, within a Garland of Olive leaves.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΛΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ
ΠΥΘΙΟΙΣ

N°.98. At the same Monastery.

ΑΙΑΚΙΔΑ.
ΧΑΙΡΕ

N°.100. At Kastrí; at the end of a Fragment much defaced, but throughout of the same tenor

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΤΑΣΚΑΛΛΙΓΕΝΕΟΣΟΙΚΙΑΣΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣΠΕΝΤΕ
ΔΡΑΧΜΑΝΟΔΕΛΟΥΣΤΡΕΙΣ
ΞΕΝΟΔΑΜΟΣΤΑΣΜΕΝΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΔ . . . ΑΚΑΟΙΚΙΑΣΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣ
ΔΥΟΔΡΑΧΜΑΝΟΔΕΛΟΝΗΜΙΟΔ . ΛΙΟΝΧΑΛΚΕΟΥΣΤΕΤΟΡΑΣ
ΕΧΙΝΑΙΟ . ΤΑΣΔΙΩΝΑΚΑΟΙΚΙΑΣΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣΔΕΚΑΕΝΑ
ΧΑΙΡΟΛΑΣΤΑΣΠΕΙΣΙΑΤΟΥΦΛΕΙΑΚΟΣΟΙΚΙΑΣΣΤΑΤΗΡΑΣ
ΤΡΕΙΣΔΡΑΧΜΑΝ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°99. On a large block, lying in the Village of Kastri'.

ΝΙΚΟΔΑΜΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΥΝΤΩΝΑΙΤ
ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣΔΙΚΑΙΑΡΧΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΟΥΚΡΩΒΥΛΟΥΑΝΔΡ
ΤΟΥΣΔΕΛΦΩΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣΒΟΙΩΤΩΝΦΛΕΙΝ
ΑΣΥΠΗΡΕΤΩΝΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΕΝΠΥΛΑΙΑΚΑΙΕΝΔΕΛΦΟΙΣΚ
ΝΟΣΧΡΟΝΟΝΠΟΛΥΝΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΩΙΤΩΝΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝΑΝΕ.ΚΛΗΤ
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΟΡΑΤΡΟΙΣΠΥΘΙΟΙΣΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΤΕΓΡ....ΑΙΣ
ΛΑΜΙΗΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΕΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΙ ΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙΔΑΦΝΗΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΝ
ΤΩΙΠΡΟΔΙΚΙΑΝΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΤΟΝΔΕΓΡΑΜ .....
ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΤΑΔΕΔΟΓΜΕΝΑΤΟΙΣΙΕ ΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΟΡΑΤΡΟΙΣΕΝΤΩΝΕ
ΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ

ΔΕΛΦΟΙΕΔΩΚΑΝΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΩΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΙΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΝ
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝΠΡΟΔΙΚΙΑΝΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΟΣΑ . . . . . ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΣ
ΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΜΟΥΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΚΛΕΥΜΑΝΤΙΟΣΕΥΔΙΚΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΙ. ΝΟΣΝΙΚΟΔΑΜΟΥ
ΕΠΙΠΡΑΟΤΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΥΝΤΩΝΑΙΤΩΛΩΝΔΑΜΟΤΙΜΟΥΑΝΔΡΕΑΛΕΥΚΙΑΔΙΩΝΟΣ . . . . . .
ΜΝΗΣΙΑΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΥΚΛΕΟΚΥΔΟΥΧΙΟΥΔΕΛΦΩΝ . . . . ΔΟΥΕΥΟΥΔΙΤΟΥΒΟΙΩΤΩΝΗΡΟΔΑΜΟΥ . . . . . .
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙ
ΔΙΑΤΕΛ.ΙΧΡΕΙΑΣΠΑΡΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΟΙΣΤΕΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΣΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣ...ΜΙΣΙΝ . . . . .
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΝΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΤΕΚΑΛΛΕΩΝΙ....ΟΣ..ΟΙΝΙΛΙΟΝ . . . . . .
ΦΝΗΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΝΑΙΑΥΤΩΙ . . . . . ΟΙΣΠΡΟΔΙΚΙΑΝΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ . . .
. . . . . ΣΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΣΙΝΟΙΣΤΙΘΕΑΣΙΝΟΙΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΣΣ

ΕΠΙΠΡΑΟΤΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΥΝΤΩΝΑΙΤΩΛΩΝΛΑ...ΜΕΩΣΑΓΕ.ΟΝΟ....ΝΟΣ....ΣΤΩΝΙΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.ΡΙΧΙ..
ΑΛΕΞΩΝΟΣ....ΧΟΥΦΙΛΟΡ..ΝΟΥΛΗΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣΧΙΟΥΔΕΛ.ΩΝΑΡΑ..ΙΝ.....ΩΚΕΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣ . . . . .
ΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙ ΕΠΕΙΔΗΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ..... ΚΟΙΝΩΙΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΩΙΤΩΝΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕ

ΧΡΕΙΑΣΠΑΡΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΣΙΚΑΙ.....ΕΛΛΗΣΙΝΑΓ... ΑΝΕΝΚΛΗΤΩΣ
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΣΙΝΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΤΕ..ΛΛΙ...ΑΚΑΛΙΚΛΕ....ΝΑΙΟΝΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΕΝΑΙΤΩΛΙΑΙΚΑΙ . . . . . .
ΔΑΦΝΗΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΝΑΙΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΠΡΟΔΙΚΙΑΝΑΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΠΡΟΕ
ΔΡΙΑΝΕΜΠΑΣΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΣΙΝΟΙΣΤΙΘΕΑΣΙΝΟΙΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΕΣ

J. Netherdijk Lithog.

Pl. XIII.

N°. 101. On a Stone lying in the Village of Kastrí.

Λ Μ Α Ρ Ι Ο Ν Ν Ε Π Ω Τ Α Α Ι Γ Ι Α Λ Ε Ι Ν Ο Ν Τ Ε
Τ Ε Ι Μ Η Μ Ε Ν Ο Ν Α Π Ο Τ Η Σ Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Ο Ι Ω Ν
Β Ο Υ Α Η Σ Τ Ε Ι Μ Α Ι Σ Β Ο Υ Λ Ε Υ Τ Ι Κ Α Ι Σ Κ Α Ι
Α Γ Ο Ρ Α Ν Ο Μ Ι Κ Α Ι Σ Λ Μ Α Ρ Ι Ο Σ Ν Ε Π Ω Σ
Π Α Τ Η Ρ Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Θ Ι Ο Σ Κ Α Ι Ι Ο Υ Λ Ι Α Α Ι Γ Ι Α Λ Η
Δ Ε Λ Φ Η Τ Ο Ν Ε Α Υ Τ Ω Ν Υ Ι Ο Ν Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ω Ν Ι
Π Υ Θ Ι Ω Ι

N°. 102. At Kastri; on a column in the portico of the Church.

Α Γ Α Θ Η Τ Υ Χ Η

Τ Ι Β Κ Λ Π Ο Λ Υ Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Ι Α Ν Ν Α Υ C Ι Κ Α Α . . . . . .
Τ Η Ν Κ Ρ Α Τ Ι C Τ Η Ν Κ Α Ι Α Ρ Χ Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ι Α Ν Τ Ο Υ Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Υ
Τ Ω Ν Α Χ Α Ι Ω Ν Τ Ι Β Κ Λ Π Ο Λ Υ Κ Ρ Α Τ Ο Υ. Α Ρ Χ Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ω C
Κ Α Ι Ε Λ Λ Α Δ Α Ρ Χ Ο Υ Δ Ι Α Β Ι Ο Υ Τ Ο Υ Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Υ Τ Ω Ν Α Χ Α Ι Ω Ν
Κ Α Ι Τ Ι Β Κ Λ Δ Ι Ο Γ Ε Ν Ε Ι Α C Α Ρ Χ Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ι Α C Τ Ο Υ Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Υ Τ Ω Ν
Α Χ Α Ι Ω Ν Θ Υ Γ Α Τ Ε Ρ Α . . Τ Ο Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Α Μ Φ Ι
Κ Τ Υ Ο Ν Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Α Χ Α Ι Ω Ν
Α Ρ Ε Τ Η C Ε Ν Ε Κ Ε Ν

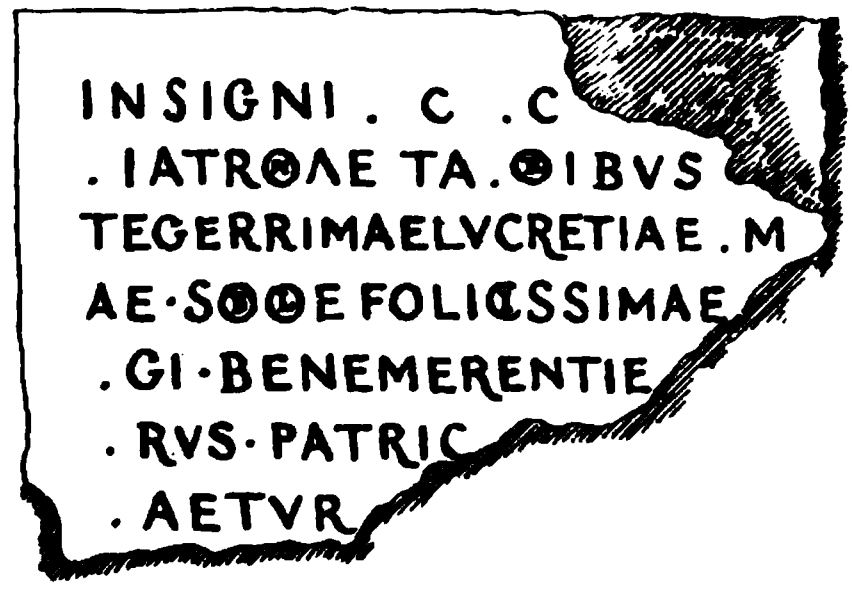
N°. 103. From the Monastery of St. Demetrius Kráwari.

Ε Ω Ε Ι
Α Ε
Μ Ν Α Μ Α

N°. 104. At Epakto, in the Vestibule of a Mosque.

Δ Ο Υ Τ Ρ Ο Ν Μ Ε Ν . Ρ
Ν Ο Σ Χ Ε Ω Ν Υ Μ Φ Α Ι
Ο Ν Η Τ Ο Ι Σ Ι Δ Υ Γ Ε Ι Η Ν
Φ Ω Σ Χ Α Ρ Ι Ν Η Σ Λ
Δ Ρ Ε Α Σ Θ Η Κ Ε Υ Ν Ο
Η Σ Ι Θ Υ Ν Τ Η Ρ Μ Ε

N°. 105. In the same place.



J. Netherclift Lithog.

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